THE PEOPLE OF Alor

A Social-Psychological Study of an East Indian Island

by CORA DU BOIS

WITH ANALYSES BY ABRAM KARDINER AND EMIL OBERHOLZER

The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis

[TITLE PAGE]

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To Mattie and Richard

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Preface

IN THESE days when books on parts of the world formerly consid- 120 ered remote have become commonplace, when journalists are writing in the first person of experiences on Pacific islands, when travelers dabble in anthropology and anthropologists write travel books, it seems justifiable, perhaps, to identify this volume.

Anthropological field work among American Indians on the West 121 Coast had shown me repeatedly the blind alleys encountered in investigating social processes, if psychological orientations and techniques were not employed. Furthermore, the obvious differences between peoples of different cultures challenged explanation. The false doctrines of racism not only failed to give such explanations; they patently posited the question falsely. In the field of anthropology the work of Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and Edward Sapir was opening a new and suggestive formulation of the problem of differences between human groups. In 1935 a National Research Fellowship gave me a year in which to explore clinically and theoretically the bearing of various psychiatric approaches to personality formation within our own society. Analytic psychology seemed to offer the greatest number of concepts with which the anthropologist could operate, although much of its theory, particularly in the field of social phenomena, seemed inept.

In the spring of 1936, at Dr. Kardiner's invitation, we collaborated in a joint seminar at the New York Psychoanalytic Society. The seminar was repeated the following spring. At the beginning it was necessary to discuss why the greater part of Freudian sociology was unacceptable to the students of society. From there we progressed to descriptions of cultures based on the literature. For each culture we attempted to identify the factors, both institutionalized and informal but none the less stereotyped, which seemed to be the most formative for individuals in that society. It was a good exercise, but there was no opportunity to check our conclusions. Were individuals predominantly what we might suppose them to be from the institutions under which they lived, the childhood conditioning they received, the values they shared, the goals for which they strove?

Too often descriptive material gathered with other ends in view gave no data on points which seemed vital, and none of them gave an adequate description of character structure and its dynamics. We had talked ourselves out, and only field work could test the procedure.

122 Dr. Kardiner at this point contributed funds to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia which that Council supplemented to permit me to undertake field work. Meanwhile, he continued the seminar with Dr. Linton for the two years that I was away, and from these four years' experience Dr. Kardiner wrote *The Individual and His Society*. In the meantime, others in the field of depth psychology and anthropology were working eagerly on the *rapprochement* between these two fields, to the mutual benefit of both disciplines. Historians, sociologists, and political scientists contributed also to the breadth and depth of inquiries in this area. Increasingly pertinent questions were asked and increasingly satisfactory solutions suggested. Differences of viewpoint arose, as they will in any new, vigorous, and still inchoate discipline; but these differences served only to sharpen the sophistication of those who were convinced of the far-reaching practical as well as theoretical importance, for the modern world, of understanding what gives groups of people common character structures.

121 In looking for an area in which to pursue such studies, I searched for one in which gross pathologies were reported to be present, since it seemed to me at the time that by the very grossness of its manifestations pathology could be more clearly understood than normality. Siberia, with its Arctic hysteria, and the East Indies, with lata and amok, suggested themselves. Linguistically, climatically, and politically the Indies seemed more practical than Siberia. Consultation with Dr. Kennedy at Yale and Dr. Josselin de Jong at the University of Leyden led me to select the island of Alor for field work. Actually, Alor provided neither of the Indonesian pathologies which I had anticipated, but the culture was immediately so interesting and challenging, so little affected by European contacts, that my preconceptions were fortunately swept aside.

122 When the choice of field fell upon the Netherlands Indies, I began studying Dutch and then, via Dutch, Malay, which is the *lingua franca* of the area. Neither language went very fast until I reached Alor in 1938. There I was forced to use what passed for Dutch with the seven or eight Netherlands officials on the island. Ali, the Javanese boy I had brought from Batavia, understood only Malay. For better or for worse both languages had to be used and in them I developed fluency if not elegance.

123 Ali stayed for only six months before returning to his family in Java. Like myself he was a foreign influence in the village, which, for my purposes, was best left as little disturbed as possible. He was, more-

over, a gentleman of wealth and prestige to the Alorese, and he was a 123
Moslem. It was evident that the villagers had an eye for litigation where
their women were concerned, and that was a source of trouble it
seemed wise to avoid. To Ali I entrusted all the care of establishing a 112
household in an island unfamiliar and remote to us both. This duty he
discharged with such skill, tact, and devotion that I have never lived
so carefree a domestic existence in areas replete with what pass for
civilized conveniences. To Ali was entrusted also the training of five
Alorese boys, one from each of the five villages in the valley where I
worked. Five boys may seem an excessive staff, but in this way no one of [15]
them had too much unaccustomed work, and each was free to play a
normal part in village affairs, and I had the inestimable advantage of an
informant and host in each community. Also, as I learned later, the
impartial distribution of cash wages stood me in good stead.

The choice of the village in which I was to work involved long ses- 121
sions with the radjah of Alor and several horseback trips into the in- 123
terior. When I chose Atimelang, the radjah was obviously reluctant.
He feared and distrusted these savage mountaineers who had been em-
broiled in the murder of his uncle, the former radjah, some twenty
years before. His "kapitan," however, was willing to vouch for my
safety, and two hours after the decision was reached, I had purchased
the corn crop growing on the land where my house was to be built
overlooking the dance place. The floor plan of the kind of house I had
designed in terms of local building ability was staked out—a veran-
dah, a living room, two bedrooms, and a store room. To one side was
to be the kitchen and bath house. From the hill rising sharply back of
the village, water was to be brought in a bamboo "aqueduct" from a
spring which was reported to flow all year. I was assured that in two
weeks the miracle would be wrought. When the Dutch controleur re-
turned at the end of two weeks with me and the twenty-eight carriers,
the house was not completed; it had barely been started. The contro-
leur had to go back but I stayed on in the government rest shack to see
the job through. The next two weeks of cajolery improved my Malay
and gave me a start at the local language.

This language had not been studied before and, of course, had no 126
written form. It seemed useful to give it some name, so I called it Abui, [10]
which is the word the local people used to designate themselves as
opposed to the coastal people. From the beginning vocabularies and
texts were taken down phonetically, and by the time that autobiograph-
ical material was recorded a year later, I was able to translate directly

126 into English as the informants gave their life histories, although I never felt sufficiently secure in the language to dispense with the translation into Malay which Fantoe, the interpreter, furnished. Myths and other tales were recorded in Abui and given interlinear translations in English which I later checked with Fantoe in Malay. Certainly the linguistic handicaps were great and only incessant care reduced the possibilities of gross errors.

123 With the completion of the house, the village assisted me in discharging the obligations of a house-building feast. The slaughter of two pigs and a goat clearly indicated that this was a house deserving a lineage name. At the all-night dance preceding the feast, the chief, after considerable deliberation with me, decided Hamerika was suitable. Here a peculiar linguistic feature entered. When I was asked the name of my lineage, I said that I came from America. In Abui this name means "your" Merica and became a gracious gesture of hospitality to the chief. He then called the house "her" Merica (Hamerica). My nation and their lineage concepts were all satisfactorily blended, unfortunately through sheer misunderstanding.

A daily "clinic" served further to acquaint me with the people and, more importantly, to acquaint the people with me. My first patient was Rilpada the Seer. By good luck two old ulcers healed rapidly under daily treatment and thereafter we exchanged the courtesies of two medical specialists. He sent me people with wounds, infections, fevers, and intestinal ailments. I sent him people who needed charms or cures for supernatural ills. Daily I bathed infections, dispensed quinine or castor oil or aspirin, and gradually even the women and children were sufficiently used to my touch to forgive me the size of my body, the [[86] whiteness of my skin, and the blue eyes, which looked so frighteningly blind to them. That my nose was long and sharp was, however, to the very end of my stay, a never-ending source of merriment. That I took no offense at their amusement they discovered only later and to the considerable relief of the older persons concerned with the proprieties.

Gradually life assumed a familiar and intimate character, as it will in any village the world over. The Dutch on the coast rarely entered my mind, except twice a month when one of the boys went to meet the mail boat and make small purchases at the Chinese store. The people of Atimelang no longer found me their chief source of entertainment, and, although I could never wander about unnoticed, at least I was ignored when engrossing matters were afoot. My awkwardness in handling a betel quid was always a chance for diversion. The chemi-

The clumsiness of my dance steps was politely ignored and when my hair grew 123 [302]
too long, some friendly neighbor would tell me that it was the custom in their villages for respectable women to keep their hair short.

It is therefore to these friends in Alor, to their shrewd but tolerant 008
acceptance of my peculiarities and to their vigorous engrossment in their own affairs that any contributions which this volume may make to an understanding of the varieties of human character are primarily due.

To the kindness and interest of many other persons I am also indebted, since no ethnographer undertakes field work without making many new friendships and incurring innumerable obligations to both new friends and old ones. The work reported in this volume is no exception. My greatest obligations for both intellectual stimulus over a number of years and financial assistance on this field trip are gratefully acknowledged to Dr. A. Kardiner. To Dr. Ruth Benedict, who made possible the professional backing and financial support of the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University, I am again indebted as I have been so frequently in the course of professional work. Dr. Ralph Linton was kind enough to place at my disposal his joint seminar with Dr. Kardiner during the winter of 1939-40. The spirited discussion of field data by this group is a debt difficult to acknowledge adequately.

At the University of Leyden, Professor Josselin de Jong was a consistently kind and helpful adviser, a role he continued to play by mail throughout my sojourn in the Indies. It is difficult to thank sufficiently the many officials of the colonial government in the Netherlands East Indies, without whose intelligent and forbearing assistance there might have been insurmountable difficulties. This debt is particularly great to Assistant-Resident Koster of Timor and to Dr. and Mrs. Bruynis of Alor. Their hospitality, unfailing helpfulness, and consistent solicitude made my residence during the first year on Alor a singularly happy one. The missionary, Mr. Fuenekes, was distinguished for his tolerance toward an ethnographer, whose presence in any primitive community is apt to fortify interest in customs that missionaries try to combat.

Dr. Margaret Mead, Dr. Gregory Bateson, and Dr. Bruno Klopfer provided encouragement and guidance. Dr. Porteus gave unstintingly 125
of his time and interest in evaluating the maze test which bears his name.

To Dr. Emil Oberholzer no adequate acknowledgment can be made for the heroic energies he invested in evaluating the Rorschach data. 000 Fortunately Dr. Oberholzer is generous enough to find compensation in the contributions his work makes to the advancement of our knowledge of human behavior.

Dr. R. H. Lowie, whose critical acumen and broad interests have been an inspiration to so many generations of students, was good enough to lend these assets to the reading of parts of the manuscript. To the Department of Anthropology at the University of California I am grateful not only for my original training in ethnology but also for the working space furnished me during the summer of 1940. Mrs. Seger's prolonged efforts in typing and retyping the manuscript have greatly facilitated the arduous task involved in preparing this book.

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To Margaret Wing I owe a debt of gratitude for the time, the skill, and the excellent advice she contributed during the final preparation of the manuscript. Without her unstinted enthusiasm and confidence in this endeavor during the last frantic weeks, this volume would have been delayed even longer.

C.D.

March 1944

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He sees his mother gossiping with another woman.

He goes to her and throws himself on the ground kicking and screaming.

The mother laughs, picks him up, but does not feed him.

Padafan sees a toy balloon that I gave some older children.

He says, "Mo" (give), one of the few words he has mastered.

It is his! He immediately examines the ear of this cat-faced balloon.

He nurses on it to the delight of older children.

The Alorese prize mokos above everything else.

His young sister in a carrying shawl, a boy accompanies on the gongs the communal work of building a lineage house.

If gongs and mokos are beaten for days ahead of time, the sound will soften the hearts of debtors, and wealth will flow into the village at the forthcoming feast.

Accompanied by the beating of gongs and mokos, a pig and some corn arrive as a dowry payment preliminary to a larger death feast payoff.

In the morning three or four men butcher the pigs that will be used in the house-building feast that afternoon.

In the late afternoon each woman brings her basketry platter of food to display at a house-building feast.

In the late afternoon women arrive with rice baskets (*baleti*) in their carrying packs to display at a payoff feast.

A husband must greet his wife's kinsmen with derogatory remarks as they deliver a dowry payment.

Maliseni the Financier protests the payment being made him.

On the verandah of the gong house old men wait for advance tidbits of a pig that is being butchered for the afternoon's feast.

A crowd listens to an argument over a dowry payment.

Women privately gossiping over the value of a dowry payment.

606 Boys furnish a musical accompaniment on gongs and mokos to the communal labor involved in building a lineage house.

The largest currency display of two seasons was made at the tumukun's death feast payoff (*baleti*) for his father-in-law.

Children hurrying home in their raincapes of a late afternoon.

The third morning of a divorce debate.

The people of Atimelang prefer their circle dances (*lego-lego*) to last from dusk to dawn.

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A village guardian spirit (*ulenai*) to which a pig and rice have just been sacrificed.

Fanseni Longhair carves a village guardian spirit figure.

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Fantan's attire is influenced by his contacts with a foreign culture.

In full regalia this man strikes a pose that he considers suitable.

This pseudo-Semitic type is often found on Alor.

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An affectionate delousing scene.

Part 1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

The Problem

STUDIES of primitive peoples have been put to almost as many uses as 000 there are theories in the social and psychological sciences. Essentially the problems of anthropology are the same as those of the other sciences dealing with human beings. Anthropology differs from these only in its subject matter, which is primarily the cultures of nonliterate peoples. This subject matter is of paramount importance, however, since it presents a series of independent attempts by men to live gregariously. 9

No culture values equally all human potentialities; rather every culture selects certain of them and rejects others in order to create its own particular configuration. This point of view has long been a platitude to most anthropologists, but the other sciences, naturally, have been slower in reaching the conclusion that cultures are selective: that some stress maternal care, some value competition, some are preoccupied with sex, and still others with the acquisition of wealth, and that the resultant personalities are conditioned accordingly.

History and the biological sciences were among the first to draw on the findings of anthropology. Now sociologists, economists, and psychologists of many persuasions are making use of the data which anthropologists bring back from the field. Needless to say, influences have been mutual. This volume is directed primarily toward the relationship |2| between anthropology and psychology, and it has leaned on the techniques and concepts of several schools of psychological thought. Because of the financial nature of the culture discussed, economists should find much of interest here, and the implications seem fertile also for sociology.

It is accidental that these problems have been studied on an island of the Netherlands East Indies. That the Netherlands Indies now bulks 000 large on the political horizon should enhance interest in a study which was conceived and executed without regard to the present situation. It is also accidental, but none the less instructive, that the island of Alor should have a culture that at first sight seems almost to caricature some of the salient values of our own.

The primary purpose of this book is to discuss the relationship be- |2| tween people and their institutions in a village complex called Atime-

121 ing on the island of Alor. This is not an exercise in the esoteric, but rather an attempt to understand a problem so basic that our own social development will continue to be faltering and awkward until the questions involved are clearly understood. In its simplest form the question is: Why is an American different from an Alorese? That they are different is a common sense conclusion, but explanations, from the climatic to the racial, have proved lamentably inadequate in the past. The explanations to be investigated here do not categorically deny all factors previously used to explain such differences; instead they seek the subtle processes which research in the social sciences and the psychologies has formulated and which we may use for the time being as operational concepts.

With such a purpose it is evident that this book will not even approximate a complete cultural description, since it is not feasible to present here more than a selection of the material collected over a period of eighteen months. It should be complete enough, however, to represent the many contradictions inevitable in social institutions and personal lives, in order that any reader who may disagree with the conclusions will be in a position to dispute them from the documentation offered.

Certain assumptions and points of view should be clearly stated at the beginning. The most important of these for the purposes of this book is the concept of "modal personality." It is a relatively new one, for which a variety of terms have been devised and around which many views, both favorable and unfavorable, still cluster.* It seems desirable, therefore, to state as clearly as possible my personal formulation of modal personality.

First, I assume the psychic unity of mankind.† By this I mean that there are certain experiences and certain physiologically determined tensions, felt subjectively as desires, which no human being escapes, however differently he may seek to satisfy them and however different the level of satisfaction may be. Birth and death, growth and sexual desire, fatigue, laughter, and hunger are some of these experiences. No groups of people exist among whom these factors — and many others which it would be pointless to enumerate — are known to be congenitally absent. The Freudians have stressed sex among such tensions; others may be of equal importance.

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* A discussion on basic personality, for example, is found in Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939). The works of Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Ralph Linton, Karen Horney, and Eric Fromm (to name only a few outstanding investigators in this area) all bear more or less directly on the concept of modal personality.

† The evidence for this assumption need not be recapitulated here. For a discussion of it see Cora Du Bois, "Some Anthropological Perspectives on Psychoanalysis," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 24:252–54 (1937).

For our purposes the interest lies in the way such experiences are met. For example, all human beings feel hunger. In our society a man may be satisfied by eating toast and coffee at eight, a salad and dessert at midday, and a three-course meal of carefully balanced foods at seven. In Alor a person may satisfy his hunger with two handfuls of boiled corn and greens after sunrise and a calabash full of rice and meat at a feast in the late afternoon, with casual nibblings between times. That both men have felt the pangs of hunger and possess means of satisfying them seems to be as important as the way they did it, perhaps even more important. The point is that the basic similarities of human beings the world over are the foundation on which I believe any comparative study of culturally determined personality structuring must rest. This is a basic assumption.

A discussion of the superstructure raised on such foundations in Alor may give the impression that we are more concerned with the differences than with the similarities among human beings. To an extent this is true. But differences are profitably examined only within a single and true category. If an Alorese and an American were fundamentally and categorically different psychological beings, any problem of differentiation would be a false one. In addition, the ethnologist, who is forced to use himself and his human experience as instruments of investigation, would find himself without means of approaching the subject matter.

Modal personality, then, is the product of the interplay of fundamental physiologically and neurologically determined tendencies and experiences common to all human beings acted upon by the cultural milieu, which denies, directs, and gratifies these needs very differently in different societies. We are very intimately concerned, therefore, with the adaptive processes in human beings, and until we know what these are and how they function, the manipulation of institutions qua institutions will at best remain inept, and at worst may result in the destruction of the very ends desired.

The study of adaptive processes is related to the research done by psychologists in learning and conditioning, but as it is here conceived, adaptation is more inclusive than either or both as they have so far been investigated. Furthermore, adaptive processes continue to function throughout life. In any investigation such a problem, particularly when linked to the question of social interactions, cannot be considered solved when it is traced genetically to some single childhood experi-

121 ence. The changing influences during growth are met by changing resources in the individual. These must be carefully traced. As Kardiner has said, "It means a different thing to the growing child to get excellent maternal care during the first five years than it does to get the same care limited to the first two years. And the reason is that the resources of an individual at two are different from those at five." An infant who is on a four-hour feeding schedule has been given a very different initial attitude toward food from that of the infant who is offered the breast whenever it is restless. This does not mean, however, that this single experience, alone, will determine the adult's attitude toward food. It is important to stress that a single experience, traumatic or otherwise, is rarely sufficient in itself to explain the whole adult personality. Repeated experiences in different behavioral, value, and institutional contexts are essential to create personality constellations of such force and consistency that they become apparent to the ethnologist, who, with the best will in the world, can never have more than superficial insight into peoples of an alien culture.

In a study of the modal personality in any culture, the task consists of tracing through with as much consistency as possible the repeated and standardized experiences, relationships, and values which occur in many contexts and to which most individuals are exposed during various stages of their development, when their resources vary. Important as childhood experiences may be, they do not exclusively determine the mature character of the individual.

It is evident from the foregoing that the concept of modal personality is an abstraction and a generalization, comparable, for instance, to those made by anthropologists on the physical level when defining race. This means that the modal personality will not necessarily coincide precisely with the psychological structure of every individual in the society, except as an individual may accidentally approximate the norm.

The importance of this point is that when one operates with the modal personality concept, one is in no way attempting to reduce individuals to a level of uniformity. My own inclination, founded not on scientific proof but on impressions, goes so far as to admit the possibility of innate personality types. Some ethnologists have claimed that individual variations are less pronounced in primitive groups than in our own more complex society. It is quite possible that some societies permit the individual less leeway and pattern him more highly than do other societies. But in Alor both the results of test material and my own impressions indicate a wide range of variations. Ranges, however, are measured on a common base line. On such a base line data will show central tendencies that constitute the modal personality for any particular culture. This volume will deal, all too impressionistically, with both the range and the central tendencies of personality in Alor, and in addition it will attempt to explain the genesis of the central tendencies. 121

The following, then, are my assumptions: First, there is a psychic substructure, perhaps physiologically determined, which is common to mankind. Second, this may be further elaborated by individual, innate personality trends. Third, these potentialities are acted upon by common cultural pressures and result in central tendencies to which the term *modal personality* has been assigned. It might be added parenthetically that when this type of study is made more frequently and with greater refinement, much light will probably be shed upon these assumptions and their validity.

The question of procedure arises in trying to isolate the modal personality type from among all these more or less justified assumptions. First, the definition of common and characteristic factors of personality in any culture might be established by a series of psychological tests and observations of cross-cultural applicability. Here we are faced immediately by the limitations of such techniques. There is need for further research along these lines, and fortunately the psychologists of many schools, as well as the anthropologists and the sociologists, are increasingly aware of this frontier area. 000✓

However, the task of working with modal personality is not only a descriptive one; it is even more importantly a dynamic one. Here cultural analyses, combined with the better established psychological processes of the analytic school, come to our assistance. One criterion, in my opinion, of the success of such a psycho-cultural synthesis is the range and variety of phenomena that can be brought into coherent relationship. If, for example, one can establish a coherent trend in methods of infant feeding, in sex attitudes, in attitudes toward food, economic activities, sacrifices and myths, in such a fashion that it has meaning on both cultural and psychological levels, then one will have achieved a functional synthesis of unusual importance for the comprehension of cultural processes. In determining how and to what degree social forms may be invested with emotion and how emotional investments may be transferred from one social form to another, we shall have made significant advances in understanding cultural change and stability. Only when we have some comprehension of the link between institutions which the individuals bearing those institutions may make on an emotional level, shall we begin to grasp the repercussions involved in social alterations. 121

128 In the work that ensues I have reversed the descriptive and analytic procedure because it seemed easier in that fashion to make the picture clear. Therefore Part 2 will try to account for the modal personality in Atimelang, and Parts 3 and 4 will consist of autobiographies and test materials, which are essentially descriptive in purpose.

000 One final caution. A psycho-cultural synthesis such as the one in Part 2 is inevitably no better than the observer. Judgment in this respect must rest with the reader. In the autobiographical data there is less likelihood of distortion by the ethnographer, although it is obvious that his personality and that of the informant have acted selectively. In tests the distortion resulting from the observer's personality is almost entirely eliminated, although there is still some selectivity because certain natives are unwilling to offer themselves as subjects. When test material is interpreted by persons knowing nothing of the culture, as was the case with the Rorschach and Porteus tests as well as the children's drawings, the chances of distortions introduced unconsciously by the field worker are reduced still further. When one considers the inadequacy that still exists in training and techniques for such problems, as well as the complexity of the problem, a total correlation between a psycho-cultural synthesis, autobiographies, and test material would appear highly unlikely. If they corroborated each other only partially, I should consider the result gratifying. The discrepancies will be equally important since they may reveal either inadequacies of techniques or actual inconsistencies or diversities within the culture.

128 One concluding comment should be made. Although psychological matters are discussed repeatedly, I have tried throughout to avoid psychological terminology. This terminology has become so fraught with different connotations in the minds of both the layman and the specialist that to use it would serve only to confuse. There is, however, one exception; I have used the word *ego*. By this I mean that function of the personality which adjusts, with greater or lesser adequacy, the instinctive drives of the individual to the demands of the environment.

AN ELABORATION BY ABRAM KARDINER

000 The description of the customs and practices of primitive society can be put to a large number of different uses. One of these is to study the relationship between the individuals that compose the society, the institutions under which they are molded and live, and finally the relationship of the institutions to each other. When such an enterprise meets with a measure of success, these data can become the groundwork of a basic social science. The difficulties of such an undertaking are very

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great indeed. In previous studies I have undertaken with the kind collaboration of several anthropologists we were confronted mainly with the problem of incomplete material. If by completeness is meant an exhaustive ethnographic account which covers all phases of the lives of the individuals who compose the society, a history of the society as far back as it is traceable, and a series of biographies of both sexes of varying statuses and ages, then even the material in this book must be considered incomplete. However, in comparison with previous studies the material presented in this volume is the most complete for the purpose of studying the relationship between personality and culture that I have ever encountered.

The history of the endeavor to study the relationship between culture and personality is not a very long one. The need for it was foreseen as far back as 1913.*

Dr. Ruth Benedict, in her *Patterns of Culture*, established the fact that such an endeavor could yield important orientations for the comparative study of human society, though much in her assumptions and technique is open to some question. My own endeavors, incorporated in a recent book, *The Individual and His Society*, were based upon the application of psychoanalytic principles. In contrast to the procedure of Freud, whose chief operational concept was that of instinct and whose chief orientation was historical, the procedure followed in my book is somewhat different. Here the orientation is that of an ego psychology in which the operational concept is not the instinctive drive but the integrational units or action systems through which the drive is consummated. Furthermore, the orientation is systematic rather than historical. This does not mean the exclusion of a historical orientation, because the study of all integrational systems must be genetic and therefore historically oriented.

The present study, although it supplies us with very scant historical background, is most complete in that it fills in gaps left in other studies by the absence of biographies. These biographies, moreover, not only give us an opportunity to check on the reliability of the conclusions drawn from the previous studies, but also furnish us with new orientations for the study of culture and personality.

The present study by Dr. Du Bois was undertaken with the fore-

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* Constructive efforts in this direction were begun by Goldenweiser, Malinowski, Sapir, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Ralph Linton, and Lloyd Warner. On the side of psychology the first effort of this kind was made by Freud in 1911 in his *Totem and Taboo*, and later in his *Civilization and Its Discontents* and *The Future of an Illusion*. His work was followed by Theodor Reik, Géza Róheim, and most recently by myself.

890 knowledge that biographical material was essential to prove the contention that institutions affected and molded the growth of the individual in certain prescribed directions. Moreover, such biographical studies can furnish us with the opportunity to observe the interplay of needs and institutions within the individual and enable us to pursue the results of these impacts on the integrative processes in the individuals concerned. Such interplay cannot be detected either by the observer who is accustomed to the interplay in his own society or from the study of the institutions by themselves. Unless such conclusions are based upon the study of biographies, any conclusions drawn from the study of institutions alone must fall into the category of guesses, more or less approximate.

An additional feature of Dr. Du Bois' work is that the conclusions drawn from the institutional interrelationships and the interplay between man and institutions is backed up by other psychological techniques, notably the Rorschach test. Although the information yielded by this test may be different in kind from that supplied by the study of institutions and biographies, its conclusions should stand comparison with those derived by other techniques.

In her presentation of the material at the seminars at Columbia University Dr. Du Bois exercised great caution to avoid the possibility of collusion, unconscious or otherwise, between the several operators, and in this way to prevent the abuse of her material to prove a theory. Dr. Oberholzer was acquainted neither with the technique that I pursued nor with its conclusions, nor did I know what the conclusions of the Rorschach tests were likely to be. When these conclusions were finally presented, the correspondence between the characteristics common to all Alorese and the reconstructions of the "basic personality structure" * was truly remarkable. Furthermore, the differences between Alorese and Western man demonstrated by the Rorschach test were equally striking. The procedure therefore in studying this culture was (1) presentation of the institutional setup; (2) analysis of the basic personality structure; (3) study of biographies; and (4) analysis of the Rorschach tests.

* This concept was first described in *The Individual and His Society*. Though the concept has been used by others it has been used under different names, such as *modal personality*, *tribal personality*, *average personality*, and *summary personality*. There will probably be several more names. The use of these various names to describe the same concept is decidedly confusing. The original name was chosen because it described most facets of its connotation, since the concept is structural and basic, genetic and integrative. Obviously all these connotations cannot be inscribed in one word.

Since one of the uses of this material is to see whether individuals who grow up under the influence of similar institutions produce personality traits that resemble each other within a certain range, a more precise definition of the concept of basic personality structure is in order. This concept is nothing more than a common sense conclusion. We quite naturally expect an Eskimo to be different from a Marquesan. We assume this to be the case because they have each lived under different conditions. Our concept tries to define precisely just what these conditions are and just what these differences are. Common sense takes us only a short distance along the road of defining these differentiae. In a general way we know that customs have something to do with the variation. 610

The concept of basic personality structure is founded on certain observations concerning formation of the adaptive weapons of man by a process of growing, learning, and by certain laws concerning integrative processes as influenced by various factors, especially failure and success. By growth we mean the alteration in adaptive capacity. The operational value of this concept is sustained by certain assumptions. First, that the need for nutriment and conditions for maintaining body temperature are quite uniform to all men. Second, that certain drives directed toward such goals as sex and prestige are universal but variable and hence can be played up or down in different societies. Third, that there are certain types of need which are entirely social in character, namely, the need for approval, recognition, esteem, affection, and so forth. Our assumptions therefore concern certain universal biological needs, drives, and other needs which are not so constant but which can be encouraged or played down in any given society. One of the ways in which a series of differentials can be established in the comparative study of culture is to see exactly how these drives, impulses, and needs are controlled, satisfied, frustrated, substituted, and channelized. A secondary series of variables can then be charted which indicate the consequences engendered by the controlling procedures, how they are resolved, and what are the secondary effects of these now completed constellations on the future working through of the personality.

In order to satisfy this program there is another variable that must be counted upon, namely, that no two individuals in the same society are alike; that is, they each have an individual *character*. This would make it appear that it is erroneous to speak of a basic personality structure where there are so many variations in character. But it must be remembered that these variations in character are all to be construed as different reactions to the same situation. Each individual is

658- presented with these cultural influences by individuals all of whom are different. No two individuals subjected to exactly the same cultural influences will utilize them in exactly the same manner. This can be very clearly seen in the study of twins in our own society. In other words, the concept of basic personality structure describes an ambit within which the character of the individual is molded. Furthermore, it is a genetic concept, for it can be arrived at only through the study of influences imposed on the individual synchronously with his growth. For example, it means a different thing to the growing child to get excellent maternal care during the first five years than it does to get this same care limited to only the first two years. And the reason is that the resources of the individual at two are different from those at five. A child upon whom no sexual restraints are imposed, explicitly or by implication, at any time during his growing period will have a different conception of himself and of the activity in question than a child who is subjected to an endless series of implied and explicit prohibitions. The constant that we are dealing with here is the presence of the sexual impulse. The variables are how this impulse is controlled. The result is that the individual develops certain attitudes consequent upon the entire constellation. These now become his operating weapons, at least as regards this impulse. But such isolation hardly ever exists. Attitudes developed in connection with the sexual impulse are rarely if ever limited to it alone, because attitudes thus engendered have a tendency to spread. A general modification in the ego takes place, and perceptions of the outer world acquire aspects other than those of the situation which gave rise to them.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of operating with the concept of basic personality structure is the one which deals with the identification of integrative units. There are two viewpoints that can be adopted in dealing with these integrative units. The first is a historical orientation, and the second a systematic orientation. These two viewpoints are based upon two different interpretations of the influence of the past on the individual. The historical orientation assumes that a given incident, or series of incidents, in childhood leads to certain reactions which then acquire a momentum such as we assume in the operation of habit. The systematic point of view is less rigid. It assumes that an incident of the past does condition the individual in a certain way, but that this conditioning is not limited to the particular situation which gave rise to it. It influences the personality as a whole and has been instrumental in creating a new kind of individual who sees the world in a certain way and behaves toward it accordingly. In other words, a systematic approach to the concept of integration does away with the assumption of habit formation, which is essentially tautological. The concept "habit" assumes that its continuation depends on a kind of momentum; the systematic treatment of integration assumes that the entire action system, which includes perceptual, coordinative, and executive constituents, has been modified and that the reaction which appears *habitual* is adaptive, even though automatized.

The technique for applying the concept of basic personality structure consists of *following the fate* of certain key integrational systems. In the present state of our knowledge this series is likely to be incomplete, for we have learned how to follow only a few of these integrational systems with assurance. Those we have learned to follow with some thoroughness are the ones which we are acquainted with through the study of neuroses and character defects.

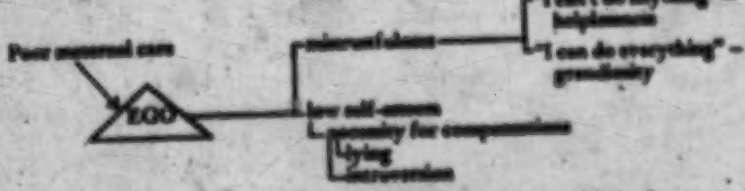
To illustrate this technique let us choose a series of conditions with the idea of outlining the resulting integrational systems. Let us begin with a society where maternal care is inadequate. This term *inadequate* immediately leads us to a question. How can one standardize *adequacy* or *inadequacy* of maternal care? To judge by our own society the question of maternal care would hardly seem a point of departure; it so happens that in our society maternal care is by comparison exceedingly good. The function of this care is to permit the most favorable development of adaptive patterns compatible with the child's resources at any given time. *Maternal care is adequate if it is synchronous with the increase in these resources.*

If we bear in mind that the human infant is an organism with very limited capacity for independent adaptation, then we can form a general idea of what good maternal care is likely to be. First of all it is a question of *feeding*. Is it enough in quantity? Are the conditionings *devoid of confusion?* (The importance of this can easily be shown if the *feeding person is frequently changed*, in which instance the child has to become accustomed to new body odors, shape of breast, character of nipple, and so forth.) *Adequate feeding*, in other words, does not mean merely a sufficient number of calories put into the stomach, because even in the nursing period conditions can *favor* or *disfavor* the active continuation of the nursing process. A child may get sufficient calories, but the conditioning, if it is confusing, will cause a disturbance in the whole feeding complex. Good maternal care includes consistency; that is, certain tensions arising in the child can arouse certain anticipations of *relief* or *failure* of it. Moreover, feeding includes such things as *fondling*, handling, coaxing, and playing. All these are factors

Op which encourage the child to response and also to new enterprise. We can see therefore that poor maternal care can be centered not about the question of calories but about the consistency with which the child can expect the mother to relieve not only hunger but also the tensions related to it.

Once we have decided that maternal care is poor and have isolated the particular conditions responsible for it, we can then trace the effect of this situation upon the integrational system pertaining to the mother. Let us use for our illustration the case in which maternal care is good until eighteen months and then changes abruptly. The result is first that the conception of the mother changes from good to bad. This means that certain expectations previously freely entertained must now be suppressed and compensatory activities invented. The failure of this latter must give rise to anger toward the mother, which must likewise be suppressed. Then follows an alteration of the child's conception of itself with respect to its mother, namely, the feeling of not being loved, a lowering of self-esteem, and either an increase in its independence or an accentuation of dependency. In the latter we have an instance of the end result of a certain integrational unit which from the same situation can terminate in at least two different ways—an individual of increased enterprise and independence can result, or one with diminished enterprise. This characteristic is now utilized not only with respect to the mother but to a great many other situations having no relation to her in any way.

In other words, the concept of basic personality structure is genetically oriented but permits systematic treatment at any time in the life trajectory of the individual. The whole matter can be schematically represented thus:


Poor maternal care
EGO
mistrust of others
"I can't do anything"—helplessness
"I can do everything"—grandiosity
low self-esteem
necessity for compensations
lying
introversion

The character trait mistrustfulness may originate with bad maternal care, accentuated by the persistent lying and misrepresentation of other elders. The trait mistrustfulness now becomes a defensive attitude which is no longer related to the mother alone but has become an organization point for new adaptive maneuvers. If the attitude becomes "I cannot trust anyone," there may be a reinforcement of the attitude "I must do everything myself." This may lead to an exaggeration of self-esteem or a lowering of it, depending upon success or failure.

This is a general indication of the procedure to be followed. As has been pointed out in another place, no single event in childhood can be unequivocally made responsible for traits in the adult unless it is subsequently reinforced. In other words, in dealing with the concept of basic personality structure we must become accustomed to identifying both reinforcing elements and elements that effect the cancellation of attitudes previously established.

The concept of basic personality structure can be confirmed through the study of the autobiographies. In this connection it must be remembered that this concept is a modal concept. This means that when a given integrational system is investigated in eight individuals, certain variations will appear. These variations are due to the variations in individual reactions to the same situations and to the fact that the institutions are conveyed by the behavior of specific individuals. For example, the institutionalized behavior of the mother to the child may be conditioned by her economic activities. The mother may, however, have many excellent surrogates in the form of relatives who happen to be living in the same village. The resulting effects on the child will be different in this case than if the mother had no dependable substitutes. Or the father may be generally weak and passive; however, if the father is strong and enterprising the effect on the growing boy will be different in each case. But, in addition, this factor will exert a polarizing influence on the factor of maternal care.

Notwithstanding all these variations, the development of character in Alor is contained within a certain orbit prescribed by the institutions.

Chapter 2

The Setting

131 ALOR is a small and obscure island in the Netherlands East Indies. It lies
directly north of central Timor at the end of that long string of land
fragments called the Lesser Sundas. More specifically, it is 8 degrees
south of the equator and between 124 degrees and 125 degrees longi-
tude east of Greenwich. This places it about halfway between Java and
New Guinea in an east-west line and about halfway between Australia
and Celebes in a north-south line.

132 Alor's climate and vegetation reflect its proximity to the Australian
land mass. There are prevailing southeast and northwest winds, with
severe monsoon storms as the winds change. The wet season begins
with a few thunder showers at the end of October, then works up to a
crescendo in January, February, and March, when rains fall in a steady
downpour each afternoon, sending spates rushing down the deeply
221 gouged river canyons. This is the period of planting and intensive
weeding.

[132] With the gradual cessation of the rains the temperature falls slightly,
and as the rainy season ends, first corn, then rice and beans are har-
vested. Later still comes the sweet potato season. By the end of the dry
season the whole countryside is brown and parched, and finally many
of the springs and small rivers dry up. The only important crop of this
period is cassava. At this time natives burn over the land to destroy the
weeds they have been cutting in their fields and to drive wild pig for
communal hunts. Little survives the annual burning-over except euca-
157 lyptus trees and a kind of blady grass known throughout the Indies as
alang alang.

Alor is therefore not lush jungle country. Rich tropical growth is
found only in the ravines where there is moisture the year round and
where the land is too steep for cultivation—and to natives, land too
steep for cultivation means nothing short of the perpendicular.

133 The terrain is so precipitous that one drops easily into accepting it
134 as an explanation for the remarkable diversity of language and culture
on this small island. Alor is only about fifty miles long and thirty wide,
but it supports a native population of approximately seventy thousand,
[47] who speak innumerable dialects of at least eight different languages.
101 Abui is the name given the language of the area from which most of
the subsequent descriptive data were drawn. It is fifty miles from the

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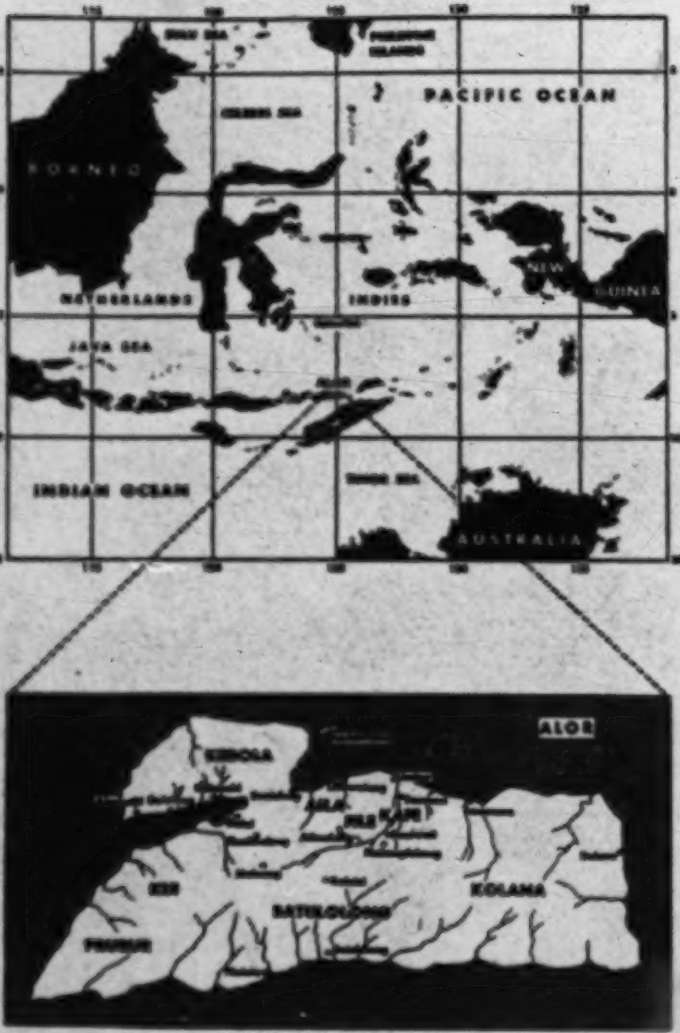
PACIFIC OCEAN
BORNEO
NEW GUINEA
NETHERLANDS
INDIES
JAVA SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
ALOR
KOLANA

Yadjah Ships

It is fifty miles from the
101 port of Kalabahi on the western bay to Kolana on the east coast, but by [illegible] pushing himself a native can walk the distance in some four days. The usual time allowed by officials on horseback is five. It does not seem improbable, therefore, that linguistic variation has been fostered by the difficulty of communication.

101 184 Culturally too, changes grade from one into the other as one passes from village to village. The only sharp demarcations are between the ten thousand coastal Mohammedans and the pagan mountain peoples of the interior. These two groups hold each other in mutual distrust and 648 175 fear. At the end of the nineteenth century Chinese merchants began trading on the coast. After the arrival of the first Dutch official in about 1908 coastal men have been designated as radjahs by the Dutch and have been given control over the interior. This control was only gradually extended and was considered by the Hollanders still to be in process, since Malay is not yet widely known in the interior and taxes are still reluctantly paid. Prior to the Hollanders' arrival no such areas of political organization existed; social control centered about kin and village groups. Certainly the coastal people exercised no power over the mountain population, despite brisk trade contacts at stipulated market places.

648 631 177 At present the island is divided into four radjahships: Alor proper (including the islands of Pura and Pantar), Kui, Batulolong, and Kolana. These political divisions cut across both culture and language. Under each radjah are kapitans who, with the assistance of a handful of field police, administer smaller districts. The principal functions of the radjahs and kapitans are collecting taxes and hearing litigations. A chief called the kepala (Malay for head) has been appointed for these tasks in each village, and groups of friendly villages have been unified under a headman called a tumukun. This hierarchy is a Dutch innovation, but it has been quite heartily accepted by the native population, with whom it functions successfully. The system of litigation, however, has been far more completely accepted than the system of taxation.

648 The government of the Netherlands East Indies is represented by a civil administrator of controleur rank and by a military authority of lieutenant's rank in charge of a garrison of some seventy Indonesian troops. Two or three patrols of fifteen men are constantly on the move through the island, often cutting across the most difficult terrain and always without announcing their route of travel. In addition there is a military doctor, who is responsible for the health of the entire population. He has a hospital in Kalabahi and a small corps of Indonesian assistants with limited training.

Lastly there is a Protestant missionary, whose task is largely adminis- 797
trative. Under him are the casually educated missionary teachers, called
gurus, who have been drawn mostly from other islands and who estab-
lish the actual proselytizing contacts with the mountain people. It is
they who give the rudimentary instruction in Malay and in the three
R's furnished in the twenty-five schools scattered throughout the high
country. Such a school was in existence from 1925 to 1931 in the vil- [87]
lage area to be discussed. Then the school disintegrated owing to the
hostility of the people to new gurus who replaced the original one.
After 1933 only wandering preachers passed through the area. Their
influence was minimal since they had no command of the local language
and scarcely twenty of the mountain boys understood Malay.

The material that follows in this volume is drawn from a group of 121
mountain people at Atimelang in the Barawahing district. This community lies above the northwest coast in the radjahship of Alor proper. It is only about five and a half miles from the port of Kalabahi as a crow flies, but by trail it is some fifteen miles, which take six to eight hours to cover on foot.

It is native custom in Alor to locate villages on mountain spurs and 361
crests. This formerly furnished some degree of safety in warfare, but [312]
it makes water a problem, since springs may be as many as several hundred feet below in the ravine. Villages are usually small; a large one seldom has more than one hundred and fifty inhabitants. Since the pacification of the island by the Netherlanders, there has been some pressure on the natives to move their villages into more accessible locations, preferably on level stretches near the main horse trails that have been built across the island for official use.

The Atimelang complex is such a transposed group. In 1918 the area 174
was embroiled in Alor's most serious war of pacification, which grew
out of the murder of the radjah. The government then insisted that the
five villages constituting the Atimelang complex move down from
the ridges to the floor of an enclosed valley, which gives the impression
of being an old volcanic crater. The floor of the valley is at an altitude 133
of some 1500 feet, and the surrounding crest of hills rises between 300
and 500 feet higher. Since in the tropics temperatures drop rapidly with 132
altitude, the thermometer registers usually between 70 and 80 degrees
Fahrenheit. During eighteen months of recordings the minimum temperature was 59 degrees and the maximum 86 degrees. The humidity, however, even when the rains are over, is surprisingly high, and during the dry months from June to October the unclad mountain people suffer appreciable discomfort from the cold.

144 Before going into detail about the nature of the Atimelang village complex, a few comments should be made on the physical type of its inhabitants. No generalizations are possible for the island as a whole. The Atimelangers are predominantly Oceanic Negroids although naturally strains of Oceanic Mongoloid blood may be detected. In any event, they cannot be thought of in terms of Indonesian populations. 142 Their physical composition has been studied by Dr. Brouwer,* and it is in part on his description that the next few statements are based. The average stature of males is about five feet one inch, that of females between four feet nine and four feet ten inches. Hair varies from wavy to kinky, skin color from light bronze to black, and red pigmentation in hair and skin is detectable in many individuals. Noses are short and of medium width, heads are long, and faces are often pentagonal. A com-[14]bination of features and stature suggests a pygmoid strain in many individuals.

161 There is no conclusive evidence that the population of Alor is increasing, although the government tax list shows an augmentation of about ten thousand in the last decade. It is quite probable that this represents only better census taking, not a true increase. But certainly the population is not decreasing; my own rather inadequate statistics from Atimelang indicate that four children per woman grow to adulthood. [165] This is more than enough to maintain the population level, despite a mortality rate of 48 per cent before adolescence. The excellent health 164 program instituted by the government has probably reduced the death rate; certainly smallpox epidemics no longer sweep the island as they once did. At present the most common diseases are dysenteries, respiratory infections, malaria, and yaws. The last, though seldom fatal, is extremely common in Atimelang, and few children escape the devastating skin lesions of its first stage. The possible effect on personality of these debilitating diseases, often suffered in acute form during childhood, is worth bearing in mind.

361 162 Atimelang is often called the Five Village district. It lies in large part within the valley described above and has a relatively dense population. Within a radius of about one mile there are some six hundred people scattered among four major villages and their offspring hamlets. On the eastern side of the valley lies Atimelang and its two hamlets of Folafeng and Faramasang, with a total population of approximately 180 inhabitants. Closely allied to Atimelang by intermarriage is Lawatika, the fifth village of the complex, with about 100 people. Its population is scattered through three hamlets lying on the difficult slopes of the

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*D. Brouwer, *Bijdrage tot de anthropologie der Aloreilanden* (Amsterdam, n.d.).

Limbur ravine below the valley floor. These villagers played a smaller 361
part than the others in my observations. 162

On the western side of the valley are three closely allied villages with contiguous boundaries: Dikimpe (both the old and new sites) and its hamlet of Maiyamasang with a population of 114, Alurkowati with 95 people, and Karieta with 56. The remaining 50 of the approximate total of six hundred people on the valley floor and adjacent slopes occupy isolated field houses or are quite constantly absent on visits to other communities.

Although the villages are not rigorously stereotyped in ground plan, 361
a general description can be given that covers the main features of all of them. Each village has from one to seven dance places, the number being roughly equivalent to the number of patrilineal lineages (*bieta*). On each dance place is located at least one of the large lineage houses (*kadang*), which is occupied by one branch only of the lineage. Around the edge of the dance place are the flat gravestones of the prominent dead of the community. From one dance place to another runs a narrow trail, along which other houses are sometimes strung.

Each village has a "head" and a "tail," where properly is located a carving of the village guardian spirit (*ulenai*). The gardens and fields run to the very eaves of the houses, and during the rainy season corn and tobacco frequently screen the houses from each other. The fields then spread outward to spots an hour or more distant from the main
village. Throughout these fields are temporary shelters, which are inhabited [342]
at the convenience of the owners. The tendency to decentralize habitation has undoubtedly been encouraged by the cessation of head-hunting in the last twenty years.

It is not necessary here to go into detail concerning either the social 361
implications of village planning or the structure and types of houses. 613
Neither of these aspects of living is rigorously formalized — a statement 591
that holds true for almost all phases of Atimelang life. However, a general picture is necessary for orientation. The lineage houses and dance places are manifestations of a primarily patrilocal residence and the basis of social clusterings. The outward expression of such social groupings around the lineage house are the other less pretentious buildings (*fala* and *tofa*), the guesthouse (*neng tofa*), and various spirit sheds of the family group.

The larger houses of the kadang and fala types are pyramidal thatched 342
structures raised on four piles protected by massive wooden disks, which prevent rats from climbing up the posts into the house. Beneath each house is a low verandah generally used for lounging but sometimes also

342 for feast cooking. Alongside, but still under the overhanging eaves, is
[417] the pigpen. From the verandah a ladder leads up through a hatchway
into a corridor, and from the corridor a doorway with a high threshold
opens into the main living room under the eaves. The right half of the
room, as one enters, is called the woman's half and the left, the man's.
The latter is on slightly longer posts, so that there is an imperceptible
slant to the floor, but there is no functional difference in the use of the
two halves of the house.

Above the living room are two lofts in which rice baskets and corn
bundles, as well as some valuables, are stored. Paralleling the entrance
corridor, on the opposite side of the living room and above the pigpen,
is another corridor, which is used as a privy. The flooring throughout
is made of slabs of split bamboo laid across widely spaced rafters, so
that it squeaks and sags as one moves.

354 The living room itself is divided down the center by a long, rectangular
hearth of earth enclosed in a wooden frame. Along the two
352 sides of the room where there are no doors, shelves are built under the
eaves. These are used for storage and sometimes as sleeping balconies.
513 Usually, however, the sleeping as well as the cooking is done in the
main room. At night pandanus sleeping mats are spread on the floor
with one end free to be pulled over the sleeper. Additional warmth is
secured by having a sleeping partner and by keeping the fire going.
342 The bamboo rafters and walls of the room are blackened with soot
354 from a fire that smolders day and night. The air is close with smoke and
the odor of human beings. In addition, the interior is so dark that it
usually takes a few seconds to adjust one's eyes to the gloom when one
comes in from the sunlight.

592 In each house there generally lives a biologic family supplemented
601 from time to time by other kin, bilaterally reckoned. In direct address
the tendency is to equate all kin of the same generation, however remote,
with siblings, all kin of the ascending generation with parents,
and all the descending generation with children. The kinship system is
of the simple Hawaiian type. There are three major kin groups whose
613 existence is not reflected in the nomenclature. First, there is the patrilineal
lineage called hieta plus a personal name prefix—Lethieta or
Maughieta for instance. There are about fifteen of these in the Atimelang
[621] district. No major village, excluding dependent hamlets, has less
than three or more than seven. Descendants of the eldest brother in a
lineage are grouped together under the term Eldest House (*fing fala*);
descendants of the youngest brother are called the Youngest House

(*kokda fala*); descendants of the other brothers are simply called middle 613
ones.

Second, there are the Male Houses (*neng fala*). This is a literal trans- 602
lation of the native term. Each individual has six Male Houses, which 604
will be designated in this volume as Male House I, Male House II, and 612
so on. These relationships are reckoned as follows: *Male House I*, the ego's mother's brother and male offspring; *Male House II*, father's Male House I (i.e., father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House III*, mother's Male House I (i.e., mother's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House IV*, father's Male House II (i.e., father's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House V*, mother's Male House II (i.e., mother's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House VI*, father's Male House III (i.e., father's mother's mother's brother and male descendants).

It becomes obvious at once that the mother's brother is the stressed
relationship but that it is stressed bilaterally with a slight weighting on
the paternal side. Another aspect of this kin group is that it includes 602
all the bilaterally reckoned lineages other than ego's for three ascending 612
generations on the father's side and two ascending generations on the
mother's side. It is to be noted that every son has slightly different Male
House affiliations from his father. The Male Houses function in ex- [764
change relationships especially in connection with death services. A full 437]
description of form and function must await subsequent publication.

Third, there is the Female House (*mayoa fala*). This is also a literal
translation of the native term. This is a group in which are included all
bilaterally reckoned kin who appear neither in the lineage nor in the
Male House. It is not subdivided as is the Male House group nor is
the concept so sharply defined. However, basically it hinges also on [604]
descendants of pairs of siblings, i.e., on the father's sister and the
mother's sister. In it are also included descendants through females of
Male House kin. The functions of this group are not sharply defined
but it is composed in a general way of the people on whom one may
call for supplementary assistance in ceremonial and financial exchanges.

There is no trace of brother and sister avoidance, nor are there for- [593]
malized joking or respect relationships. This negative point may have
importance for what follows, since one of the characteristic features of
life in Atimelang, as I see it, is the absence of formal structure, espe-
cially in interpersonal relationships.

According to the house-to-house census, the number of occupants 592
to a dwelling ranges from one to eight. In this, as in other phases of
social organization, there is no rigidity. Theoretically, residence is pat-

591 Theoretically, residence is patrilocal, yet there are several instances in which it is matrilocal. Theoretically too, the brothers of the family form the powerful or secure in-group and live around a common dance place as a lineage complex. Actually, brothers who cannot get along amicably will scatter. For example, Manifani of Dikimpe, as the eldest brother, lived on his lineage dance place in New Dikimpe; the second brother lived on the dance place of Old Dikimpe; the third had moved to the offspring hamlet of Dikimpe called Maiyamasang; and their two half brothers, by the same father but a different mother, lived at opposite ends of their mother's village of Atimelang. This example is not important in itself, but it does illustrate nicely the flexibility of residence that exists in practice. It can of course be balanced by several instances in which brothers follow the traditional pattern. Expediency and interpersonal relationships outweigh theory and dictate arrangements.

428 Expediency and the industry of the child also determine the inheritance of land; a child is usually given a garden plot as soon as he is old enough to work productively. Both men and women own fields inherited from their fathers or mothers.

262 Dry rice is in all probability the oldest staple of the area, but at pres-
ent maize has replaced it as the daily food and rice is reserved largely
for feasts. There is a local belief that "rice makes you fat and corn
[827] makes you strong." A fat body is the criterion of health. In addition to
rice and corn there is a large range of other foods, including millet,
beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, and a wide variety of tubers. Fruits
include oranges, mangoes, papayas, breadfruit, jack fruit, and many
kinds of bananas.

462 Theoretically, women are responsible for the cultivation and collec-
[422] tion of all vegetable foods, and theory is reinforced by giving them
ownership of all plant produce, regardless of the land and labor men
may have invested in its production. Men, on the other hand, control
436 the financial system and the three currencies through which it oper-
ates—pigs, gongs, and metal kettledrums called mokos. Arrows too are
used for money but only as small change. The monetary value of pigs
435 is highly inflated in relation to their consumption value. Their flesh is
262 rarely eaten except at feasts, in order that their value may be added to
the interminable and complex monetary accounting that is basic to
ceremonial procedure. In fact, should a pig be killed accidentally, a cere-
monial feast of one sort or another is improvised to justify its con-
sumption.

436 Of the three currencies, mokos are undoubtedly the coin of the realm. They range through unequal steps from the value of one rupiah

(50 cents) to that of 3000 rupiahs ($1500).* Pigs are usually estimated 436
in terms of moko values. Thus a pig (*fe*) is called a Piki fe, meaning it is worth a Piki moko, or in East Indies currency, about 5 rupiahs ($2.50).

Currency is invested in three primary directions: first, the purchase 437
of a wife, which is not a single negotiation but a series of extremely complex familial exchanges that last as long as the marriage itself; second, a series of burial feasts that may drag on for a generation or two before the series is completed; third, the building of the lineage houses, entailing financial elaborations that may take several years and delay the completion of the dwelling far beyond the actual building time.

There are many kinds of smaller investments in which flesh food 782
such as pigs and goats is used; most frequently chickens suffice. Such [242]
outlays are made as sacrifices on several occasions: when the village guardian spirit (*ulenai*) is snared and dragged into the carving erected for it; when any one of a whole host of personal familiars is placated;

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* These mokos are shaped like hourglasses. Actually, *moko* is not the Alorese [439]
word but the most widely used Malay term. The mokos are not of local manufacture; they were formerly imported from Java by Makassarese traders who exchanged them for goods. Since importation of the drums stopped half a century ago, the supply is no longer adequate and their value is rising. A government census taken some twenty years ago reported the presence of twenty thousand mokus throughout the island.

The natives have assigned to each of the various categories of mokos a value in [177]
rupiahs, the monetary unit of the Netherlands East Indies. For readers who may be interested in estimating the worth of the mokos named in this book, a list of the categories and their assigned values is given here. Rupiahs were maintained at the same exchange rates as Holland guilders (*florins*). The currency values when given in dollars have been translated at the rate of two rupiahs to a dollar. Monetary values for mokos became stabilized in the early 1920's, when money was about twice as cheap as it was in 1938. Therefore, to get the cash price of a moko in 1938 it would be necessary to halve the listed worth.

Mokos	*Rupiahs*	*Dollars*	*Mokos*	*Rupiahs*	*Dollars*
Lasingtafa	1	.50	Kolmale	13	6.50
Salaka	2	1.00	Hawataka	15	7.50
Fatafa	2 1/2	1.25	Yekasing	25	12.50
Kabali	3	1.50	Fehawa	30	15.00
Piki	5	2.50	Aimala	65	32.50
Tawantama	5	2.50	Afuipe	70	35.00
Hiekbui	6	3.00	Makassar	130 and up	
Tamama	8	4.00	Djawa	500 and up	
Maningmauk	10	5.00	Itkira	1000 and up	

This list is incomplete, and from the Kolmale on, the values are only approximate. There are many subdivisions of these higher bracket categories and considerable variation in prices given by informants. The sequence of relative values, however, is accurate.

782 when gardens are cleared, planted, and harvested and the good will of the souls of their previous cultivators must be solicited; and when sacred lineage hearths (*ue ara*) are "fed" at the time of harvesting the new corn crop. At such times it is the men who contribute the flesh food and who officiate. Women contribute rice or corn, which is supplementary in importance but not in bulk.

437 If an Atimelang man plays with gusto the financial role his culture assigns him, the major part of his time will be taken up with the manipulation of these three types of investments. Concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity are all present, and since currencies are not strictly standardized in value sequences and in commensurability, there is ample play in the system for endless bargaining. In addition, debts are [424] rarely paid except under the pressure of dunning. It is quite evident that a man in the financial swim will have to devote most of his time to negotiations.

462 The elaborate and interesting economic system of Atimelang—as well as most of the other aspects of the culture briefly described in this chapter—will be discussed again and in more detail in the course of this volume, but for the moment the following summary will do. Subsistence economy is in the hands of the women and gives them real power and status, which are not stressed in the ideological system. The men are primarily responsible for financial dealings, which are the honorific occupation of the society. The divorce between subsistence and finance is not so complete as the ownership of property on a sex basis would indicate, nor is labor in either of these realms so divorced in practice as it is in theory. Many men are passionate horticulturalists and many women have financial skills. No onus is attached to preoccupation with the economic function of the other sex; in fact, it is rather admired as a supplementary skill.

771 In the realm of religion sacrifice is the chief form of worship. Using the term *worship* in this sense may be misleading because it gives a connotation of secredness and awe that does not exist. Prayer is to all intents and purposes nonexistent; the nearest approach to it is a rare type of invocation (*abang*). Divination in five or six major forms is used frequently.

776 All individuals have personal familiars that they have inherited from
787 parents and grandparents or have acquired themselves through some
[828] visionary experience. The inheritance of these personal familiars is not rigorous or exclusively in the patrilineal line, so that new ones are constantly being imported by women who marry into the Five Villages. The prevalence of fevers, especially malaria, which is endemic, may

account for some of the "visions" leading to individual acquisition of 776 personal spirits. These spirits are of many different types. Loku and [787] timang are the commonest inspirational familiars of seers. Ia-wari (literally means moon-sun; also called aisala) are inherited and are usually nonpossessional. They serve in a variety of "good fortune" capacities. Nera are primarily wealth-bringing spirits and are associated with the sea, frequently manifesting themselves as fish, crabs, crayfish, and eels. One person's familiar may be another person's evil spirit (*kari*, a generic term).

The whole countryside is populated with *genii loci* whose good or evil influence depends upon the personal relationship established with them. They are all reasonably well known within a radius of two to four miles and are called by personal human names, usually paired. These couples are either siblings or spouses. They may be represented by carv- [532] ings all of one type, a crocodile-like figure called naga in Malay. These carvings may be erected on a pole, placed on a platform-like altar, or kept in the loft of a small shed.

There are also "Good Beings" (*nala kang*, which literally means something good) associated with either the sea or the sky and envisaged in human form. Persons who have disappeared mysteriously or, in rare instances, children who have been lost may be invested with the qualities of Good Beings. The bulk of what the Atimelanger considers his mythology deals with such supernaturals, who are sometimes thought to be lineage ancestors. There are many contemporary anecdotes of prophets who predicted the imminent advent of Good Beings. The disappearance of disease and of death and the financial obligations accompanying it are usually part of such prophecies. This whole concept will undoubtedly become the center of revivalistic cults when Alorese culture crumbles as it inevitably will under the impact of foreign colonization.

There is also the village guardian spirit (*ulenai*), a being whose attri- [821] butes are vague and confused but who is connected somehow with the dark area in the Milky Way and whose presence and good will insure crops and wealth for the village. This spirit is often equated with a [777] vaguely conceived supreme being called Lahatala, which is probably a word of Mohammedan origin, and with the Christian God, called by the Malay term *Tuan Allah*. It is represented by a large crocodile-like [532] carving similar to the smaller ones made for all kinds of personal familiars. The village guardian should receive sacrifices every year or 776 two—at which times an expert is called to search him out where he 782 lurks somewhere underground near a dance place and drag him to the carving where he is to be fed. The responsibility for this ceremony

776 rests with the eldest male of the founding lineage of the village, but the
782 whole community usually assists. There may be two guardian spirits in
a village, one at the head and one at the tail of the community.

754 Witchcraft, poisoning, magical curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present in Atimelang religion, but are undeveloped or unstressed.

778 Sacred hearths of various types (*are foka, ue are, mani are, je are,*
613 *kuya are*) belong to lineages and are kept in the lineage house when it
782 exists. They are simply four pieces of wood like those that form the
769 frame of the ordinary household hearths. The sacred hearths should be
fed once a year. As food is offered the hearth, the lineage ancestors, in
so far as they are known, are named. The sacrifices are usually made
in February or March when the new corn crop is about to be
[262] harvested. The owner of the hearth should abstain from a varying series
of foods prior to the sacrifice.

796 At the season when the hearths are being fed, there are also four minor village ceremonies whose general function is to assure plentiful crops. They are given in the course of two months, February and March, and are in order of performance: Hopuina (spit on it), Yetok (water pours), Bol (strike), and Ading (also called Kuya, both of which are untranslatable). Responsibilities for certain duties in these ceremonies descend in the male line.

784. Connected with some of these ceremonies and with the feeding of
certain hearths are quiet, or taboo (*al*), periods, during which vigorous
work, shouting, and quarreling may not take place. Any breach requires
[268] a gift to the owner of the ceremony by way of atonement. Usually these
taboo periods last only one day but the most important of them lasts four
days and comes at the end of the dry season just before the men of the
Five Villages set out for the one communal hunt of the year. During the
224 hunt, which is primarily for wild pig, large grass fires are set. Men stay
at special hunting camps on the edge of uncultivated grasslands while
the women remain quietly at leisure in the home village.

761 There are also more or less elaborate garden sacrifices to the souls of
782 former cultivators of the site. If the site is a new one, sacrifices are
made to the *genius loci*, which has been disturbed. The number and
size of the sacrifices depend on whether the garden (*uti*) is a small one
frequently used and planted to corn, or a large field (*pining*) at some
distance from the village and usually reserved for rice.

765 Death feasts, although largely financial and closely allied with prestige, may also be considered part of the religious ritual, since their ultimate objective is to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity of the village. During the first ten days after death a series of obligations

are created: in the burial services, in two death feasts called Hevelaberka and Hevelakang, and in an indefinite number of all-night gong-beating memorials (*tiarusi*). These obligations are then repaid over a period of years in feasts called Rolik, Baleti, and Ato, each of which, and especially the last, is subdivided into a number of parts. The last climactic feast involves the slaying of either a carabao or a sheep, depending on which is traditionally used in the lineage. For those who die violent deaths, however, special observances including the spirit-bird (*kari rua*) ceremony are used instead. For those killed in head-hunting expeditions there were observances similar to those for the victims of accidents or certain dreaded diseases. 765 [764]

Remarks on religion in this volume, either here or later, do not exhaust the range of spirits recognized or the variety of observances connected with them. An indication of the diversity, as well as the amorphism, of spirit relationships is that in twenty-one households of Dikimpe and its associated hamlets there were at least fifty-six known spirits, altars, carvings, and the like. Obviously detail must await separate publication, since it is not the purpose of this account to give a thorough ethnographic description, but only to include such material as is pertinent to the general problem described in Chapter 1. 771

Part 2

PSYCHO-CULTURAL SYNTHESIS

128 THE purpose of this portion of the volume is to draw together the material on childhood and child training and to attempt to show how it can be synthesized with adult behavior and values as well as with institutional forms. Formalized and unformalized behaviors are discussed in the order in which the growing Atimelanger encounters them. It will be necessary to interweave the strands, many of which will have to be carried continuously throughout the material. However, certain age groupings and associated emphases are possible. For example, the period of infancy lends itself to a discussion of the influence of orifice psychology and the gratifications or frustrations of physiological needs and tensions. Early and late childhood are best associated with the discussion of discipline. Adolescence in this culture is the period when adjustments to adult values begin to loom large. Adulthood presents the possibility for working out early conditioning and cultural values in terms of institutions and status positions.

Chapter 3

Infancy: From Birth to Walking

854 THE physiological theories of conception and fetal life in Atimelang will be discussed later in a section on sexual behavior and attitudes. Parental attitudes and behavior immediately before, during, and subsequent to birth will be described here only in so far as they impinge on the development of the infant. Within the infancy period Atimelangers recognize a series of stages: from birth to the first smile, from the first smile to sitting up alone or crawling, from crawling to walking. The actual age in months or years is of no concern. In fact, it is very difficult for the average mother to count back through the number of gardens she has planted, in order to tell you whether her child was born even three or four years ago. Therefore, ages given throughout this volume are only rough estimates.

THE CONFINEMENT

843 Pregnancy and actual birth are not surrounded with many observ-
183 ances, and precautions vary with individuals both in kind and in the strictness with which they are followed. For instance, intercourse be-

tween husband and wife should stop as soon as the wife knows she is §843 pregnant, that is, when she ceases to have monthly periods. With a very 183 young wife who becomes pregnant before her first menses, intercourse should stop when she first notes the physiological changes accompanying pregnancy. In actual practice, however, a husband sometimes has intercourse with his wife until the last month of pregnancy. This is often true for young men who do not have second wives. Older men [31] who have been able to afford a second wife—and they are in the minority—usually take up residence with the other women. The result in such polygynous families may be the birth of offspring to alternate wives.

A woman works all through her pregnancy, often doing fairly heavy §843 field labor. It is recognized, however, that work which is too heavy may produce miscarriages, so that women who want children are careful not to overstrain themselves. Food preferences during pregnancy also are recognized and indulged.

There is a series of prenatal taboos, knowledge and observance of which vary greatly from individual to individual. They apply primarily to the mother, but there are one or two applicable to the father as well. For instance, a pregnant woman should not place a new pot on the fire, because if it blackens, her child will be born with patches of darker pigment. A pregnant woman should eat only the less desirable belly portions of rats. If she eats the hind- and forequarters, her child's limbs will spread at birth like those of a rat spitted for roasting. A man should not straighten arrows during his wife's pregnancy, for the child would then be born with eyes rolled to one side. However, after straightening an arrow shaft the father can rub it on his wife's abdomen and the child's eyes will straighten.

There are many such superstitions, but their weight and importance §854 seem no greater than comparable ones in our own society. It is worth 127 noting, however, that these prenatal influences indicate a sense of close intimacy between children and parents and that often there are antidotes for harmful acts. The sense of intimate physiological connection between mother and child persists after birth, so that mothers who were nursing sick infants came to me for medicine they could take in order to cure their children. I could discover no parallel native medication, however.

When labor pains begin, the mother goes to the house of a kins- §844 woman if possible. If no kinswoman's house is near by, she may give birth in her own home. Usually the husband is not present, merely as a matter of good form, although there is no strict rule on this point. The

844 woman's attendant is preferably her mother, but here too expediency will dictate the choice of midwife. Actual birth occurs in the privy-corridor just off the living room, where a group of interested kin, both male and female, may have gathered to chat while awaiting the birth. Children too form part of this group.

Meanwhile the mother sits with her legs spread and tugs at the rafters overhead to help her in her labor. The midwife sits directly opposite with her legs outside of, and parallel to, those of the mother. Between them lies a piece of pandanus mat on which the child is placed as soon as it is born. The midwife cleans the child with the thick juice squeezed beforehand from banana bark. When the afterbirth is ejected, the midwife measures a length of the umbilical cord reaching to the child's knees and severs it with a sharp sliver of bamboo. The end of the cord still attached to the child's body is coiled up on its abdomen. The birth fluids have meanwhile drained through the floor boards to the pigpen below. The afterbirth is placed in an old areca basket and is left to disintegrate in the bamboo thicket on the village boundary. A stillborn child is treated like the placenta. It is interesting that this type of disposal parallels that for human heads and spirit-bird bundles when their ceremonial treatment has been completed.*

[551] [854] After completing birth the mother picks up the child, wraps it in the softest piece of woven or bark cloth available, and joins the group of friends and visitors in the living room. People present suggest various names; those of maternal and paternal grandparents are preferred. If a child begins to urinate or to nurse after a name is suggested, that is [553] the one adopted. Given names are feminine or masculine. For further identification both men and women carry their father's given name as surname. They never take the stepfather's name.

844 One gathers the impression that birth is considered an easy and casual procedure and that problems in beginning nursing are not a matter of formal concern. This does not mean that difficulties never occur, but it does indicate that the society has not emphasized such difficulties. There is also no emphasis on modesty in connection with birth, although on other occasions there are strong feelings about exposing the genitals. Birth is definitely women's business, but men are not completely excluded.

In this connection, and despite my emphasis on the casualness of the procedure, it is an interesting contradiction that many men feel a certain disgust if they are offered food prepared by a woman who has served recently as a midwife. When I discussed this matter one day

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* See pages 150-52 and 160-61 for descriptions of these ceremonies.

with Fantan the Interpreter in the presence of his sister and a female 844
cousin, he expressed strong feelings about it and his face wore an unmistakable expression of disgust. His sister and cousin began to tease him, referring to his own birth. The discussion ended laughingly—as do many of the good-natured arguments on sex differences—with the comment by Fantan's sister, "Men are bad; women are good."

The midwife who assists at a birth is given a small gift, usually a [759
moko, whose value may range from one to three rupiahs. The longer 446]
and more difficult the birth, the larger is the fee paid. Midwives who have had to manipulate the child by reaching into the mother's body expect larger fees.

There are few anecdotes of difficult births. One woman of about 845
forty, well informed in such matters, could recall only four deaths in childbirth. This is certainly no measure of maternal mortality, but it does indicate both that childbearing is relatively easy and that the culture does not stress the importance and difficulty of the occurrence. No mother died in childbirth during the eighteen months that I was in the village. In the half-dozen births I witnessed, the mothers at no time showed signs of pain beyond acute discomfort. They groaned softly and perspired freely but seemed on the whole to give birth with little difficulty. In one case where the afterbirth was long in coming, the woman massaged her abdomen, scratched her loins, and combed the knots out of her hair—devices that were all believed to assist her in labor.

After giving birth the mother stays in the house from four to six 846
days, which seems to be the time necessary for the end of the umbilical cord to dry up and drop off. Naturally, infected navels occur fairly often and are treated with poultices of mashed leaves. The dried end of the umbilical cord is saved in an areca basket. When the child is able to crawl, the cord is placed on a bundle of corn, which is presented to the maternal grandmother, or, if she is dead, to some equivalent kin. When the grandmother accepts the gift, the bit of cord is flicked off and ignored.

During the four to six days spent in the house, the mother rests and 854
devotes herself exclusively to fondling and feeding the infant. At this time the child's warm water baths are begun. Depending on the solicitude of the mother, these warm baths are repeated at least every two or three days, until the child can walk. After that it is bathed in cold water.

The mother's material needs during the period of confinement are 846
primarily the concern of her brother and secondarily the concern of 593

846 her sisters and mother. Here again the father is excluded. The mother's
572 brother should carry firewood for her and bring presents of food. In
[illegible] general he is expected to dance attendance, and his failure to do so may lead to resentment and reproaches from his sister. The gifts and attention the mother receives at this time are considered an encouragement to care properly for the child, as though she would otherwise be neglectful. They also serve to assert the claim of the woman's family on the infant. There are instances of affinal kin's having been so enraged at what they felt to be the negligence of parents that they have taken violent action. (For a case in point see Mangma's autobiography, page 212.)

846 The father of the child, meanwhile, is supposed to refrain from any vigorous work such as digging, chopping wood, or rat hunting. He idles about, inactive and without any definite function, in a household centering around his wife and child, who are in the hands of his affinal kin.
755 Should the child be sickly in the early weeks of life, the mother is sure to question the father about his activities during this period of seclusion. He will rack his brains to recall any infringement of the prescribed precautions. Once he remembers, it is easy enough to undo the harm by picking some leaves at the place of transgression, confessing his error, and at the same time urging the soul of the child to enter the leaves. He then goes home and strokes the sick child's head with the leaves, after dipping them in water. The straying soul returns and the child recovers.

593 The father is obviously in a peculiar position. Although he is responsible for the child and has an intimate connection with its well-being, he is at the same time without any positive functions and has only restrictive obligations.

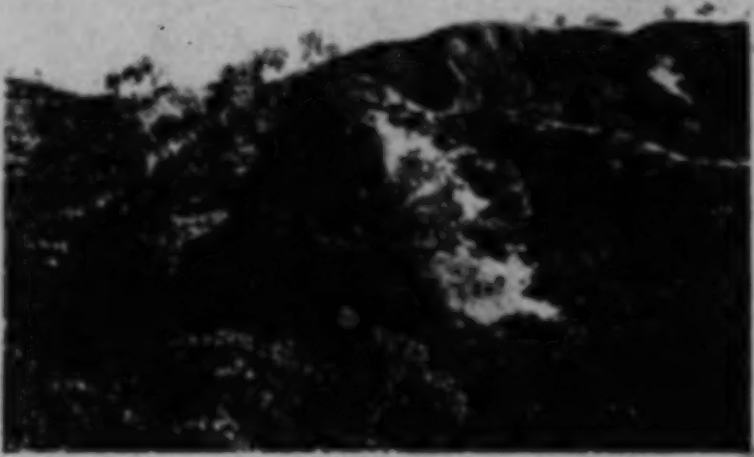
The extent of the father's responsibilities in the face of his disfranchisement is illustrated by a case where the child died in infancy. Fantan had already lost two sons shortly after birth. His lineage was deficient in males and he was unusually worried when the latest child, four days after birth, began to cry excessively and refuse the breast.
[787] His wife's kin and interested neighbors divined to discover which spirits might have been offended. The process was repeated several times, and each time it was Fantan who had to pay for the divination and for the animals necessary to placate the offended supernaturals. It cost him approximately two rupiahs and five chickens. Since he was working for wages in my service, he was particularly liable to be asked for payments in Dutch currency. The outlay represented about two weeks' work, yet he was hardly ever present during these efforts to discover and treat the source of the child's illness.

Kabola (Kalabahi) Harbor from the northwestern hills.

Kabola (Kalabahi) Harbor with villages on the ridge in center foreground. The island of Pura is in center background at the entrance to the bay. Kalabahi lies in the background to the right, near the entrance to the inner bay.

[FACING P. 328]

Looking down on the valley of Atimelang during the dry season when the countryside is denuded. The villages of Karieta, Alurkowati, and Dikimpe are at the base of the ridge. A hamlet of Karieta lies on the ridge.



Precipitous countryside near Atimelang.

[p. 32 B]

133

The radjah of Alor on the coastal road from Kalabahi to Benelang Bay.

345

The main dance place of the village of Atimelang.

The dance place of Maliseni the Financier, in Alurkowati.

[p. 32 c]

342
343

Weaving a house wall of split bamboo. Similar strips are used for flooring on bamboo crossbeams.

342

Pulling in a floor beam.

[p. 32 D]

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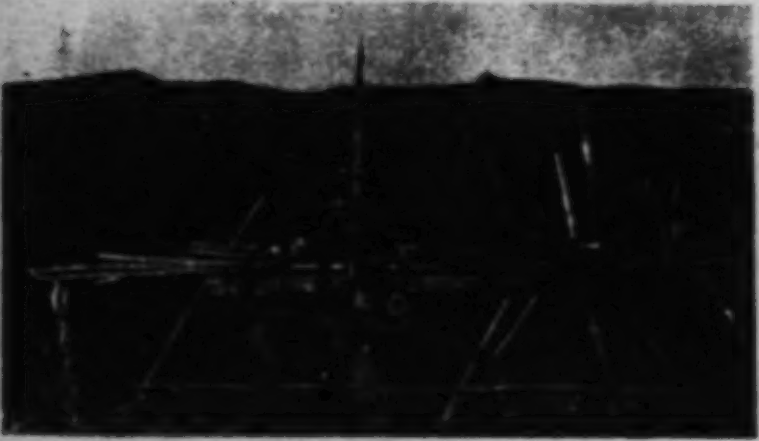
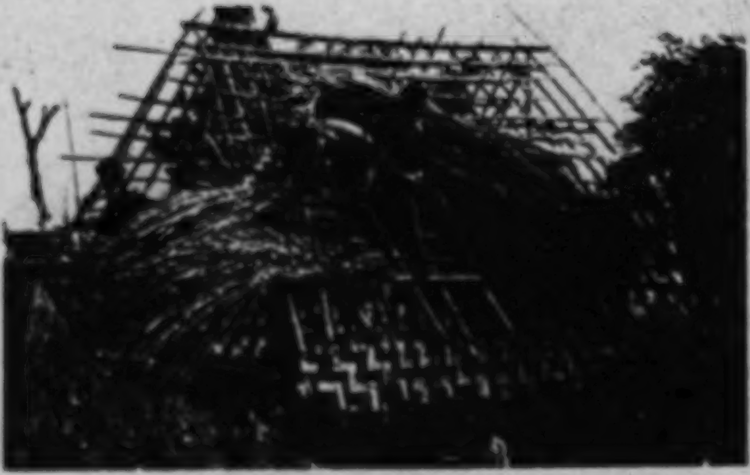
Placing a floor beam on the house posts. Note the rat disks like wooden collars on the house posts.



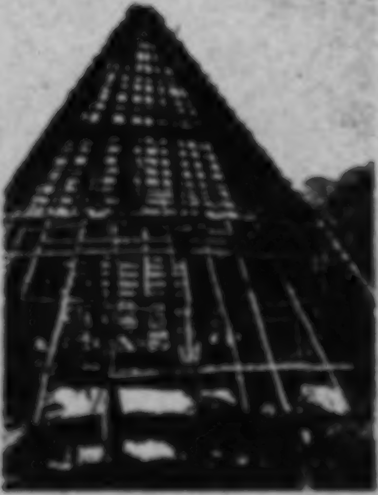
342

Laying the floor beams of a large lineage house.

[p.32 E]



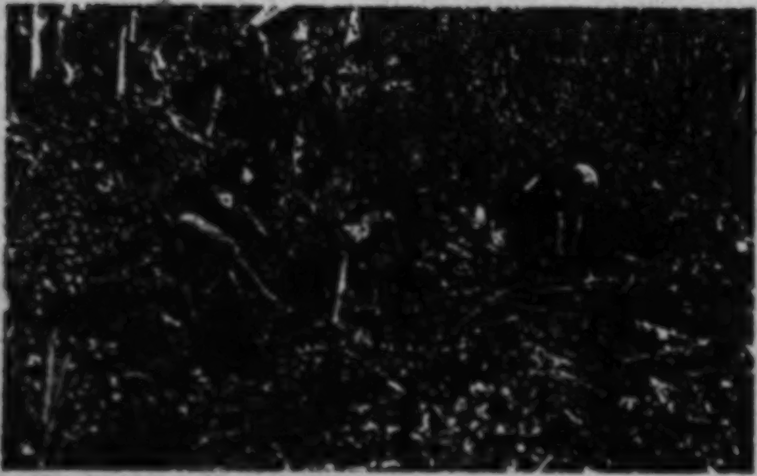
Thatching the roof of a field house.



Frame of an old house about to be dismantled. The lowest story is the living room; the two upper ones are for food storage.

Thatching the roof of a large lineage house. Note the gongs, which are played at intervals during the course of the work.

214



A group of girls and women cutting weeds at the end of the dry season preparatory to burning over.

The first weeding of the new corn crop.

[p.32 G]

765
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476

A rice-pounding bee several days before a death feast payoff.

342

The largest rice cones of two ceremonial seasons, prepared for a lineage house-building feast.

[p. 32 H]

Talkalieta, the oldest woman in the village, with three orphaned grandchildren to support, works daily in the fields.

142
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Padafan's mother gathers the bean crop and his grandmother shells it.

Fuimai, the village trollop, measures loops of cord for her belt. Note the bean-threshing mat.

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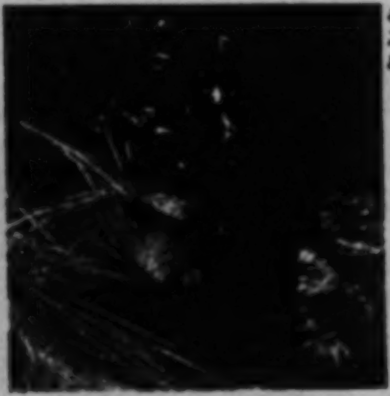

An old grandmother spends a quiet morning at home wearing a basket.

[p.32 I]

249

Padamai is a satellite who is proud of his carving and his tobacco crop.

423
789

Manimau prefers a mechanical guard against the theft of his coconuts.

Fantan the Interpreter has faith in the charm of the "evil bow" against the theft of his areca nuts.

142

Theoretically, a brother is your strongest supporter.

A brother and sister, children of a successful financier.

[p.32 K]

516

A vantage point from which to watch a ceremony.

518

The photographer frightens a child. Note the mother's lax support.

Awonmai takes a midmorning nap on the verandah of the gong house.

[p. 326]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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252
857
516

A boy helps with the butchering of a pig while a second pig is being singed in the background.

A boy drinks from a bamboo water tube.

853
857
516
415

A little girl practices weaving.

[p.32 n]

264

Seven little girls share a calabash dish of corn and greens at the noon meal during a day of communal field work.

557
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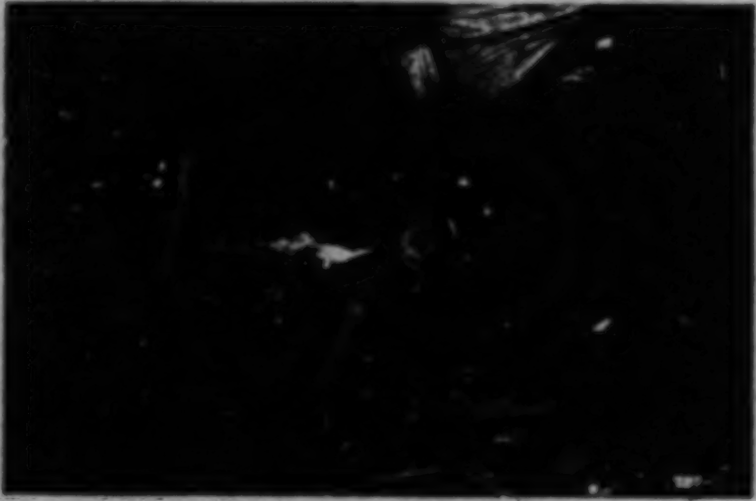
Boys spin tops on a banana leaf.

[p.32 N]

Padafan begs food from a child in its mother's carrying shawl.

He loses his balance but continues to beg.



He tries rage to attract the woman's attention.

855

He thinks the matter over.

He sees his mother gossiping with another woman on the far side of the verandah.

855
865

He goes to her and throws himself on the ground kicking and screaming.

Noticing my interest the mother laughs, picks him up, but does not feed him.

[p.32 P]

Padafan sees a toy balloon that I gave some older children. Note the first lesions of yaws on his chest.

He says, "Mo" (give), one of the few words he has mastered.

It is his! He immediately examines the ear of this cat-faced balloon.

He nurses on it to the delight of older children who urge him to continue after his first disappointment.

[p.3297

836

The Alorese prize mokos above everything else. Here the top of one is being fastened on with rattan strips and pieces of cornstalk.

882
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534
912

His young sister in a carrying shawl, a boy accompanies on the gongs the ceremonial work of building a lineage house.

[p. 32 R]

533
789

If gongs and mokos are beaten for days ahead of time, the sound will soften the hearts of debtors, and wealth will flow into the village at the forthcoming feast.

584
482

Accompanied by the beating of gongs and mokos, a pig and some corn arrive as a dowry payment preliminary to a larger death feast payoff.

[p. 325]

252
342

In the morning three or four men butcher the pigs that will be used in the house-building feast that afternoon.

342

In the late afternoon each woman brings her basketry platter of food to display at a house-building feast. Each ceremony has its preferred style of food display.

[p 32T]

415
482

In the late afternoon women arrive with rice baskets (*baleti*) in their carrying packs to display at a payoff feast.

A husband must greet his wife's kinsmen with derogatory remarks as they deliver a dowry payment.

584
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Maliseni the Financier protests vigorously the payment that is being made.

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On the verandah of the gong house old men wait for advance tidbits of a pig that is being butchered for the afternoon's feast. Between them a boy who danced all night snatches a nap.

534
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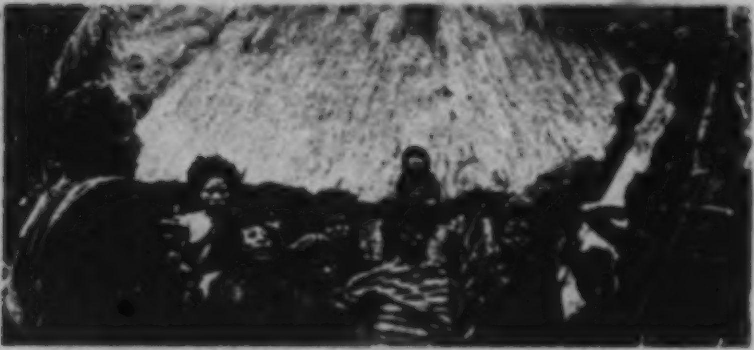

A crowd listens to an argument over a dowry payment. Tilapada, whose autobiography is given in this volume, is the first woman at left center. Her head is thrown back as she makes a telling point. Back of her stand her oldest daughter and at her left her youngest daughter. The serious people are partners to the gift. The ones who are laughing are not involved in the exchange.

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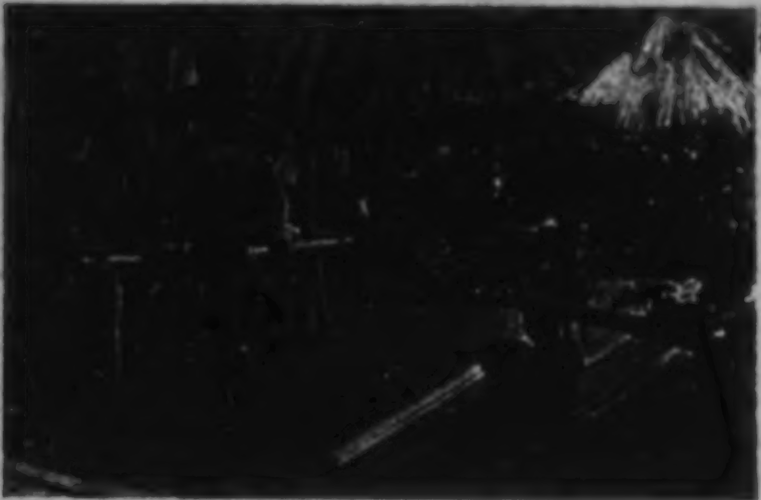
Women privately gossiping over the value of a dowry payment that has just been brought to Atimelang.



533
157

Boys furnish a musical accompaniment on gongs and mokos to the communal labor involved in building a lineage house.

[p.32 w]

836
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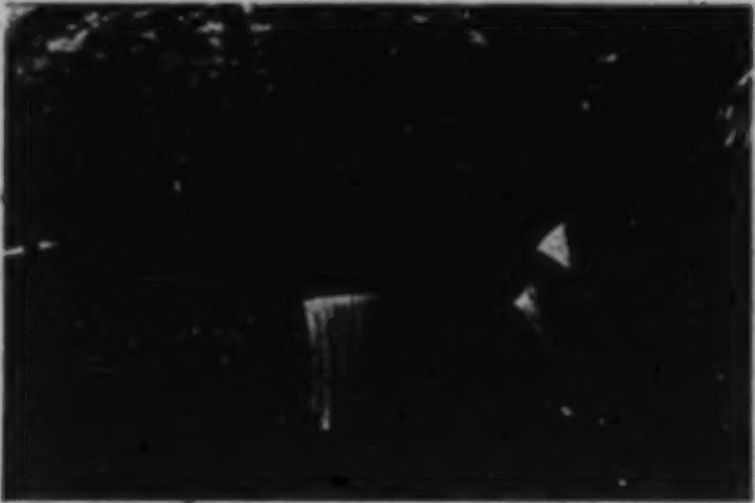
The largest currency display of two seasons was made at the tumukun's death feast payoff (*baleti*) for his father-in-law. The mokos and broken gongs are ranged in order of value. On the dance-place altar are quarters of pigs, which will also be paid to the debtors.

292



Children hurrying home in their raincapes of a late afternoon as the rainy season begins. Note the house post and rat disk at the extreme left and in the background the fields of corn.

Cp.32 x]

342

The third morning of a divorce debate.

535
249

The people of Atimelang prefer their circle dances (*lego-lego*) to last from dusk to dawn. Dandies wear tubular headdresses and carabao parrying shields. As the group circles in unison men and women try to slip inconspicuously into the circle next to their favorite partners.

[p. 32 y 7]

531
342

One of the most elaborate carvings of Atimelang is the ancestral beam of the lineage house Tilalawati in Folafeng. It was carved recently for the new structure. The white figures were chalked to bring them out in the photograph.

531
778

The most elaborately decorated familiar spirit house of Atimelang belongs to Fanseni Longhair.

[p. 32 2].

778
782

A village guardian spirit (nurwal) to which a pig and rice have just been sacrificed.

778
532

Fanseni Longhair carves a village guardian spirit figure.

R[illegible]ada the Seer.

Malelaka the Prophet.

Fanseni Longhair, brother of the tumukun.

[p. 32 B-2]

142
302

Manifani, a financier from Dikimpe.

An Alorese youth.

A young widow much admired in Atimelang for her beauty.

[304]

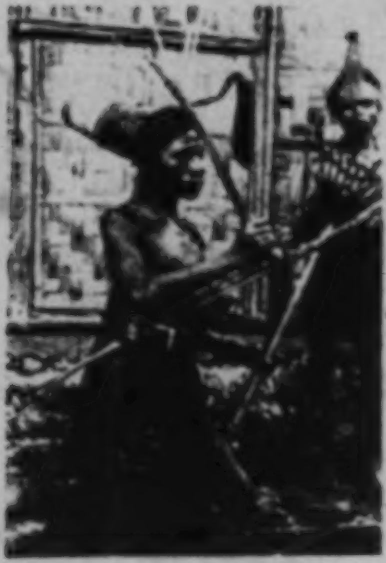
A young girl whose teeth have just been blackened and filed. Her molars are occluded.

[p. 32 C-2]

115
177
291

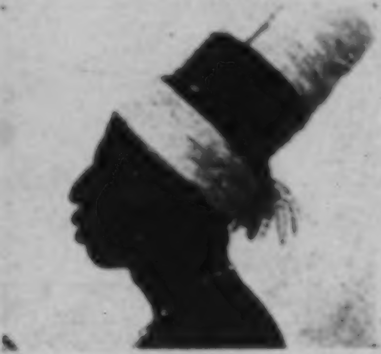
Fantan the Interpreter.

291



In full regalia this man strikes a pose that he considers suitable.

Fantan's attire is influenced by his contacts with a foreign culture.



This pseudo-Semitic type is often found on Alor.

142

Maliseni the Financier's second wife and child.

[142]

Maliseni the Financier's third wife, with a rice pestle.

[p.32 | E-2]

Fantan was obviously distressed by the situation but insisted on 115
working with me each day, saying there was nothing he could do at 592
home. When finally wailing was heard from the direction of his house,
he knew the child had died. He went home immediately, but it was not [576]
considered good form for him to enter the house crowded with wail-
ing women. At last a neighbor went in, took the dead child from its [764]
mother's arms, and hurried off alone to bury it in a near-by field. At 115
this point Fantan put his head down on his knees and broke out into 152
hard dry sobs, which he tried to suppress. Weeping is considered un-
manly by the culture and therefore he had less outlet than his wife, of
whom wailing was expected. Characteristically enough, however, Fan- [607]
tan was able to transform his grief into anger almost immediately, for
at that moment a friend arrived to report that his brother-in-law had
just killed one of his penned pigs in order to force him to give a death
feast, an expense quite unwarranted for so young a child. Fantan said
as he started toward his pigpen, "I have had enough expenses. Why
should my brother-in-law kill my pig, since he didn't even come to be
with his sister when her child died?"

DESCENT FROM THE HOUSE

Four to six days after the birth the first descent of the mother and 846
child into the outside world is marked by a trivial ceremony in which
a few neighboring kinswomen may assist. The maternal grandmother,
or some surrogate, plants sweet potatoes and piles stones near the house
verandah. The plants and stones may be represented by weeds and
pebbles. By this act she releases both the mother and the father from
the restrictions on vigorous labor. A few other precautionary measures
may be taken, all within the range of sympathetic magic. The mother
then leaves the house and is bathed for the first time since giving birth.
Tubesful of water are poured over her back, arms, and legs. That after-
noon the father gives a small feast to repay the wife's kin for their con-
tributions and services. For a few more days the mother is inclined
to stay near the house and perform only the easier household tasks.

The descent from the house marks the beginning of a wider diet for 853
the child. At this time premasticated roasted bananas and vegetable
gruels are added to breast feeding. The gruel is poured into the mouth
from a coconut-shell spoon. The premasticated bananas are given the
infant either with the hand or directly from the adult's mouth.

At this time, too, the infant's contacts expend. He begins to be a 854
center of interest and is passed from hand to hand. Everyone seems en-
tranced by small babies and many people will ask to hold and fondle

An affectionate delousing scene. The man and woman are distant cousins but call each other brother and sister.

[FACING p. 33]

854 them. My impression is that young men were even more inclined to fondle infants than young women, although I made no quantitative study of this. The impression—if accurate and not simply an exaggeration born of the contrast with attitudes in our own culture—might be explained by the greater leisure that young men possess.

The effect of this handling on the psychological development of the child may be expected to vary with the size of the community in which it lives. An infant who spends its life in a remote field house will have fewer contacts with strangers than one brought up on the edge of a dance place in a large community. How far parents recognize this is unknown, but I never saw one who was unwilling to surrender the child to an interested adult and who did not seem pleased at the attention lavished on the baby. Only if the child showed fright or cried vigorously would a parent take it back, usually with a deprecatory smile and the comment that it was afraid.

Fondling in Atimelang consists largely of rocking and joggling the child and of mouthing it. Kissing is not known for either adults or children, but an infant's arms, legs, and whole trunk will be caressed with mock bites of the lips. The procedure is quite evidently, consciously, and significantly an eating gesture. This connection between food and affection is one that recurs repeatedly and in many contexts.

GOING BACK TO WORK

462
846 Since women are primarily responsible for garden work and the subsistence economy, mothers return to regular field work ten days to two weeks after the birth of the child. It is not customary for the mother to work with the child on her back or even near her, as it is in some societies. Instead the infant is left at home in the care of some kin, for example the father, an older sibling of either sex, or a grandmother whose field labor is less effective or necessary than that of a younger woman.

853 This practice results in great variation in the amount of attention and satisfactory feeding that infants get during this first period of life. Some women have fewer responsibilities than others in the number of people for whom they must provide and are therefore less occupied with field work. Others may have given birth during the early part of the dry season when labor is relatively slack, so that two or three months may pass before they have to resume intensive gardening. Still others may be lazy and use the care of the child as an excuse to slight their field work. But if an infant is left daily in the care of a substitute mother, it is going to be hungry part of the time. The person caring for

the infant may give it premasticated food or gruel more or less conscientiously, but the frequency with which infants spew out such nourishment suggests that the feeding is neither very effective nor satisfactory. One repeatedly sees infants trying to nurse at the breast of a father or immature sibling, who pushes them away gently with an attitude of mild embarrassment. 853

Sometimes the mother may have a sister or other near kin who also is nursing a child. For a day or two at a time the other women may take over the care and feeding of both infants, nursing the two simultaneously. I have seen this occur only three times. It is worth noting, however, that other women's breasts are accessible to a child. Certainly every child has been nursed by a number of adult women at one time or another. But these substitutes are no more consistently available than the mother herself.

During the prewalking period the child spends most of its day half 854 sitting, half lying, in a carrying shawl that is slung over one shoulder and under the opposite arm to form a sort of elongated pouch. The carrying shawl supports the infant's head and legs. Here it frequently sleeps as the caretaker wanders about the village. If sleep becomes sound, the child may be laid on the verandah in its shawl. Proper care demands that it should not be left alone even though it is asleep. If it wakes and cries it should be picked up as soon as possible. "Children [illegible] should not be allowed to cry for long because it makes them sick. People say children's voices are not strong and if they cry for long they get sore throats." To place a child on the ground is considered gross neglect. One of the pieces of evidence adduced to prove that an outcast woman called Matingma was "crazy," was the fact that she took her child to the field with her and permitted it to sleep on the ground. This convention may have its origin in the recognized danger to infants from pigs, dogs, and pig lice, which are plentiful around any house verandah, but it has been so generalized that Matingma's treatment of her child was strongly condemned even though these hazards were not present in the fields.

When the mother returns from the field in the late afternoon, she 853 usually takes the child immediately to nurse and fondle. For the rest of the evening the child is either in the mother's carrying shawl or on her lap. When the mother is at home and not too busy, she will offer the breast whenever the child is restless. Unfortunately, I made no inquiries about devices the women use to relieve themselves of the pressure on their breasts during the day. I never heard a woman speak of the pleasure of nursing, which probably means no more than that the culture has not emphasized this particular source of physical satisfaction.

not emphasized this particular source of physical satisfaction. Of sixteen women who were asked directly, fifteen did say that they preferred having children to intercourse, but almost invariably they added, "Because my children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said they did not want any more children, because feeding them meant so much work. Economic habits, therefore, react directly upon behavior and attitudes of mothers.

513 At night the child shares a mat with its mother. It sleeps alone with
534 her until the father resumes intercourse with his wife. This is supposedly when the child is old enough to sit up alone or even to crawl about. It may be significant that no effort is made to hasten the child's development in these respects. It should be noted that the baby is not necessarily displaced when its parents resume intercourse. It may still
[535] be kept on the same mat. In fact, rather scandalized gossip had it that the death of one child was due to its being crushed accidentally by its parents during sex relations. In addition, if the father has more than one wife he may spend at least half his nights in another household, and then the child sleeps undisturbed with its mother. If the parents do not permit the child to share the sleeping mat with them, the infant is placed with some other adult or an older sibling on a sleeping mat in the common living room.

534 The time at which a man resumes intercourse with his wife after childbirth varies greatly. So far only the time recognized in formal statements has been mentioned. In sex histories given by women it became apparent that men might resume relationships with their wives much sooner and much later, depending on other sex adjustments open to the man. It is true that women, particularly when burdened with large families, sometimes reproach their husbands for undue haste in this respect. Again we have a reflection of economic pressure upon sex attitudes. Since there is a very clear idea of the connection between the
[843] sexual act and childbearing, and since each additional child places extra subsistence burdens on the woman, there is ample reason for her to develop reluctance after a time toward both intercourse and childbearing. This attitude of reluctance, although far from consistent, is evident in ways that will be referred to later, when sex practices are discussed in more detail.

INFANT'S EARLY TRAINING

854 So far in discussing the infancy period, we have been concerned with
864 the role of the mother and father, the feeding of the infant, and its experiences in bodily contacts and support. The early sex experiences

of the children themselves are also of interest here. Certain points may 854 be made in connection with the sleeping habits and any disturbances 864 the child might be supposed to feel at being displaced by the father. First, the child's dependency on the mother is less marked than in our culture; second, the child is given genital satisfaction through deliberate masturbation. One of the favorite substitutes for offering the breast in an effort to pacify a child is to massage its genitals gently. 864 It was my impression that this device for pacifying children was used even more by siblings than by adults. If the observation is correct, the explanation may be found in two factors: First, the sibling acting as mother-surrogate cannot pacify the child by offering it food, and second, the young sibling may have fewer occasions to express sex interest than the adult.

No effort is made during infancy to teach the child to talk. Although 868 an adult may sing dance songs to soothe it, there is no deliberate attempt to impart verbal training. At most, the only talking I have seen an adult direct toward a child is the repetition of its name.

Toilet training, too, is completely disregarded during the prewalking 863 period. Adults exhibit no anger or disgust when a child soils the carrying shawl or the body of the person caring for it. The caretaker cleans up after the child with the most casual matter-of-factness, wiping off its buttocks with a bit of leaf, a corn husk, or a bamboo sliver.

Nor is walking urged on the child. Crawling is confined to the rela- 866 tively rare periods when the child is seated on the veranda or in the living room instead of being in a carrying shawl. Naturally, as the child gets older more of this freedom is allowed it, and one sometimes sees a prewalking baby crawling about either in a sitting position with one leg under it or raised up on all fours. I do not recall ever seeing a child crawl on hands and knees. When the child of its own volition begins to stand, it most commonly pulls itself upright holding onto the leg of some near-by adult. Padafan, a child whose development I was able to watch with some consistency, definitely learned to stand by pulling himself up on his mother's leg in an effort to get her attention so that she would pick him up and nurse him.

When a youngster begins trying to stand, any adult may play with it and assist it in its efforts at walking, but for both the adult and the child this is a play activity involving neither consistency nor rewards and punishments. Thus his first mastery technique does not depend exclusively upon the assistance of a parent. For about eight children whose 856 ages I could determine with some accuracy walking began not much later than it does with us, which is from the twelfth to the eighteenth

858 much. This, incidentally, may indicate the seriousness of the pressure many parents place on their children in our culture.

862 Weaning rarely, if ever, occurs before the child can walk and therefore is properly discussed in the following chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

097 Two cautions should be repeated to guard against oversimplification: First, too much of this material is unquantified; second, there is a great range of experiences. As far as possible the extent of this range has been indicated. It deserves emphasis because it would be highly erroneous to think that the culture of Atimelang unduly stereotypes individuals.

854
86 The Alorese infant has fairly high content gratifications, it suffers no suppression of infantile sexuality, and it is not disciplined into the early acquisition of physical and intellectual skills and controls. The chief source of frustration seems to lie in feeding. However, this occurs in the period of life when ingestive gratification is probably of primary importance to the developing organism.

852
843 The Alorese mother has economic responsibilities that may make her welcome the birth of a child less cheerfully and care for it with less solicitude than she might in another culture. And in addition, the culture underrates the satisfactions of nursing for the mother. These factors that militate against the development of a solicitous and maternalistic attitude should be balanced against the fact that the culture does not emphasize the difficulties of childbirth as a physiological process. Nor does it foster an attitude of self-sacrifice and abnegation in connection with bearing children.

596 Interestingly enough, the advantages of childbirth are phrased in terms of self-interest and the prestige accruing from one's death feasts. The father is cheated off at birth but is given opportunity to express delight in the child during infancy. However, he lavishes care on it then only if he is not engrossed in financial and ceremonial occupations, and if he is not devoting part of his time to other households. In other words, the satisfactions and intimacies of fatherhood are cut into by a series of status and prestige demands. It is definitely the less busy—that is, the less important—father who has time to be a good mother substitute.

Chapter 4

Early Childhood: From Walking to Wearing a Loincloth

THIS period covers the time from the first walking to about the age of 856
five or six, when children are referred to as "young" (*file*). It may well be the period of greatest stress for the Atimelang child.

WALKING

When a child begins to walk about with some show of steadiness, it is no longer carried so constantly in a shawl, although the break is obviously not sharp and complete. Padalan, for example, began toddling at about sixteen months, and from then on, most of his day was spent out of the shawl. However, when he was taken any distance, he was still carried in the infantile fashion. At first, too, when his mother returned from the fields in the evening she would put him in her shawl to nurse him. By the time he was approximately twenty-six months old he was rarely placed in a carrying shawl any more, although he might still be picked up and held in an adult's arms when he strenuously insisted upon it.

The carrying shawl, however, remains throughout life a way of 442
transporting sick or injured persons. The devotion of a parent who carries a sick half-grown child any distance, or of an adult who carries an aged and incapacitated parent in this fashion, is referred to with approval. Naturally, when a heavy person is carried, some adjustment to the load must be made. In such a case the person often sits pickaback, and the shawl is passed under his buttocks and across the chest or forehead of the carrier in tumpline fashion. In any case, the carrying shawl is associated with helplessness and infancy and is normally discarded [15]
between the second and third year of life. Therefore, after learning to walk, the child loses many of the constant skin contacts and much of the support it previously received.

FEEDING

At this time the child is turned out to play near the house or on the 855
dance place for the whole day under the casual supervision of an older 866
child or an aged adult. The most drastic repercussion of this additional *freedom* is an increase in the unsatisfactory aspects of feeding. When the mother goes off to work, the child is left from about eight in the

855 morning until about five in the afternoon without regular provision for
866 food. This does not mean that it is left entirely without food; but all it gets are the odd bits older children cede, more or less generously, when it begs or screams for them.

Again of course there are marked variations in children's experiences in this respect. There may be a solicitous older sister who can be spared from field work and who provides relatively good care, or there may be a grandmother who works less hard and frequently in the gardens. In any case, after a child has learned to walk, its disappointments with respect to feeding are increased, and simultaneously it loses the constant handling and support characteristic of the first stage of its life. That the acquisition of its first skill in the independent mastery of the outer [152] world—namely, walking—should be associated with severe deprivation may well have marked repercussions in the realm of ego development.

862 To add to the strain of this period and to reinforce it, the weaning of the child may be hastened because another sibling is expected. Only rarely does one see a child of three or four still nursing, and when one does, it can be assumed that it is because no younger child has been born into the family. It is an exception for a mother to permit an older child to take the breast when she has a younger one to nurse. Weaning is done gradually and simply by pushing the child gently away from the breast. If the child is insistent it will perhaps be slapped. Should it still insist, it may be sent to live in the household of a kin, and "he forgets in two or three nights." It is considered desirable to have weaning completed at least a month before the next child is born. If another pregnancy does not occur, it is assumed that children gradually wean themselves. "They think of other foods and forget the breast."

862 In connection with weaning, a mother sometimes uses a mild form
865 of adult teasing, nursing a strange infant to arouse jealousy in her own growing child. For example, Padafan had almost entirely given up the breast when one day he saw his mother nursing the child of a kinswoman. He began to whimper and tried to climb up on her lap. Not until he had worked himself into a rage and had begun striking the infant, did the mother smilingly surrender the strange child and pick up Padafan to let him nurse. The adults are fully aware of infantile jealousy and they derive a mild amusement from it. Despite this, custom makes weaning as easy as possible for the child, and if it were not for its frequent association with the appearance of another sibling and for the cumulative effects of various other factors operating at this period, the weaning situation might well be considered nontraumatic. Food,

Food,
however, does remain throughout life a focus of intensity, as subsequent material will demonstrate.* In this connection, a free play episode in which Padafan was the center is revealing. I had brought out to the dance place several balloons, which delighted the children. Padafan, being so small, was pushed repeatedly to the edge of the crowd that clustered around me, but each time he persistently pushed his way in again and held out his hand, saying, "Give, give," as I had seen him do often in connection with food. I gave him a balloon but the older children snatched it from him. Finally I gave him another, a cat-faced balloon, and told the group that this one was for Padafan alone. They stood back in a circle to watch. 152

After turning the balloon in his hands for a few minutes Padafan discovered the two conical projections that formed its ears. Immediately he thrust one in his mouth and began to nurse. The older children burst into excited laughter, saying, "He is nursing" (*bebeike;* literally, he drinks of it). Padafan, slightly abashed by the uproar, withdrew the balloon from his mouth, whereupon the children redoubled their shouts, urging him to continue sucking.

After approximately a minute the somewhat shyer Awonmai, who was Padafan's age, joined the group. I took the balloon from Padafan and gave it to Awonmai, who did not suck on it, despite the urging of the older children. Padafan's reaction at this point was interesting. He made no effort to get the plaything back, but threw himself on the ground, where he screamed with rage. Finally I recovered the balloon and gave it to him. For a minute or two he refused to accept it and went on raging. Only when he saw that no one else was taking it and that it lay on the ground within reach, did he roll over, pick it up, and begin once more to suck on it. Strangely enough, when the balloon burst in his face a few moments later, Padafan looked greatly surprised but did not cry or protest. 865

In view of the picture I have drawn of food difficulties and weaning as they might be interpreted in terms of current psychological theories, one might expect a good deal of finger sucking during this period. Actually it does not seem any more prevalent, if as prevalent, as it is among ourselves. It is to be observed only occasionally for any one child and is far from common to all children. When it does occur, it consists both of thumb sucking and of thrusting the first two or three fingers of the hand, palm downward, deep into the mouth. It is a habit 153

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* A nice, although trivial, illustration is that the natives named my repeating revolver, with whose lethal qualities they were quite familiar, "the gun with six mouths."

153 with which adults make no attempt to interfere. On the contrary, there is in the culture a highly significant game that actually encourages it. The game is a version of our "This little pig went to market" rhyme.

153 524 Taking the child's little finger, the mother says, "This is your young corn. By and by I shall harvest it, roast it, and we shall eat." Taking the fourth finger, she says, "This is your young beans. By and by I shall harvest them, boil them, and we shall eat." The game continues, with the mother naming a different food for each finger. Another version names a series of foods that the mother will bring back from a bartering trip to the market. No matter what version is used, at the climax of the game the mother thrusts the child's hand into its mouth and says, "Here, eat them. Eat the souls of these foods." The difference between our game and that of the Alorese is in the latter's striking denouement: The child is stimulated to anticipate food and is then offered an unsatisfactory substitute.

146 It may be pertinent to add here a comment about food, as opposed to attitudes toward feeding. The diet is high in indigestible carbohydrates, such as maize, rice, and beans, all low in proteins. The beans grown in Alor are not rich in the latter food element.* Meat is a treat rather than a staple; eggs and fish are rarely eaten. As a result of diet and feeding habits, a child probably experiences both "hollow hunger" (sense of emptiness) and "hidden hunger" (malnutrition). They are not rachitic, however, since vitamins from food and sunlight are plentiful.

TOILET TRAINING

863 Toilet training is taught gradually and easily. When the child can walk and "when it is old enough to understand," the mother makes a point of taking it with her morning and evening when she defecates either in the privy or outside at the edge of the village. Also, the child is watched and told to withdraw whenever it needs to eliminate. Mothers report that children learn within a few months to use the proper places and to clean themselves with leaves. Children are sometimes careless in cleaning themselves and as a result may suffer a certain amount of anal irritation.

One mother, whose time sense was a little more precise than that of most women, reported that she began training her son at nineteen months, shortly after he began walking. She claims that in five or six

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* W. F. Donath, D. R. Koolhaas, and A. G. Van Veen, "Voedingstabellen," *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 75:431 (March 3, 1931). For a further discussion regarding the place of meat in the Alorese diet, see below, pages 57–58.

863 days he understood. "He is now in his twenty-first month and has not soiled the house in six weeks."

A child who is slow in establishing toilet habits may irritate the mother; then she may shout at him or rap him on the head with her knuckles. However, since sphincter control is instituted relatively late it seems to be a source of little annoyance. Children certainly by the age of three, or five at the latest, are thoroughly trained. I have no data on play with excreta—which does not mean that this does not occur, but it may mean that the problem does not obtrude itself.

147 Constipation does not seem to be a major problem, despite an indigestible carbohydrate diet, which gives most children enlarged abdomens. This judgment concerning constipation rests on the slender evidence that in eighteen months I dispensed only three quarts of castor oil to a total population of about six hundred adults and children. Children certainly represented no more than the proportional two thirds to one half of the people coming for laxatives. Incidentally, they did not have a sufficient repugnance to castor oil to reduce the total consumption.

863 [864] Bladder control, or at least modesty about urination, seems to come slightly later than sphincter control. I judge this to be the case since it is not unusual to see children of between three and five years standing at the edge of a group and casually urinating without anyone's paying much attention to it. A comparable lack of sphincter control was observed only twice and both times it brought angry scolding from adults. Similarly flatuses, if too persistent, may provoke cross comments, but in general little emphasis is placed on the matter, and in view of the carbohydrate diet even adults are less controlled, and are required to be less controlled, than Euro-Americans in this respect.

BATHING

863 855 The cold bath, which at this stage of development replaces the warm sponge-off of infancy, provokes extreme and vocal protest in children. When a child is old enough to stand with some steadiness, it is bathed by having cold water poured over it. Unless the day is hot, the child stands shivering until it dries off. And there is no reward for the ordeal such as is offered by some American Indians, who promise their children health and strength in return for the discomforts of cold baths.

855 The mother, or some older person, usually scrubs the child, handling it with less gentleness than is shown an infant. The treatment of the child would seem rough to us, but it must be remembered that it is

855 matter-of-fact rather than punishing—unless, of course, the child rebels at this experience, has a tantrum, and annoys the parent. Bathing, however, does not occur very frequently in most households, certainly not more often than every two or three days.

[164] In addition to normal discomforts, yaws, which are so prevalent in
childhood, may present an aggravating factor that makes a bath a pain-
ful experience. In the early stage of the disease the body, including
often the lips and the genitals, may be covered with lesions, which
smart acutely in contact with water. Children with yaws will scream
[152] with pain and rage when they are bathed. However, since all sorts of
infections may set in and since there is a pussy discharge from the le-
sions, parents usually feel it necessary to keep the child clean. To make
matters worse, in recent years some parents have been buying from
[439] Chinese traders on the coast a caustic powder, which they apply to the
wounds to dry them. There can be no doubt that the application of
this medicine causes extreme pain, and since it is put on after bathing,
there must be in the minds of many children an association between
baths and the intense pain inflicted by the mothers.

152 Fuifani, a little girl of about five, was a case in point. For weeks she
855 had been having rages of hysterical intensity in connection with baths
865 and the caustic treatment of her yaws. The attacks would set in before
the mother began to wash her and continued often for twenty min-
utes, by actual timing, after the bath. They usually subsided only when
she was in a state of complete physical exhaustion. During the rages she
would scream, strike at her mother, and jump up and down. After the
bath she would refuse to allow her mother to comfort her. Strangely
enough she made no effort to run away, perhaps because she realized
the futility of doing so.

855 Some weeks later the doctor from the coast visited the mountains,
865 and Fuifani was given an injection that healed her wounds within about
seven days. However, the tantrums associated with bathing continued
for weeks after her sores were healed. On one occasion she raged half
an hour after the end of the bath. Her mother held her while a man
poured the water on her as though it were all a fine game. When the
child was clean, the mother put her to dry on the verandah of a guest-
house, where she rolled about screaming, kicking, striking out, and
banging her head on the floor. Another man passed by and threatened
to pour more water on her if she didn't stop, a threat that had no effect
and which he did not carry out.

865 Another child, who had been calmer about his bath, was brought up to shame Fuifani into silence. This too had no effect. Her small brother

865 of about eighteen months, who had been watching the whole proceeding, was picked up by the mother and nursed. Finally, when Fuifani had quieted down somewhat, her mother tried gently to lead her home, but Fuifani broke out again, struck at her mother, and called her an evil spirit. When the child's convulsive sobbing had again stopped, a little playmate of about eight began poking Fuifani gently and playfully, but she did not respond and once more tears began to roll down her face.

152 855 Even where yaws do not make the bath painful, children who are still not very sure of their balance and who run over rough ground all day without clothes on, have a certain number of inevitable cuts and bruises, which smart when exposed to water. Another factor making for discomfort is that [illegible] women have exceedingly calloused hands and, by and large, impressed me as being singularly rough in rubbing down their children. This lack of gentleness in touch was also impressed on me when my native houseboys assisted me in dressing wounds. It was so marked that I could never entrust to them any very painful cases, for fear the patients would prefer their wounds to the treatment.

SEX

864 Sex experiences during this early period of childhood seem confined to masturbation, which goes on freely in public. Little boys are commonly seen standing on the fringe of an adult group manipulating their penes with complete self-engrossment. Sex knowledge, as contrasted with sex experiences, at this time is completely accessible to children, since the common living room affords no privacy and there is no attempt to modify adult conversation when children are present. Although I have no direct evidence to this effect, it seems improbable that knowledge of intercourse and birth as well as the terminology is not the commonplace property of five-year-old children.

SLEEPING

855 513 Sleeping habits for early childhood continue the pattern of close physical contact that was present in infancy. If the child is the lastborn, it may go on sleeping with the mother up to the age of seven or eight. If it is displaced by the birth of another, it will sleep with an older sibling of either sex or with some adult. The lack of regular habits of sleep should be stressed, since this parallels a point to be made in connection with discipline. At night a household is roused at least once and frequently oftener by some member who has dreamed and gets up

855 to replenish the fire and tell his dream to the household. Often a pot is
513 placed on the fire for a midnight snack at this time.

There is also a good deal of movement in the village at night. Men have been out discussing finance; boys have been out courting, and when they return there is inevitably a certain amount of disturbance.
[538] There are also the night dances, which average one every eight days throughout the year, and during the dry season from June through October may average as many as one every five or six nights. Many
[857] children even of five years or less are taken to these dances and they snatch what sleep they can.

Those who can be left at home in someone's care must sleep less soundly because of the coming and going and the sound of singing all night. It is a common sight to see children taking cat naps at all times. Sometimes they lean back between the legs or against the side of a seated parent who is chatting with guests. Often they crawl off under the eaves with small companions and doze for a time, only to wake up and rejoin the adults. Toddlers learn to sleep anytime and anywhere except on the ground, which they already know is taboo. Children barely two or three years old are often seen sleeping quite alone on a verandah during the day. Their rest even more than their food is a matter of small concern and casual attention from adults.

TALKING

868 Satisfactory information on talking is scant. When crying for attention most children of one or two years will intersperse their cries with rhythmic wails that sound as though they were trying to say,
[195] "Mother, mother, alack, alas (*niae*, *niae*, *adiye*, *adiye*)," which is the formalized type of wailing used by adults, especially women, in connection with deaths and catastrophes. These words are used also as general expressions of consternation. In terms of adult psychology, it is interesting that the cry of distress should, by formalization, be directed to the mother.

Another word that is learned very early is the imperative for *give* (*mo*). Children who are just beginning to walk can be seen holding out their hands, usually in the direction of food, and saying "Mo!" over and over again. There is little doubt that children from two to four years are in command of sufficient vocabulary to make their wishes
195 known. Under the stimulus of rage even five-year-olds are quite fluent
868 in their use of imprecations. One little boy whose aunt was trying to
865 make him carry a basket to his mother when he was more interested in playing, turned on her and said, "Evil spirit, evil spirit! May you have

dysentery; may you have smallpox!" (*Kari berka, hari berka! Asi* [195]
berka, tapaka berka!) Quite apart from the fluency this implies, it was 868
a singularly bad bit of cursing, since both are particularly dreaded dis- 865
eases. To make matters worse his grandfather had just died of dysentery
and everyone in the household was afraid of the ghost.

My evidence for early speech is confined largely to imprecations during temper tantrums, since in most other respects small children were quite shy in attempting to talk. They were to be seen occasionally addressing a few words quietly to an age-mate or asking an older person for something. There was no direct speech training given by adults. In fact, there was a definite pattern of ridiculing the mistakes of children and teasing them about such errors. Children have to pick up speech through the absorptive processes of hearing older people talk and having instructions addressed to them.

DISCIPLINE

This brings us to another element that enters in early childhood and 857
may continue through the entire life of the less assertive adults, especially women. As soon as a child can toddle about and understand commands, it may be sent on errands and ordered by any adult to give small services. In early childhood such services consist of little more than fetching and carrying things at hand. There is no equivalent of *please* or *thank you* in the Abui language, and the tone of voice in which such services are requested is clearly peremptory. As the anecdote just told
in connection with talking indicates, children soon learn to rebel. De- [865]
mands and modes of escape are more clearly developed in late childhood (see Chapter 5), but pressure and resistance are established early.

Since the Alorese have few sacred objects, commands are not loaded 858
with prohibitions. Not all houses contain an ancestral hearth or other 861
sacred objects that children are supposed to avoid. There is little feeling of sacredness attached to any paraphernalia, and taboo restrictions are few and casually observed, so that no heavy burden of learning along these lines is placed on small children. Already at this stage children are not so much debarred from adult activity as given no role in it. This means that such learning as goes on is largely in terms of restrictive discipline and absorption, rather than permissive discipline or deliberate training.

The preceding paragraphs adumbrate the system of shame, ridicule, 861
and teasing that older children and adults use in dealing with their 865
juniors. For instance, it was quite common when children were crying, for mothers to say, "Shame. Don't you see So-and-so is here and sees

861 you cry." This was true for tears provoked by fright as well as by
865 other causes, when comforting and reassuring the child might seem more pertinent.

855 Again, this system appears more clearly in an older age group (see
865 Chapter 5), but the pattern is set in early childhood. It is customary, for instance, to prod and tug at toddlers in a good-natured and affectionate fashion. One favorite form of such handling is to tug the penes of small boys and to poke fingers or arrows into their distended abdomens or in the direction of their crotches. Under such treatment a child often becomes mildly irritable and aggressive, but any show of temper on his part is greeted with laughter and encouragement in the form of recommendations like "Hit him!" "Kill him!" This encouragement to indulge in physical violence is as inappropriate a form of training for adult life, especially for boys, as can well be imagined. Physical
[157] violence in adult men is one of the most dreaded forms of behavior, since it can have widespread repercussions upon the safety, as well as upon the financial resources, of the whole community.

865 The foregoing might lead one to expect a considerable amount of hitting and scuffling among young children. Actually it is relatively rare. When small children come into conflict, usually over food or some possession either seized or not shared, the commonest form of aggressive assertion is a slyly administered pinch, in which a bit of flesh is caught between the nails of the thumb and forefinger and then twisted. The aggressor usually takes to his heels after such an attack. This behavior is probably the result of parental training. A child who strikes other children will be slapped in return by his adult kin, so that even small children learn very soon to resort to subterfuge.

855 Frightening children is also a favorite device, used especially by adults who are not the child's most immediate kin. For instance, a five-year-old boy was watching a mechanical toy roll toward him on my verandah. He watched with the greatest interest and calm until a young man began yelling excitedly at him, saying it would bite. The older children joined in the yelling, all of which sent the child into a spasm of fear that amused the group highly. Constant threats, accompanied by the brandishing of a knife, are made to cut off children's ears or hands. The adult is playful in his intentions, but some children are seriously frightened by this form of teasing. Children who cry persistently are
[865] frightened with bogeyman characters called Kwokamaug Berka (bad cat of Kwo), Maniakani (black Mani), and Padahavelulua. The usual phrase employed is, "If you are not careful, Padahavelulua will come and hit you."

539

The story of Padahavelulm is a highly significant tale of the deserted child triumphant. It is an unusually fine fantasy of child training and revenge for it. The story as here given is a brief abstract of a much longer tale, and for the sake of brevity the hero's name is shortened to Pada.

Pada was playing with another child whom he hit so that it cried. Pada's parents came, asked who had struck the child. The other children said, "Pada." So his parents slapped him and took him home. He slipped out and went back to play with the children. (This episode is repeated three times.)

Then his mother gave him a water tube with a hole in the bottom and told him to fetch water down in the ravine. While he waited for the tube to fill he wandered up and down the stream catching lizards and eating their legs and tails. The fourth time he went back to the tube, only to find it still unfilled, he said, "What kind of water is this that I am fetching?" A bird spoke and said, "Ru, ru. Your mother made a hole in the tube." Pada refused to believe it and replied, "Oh, no! She is at home cooking millet for me." Later the bird warned him that his parents were collecting their valuables and planning to leave. Again Pada berated the bird and refused to believe it.

This continued until finally, as the parents and the grandmother were leaving the village, Pada discovered for himself that the water tube had a hole in it and that he had been deceived. When he reached the village, he called after his parents, "Mother! Father! Wait for me." His grandmother looked back and urged him to follow, but his parents said, "We were all gathered in one village, but you were very bad, so you can't live with us."

When they reached the sea, his parents went on walking across the water, but his grandmother was sorry for him and waited at the shore. She dug a pit in the sand for him to sleep in, and while he was asleep, she followed his mother and father. Pada awoke and looked; his mother and father were already near the island of Hamintuku and his grandmother was halfway there. He cried hard, saying, "Grandmother, mother, father, I am good now." His grandmother called telling him to return to the village. He went back crying; he cried all the way from the coast to the village. He had no loincloth and walked naked.

In the village a rooster told Pada where his grandmother had hidden rice, fire, pots, and other supplies for him, so that he was able to plant a garden and cook for himself.

Pada grew up, but he was still naked so he was ashamed and hid in the house most of the time. One day two girls and their father were

539 passing by, and the father sent the girls up into the house to borrow fire. Pada refused at first to let the girls come in, but they insisted. When they returned, they said the young man was naked but that his face resembled their father's. So the father gave Pada a loincloth and then insisted that he marry the two daughters.

Again the rooster told Pada where his grandmother had hidden mokos, so that he was able to pay a bride-price. Next Pada wished to build his lineage house. When he gave the feast for thatching the house, his father, mother, and grandmother came. As they left he presented each with a bamboo tube of blood sausage and a basket of rice. However, when the three stopped to eat on their way home, the mother and father on splitting open their tubes found them filled with feces and discovered that their baskets of rice held only hulls. The grandmother, however, had been given good food.

In this story a child is both deceived and deserted as a disciplinary measure. Even the kindly grandmother is unable to give him more than partial succor, and she, too, deserts him through trickery on the beach. Finally the father-in-law gives him the gift of wives, for which of course he must pay. The climax of the story is the child's revenge upon his parents and his better treatment of the kindlier grandmother.

154 This tale can be considered a projection of the inconsistency of 539 discipline and consequently the reluctance to accept the results of behavior. Because of the revenge motif it fails quite obviously to point the [861] moral intended when it is told to children as a disciplinary measure. It is almost as if a fantasy compensating for childhood difficulties outweighed the adult responsibility for discipline.

865 There are many other minor devices used to frighten small children, especially to make them stop crying, since during early childhood crying is one of the major problems confronting parents. One such device is a small crude doll representing a warrior with drawn bow. It may be hung under the eaves of a house and whenever a child cries excessively, its mother or grandmother threatens it by saying, "The killer on the verandah will shoot you."

This account would be unduly biased if I gave the impression that only frightening and punishing are used to stop children's crying. The autobiographies provide instances in which crying children are consoled with small gifts, usually food. I have seen a thirteen-year-old boy give a rat to an unrelated child of two to stop its crying after I had taken a toy doll from it. The point to be made once more is not that 861 children are treated with consistent harshness, but rather that either harshness or indulgence may be used in an attempt to quiet them, with

the result that the young child can never establish a clear image of punishment 861
for "being bad" or reward for "being good." It is just as likely
as not to be rewarded for the "badness" of excessive crying.

TANTRUMS

From even such a brief description any child psychologist should be 865
able to prognosticate one of the outstanding and striking forms of emotional 155
expression in the early childhood of the Atimelanger—the temper
tantrum. Rages are so consistent, so widespread, and of such long
duration among young children that they were one of my first and
most striking observations. A common cause of tantrums is desertion—
more specifically the departure of the mother for the fields each morning.

For instance, one child, a little boy of approximately two years who
was under observation over a period of nine months, had a violent rage
every morning when his mother left. His paroxysms lasted from a few
minutes to as many as twenty. He would begin by pursuing his mother;
then as she outstripped him he would throw himself on the ground, roll
back and forth, and often beat his head on the earth. His mother's reaction
was typical in its inconsistency. On successive days I have noted [861]
her ignore him, return to comfort him, return to slap him, and return
pretending to stay for the day, only to slip away when he had been
diverted.

Very rarely is a reward for being good promised a child, and more 861
rarely still is the promise kept. This means that children do not learn to [155
place confidence in words. This, in turn, should slow down the learning 868]
process by reducing the use of language as a short cut to incentive
and performance. Later in life, when the children are capable of performing
real services, they are rewarded more frequently, but by then
the reward is in the nature of an economic transaction and one in
which the child has no bargaining power.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties 855
of the person on whom the child depends for its gratifications, is 865
found in a series of statements taken from Tilapada's autobiography. [857]
The naïve implications of her account of caring for Maliema, a
younger sister, are perhaps more telling than the statements themselves.

"On the way [to the fields] Maliema cried a lot, so I put her down
and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she
was quiet. . . . When Maliema was a little older, she would cry to go
to the fields with me. If I was not angry with her, I would take her [857]
along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the

855 small ones. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
865 cried to go places; she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry."

855 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
861 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
155 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child may be placated and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

855 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
865 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable rages may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my attention, although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or apparently hungry. The tantrums usually disappear before the child is five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages of seven and nine still had acute rages whenever they found themselves deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the evening meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of amused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
[869] who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sudden surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few cases of constructive teaching, outside of purely physiological controls, that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
586 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
155 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Talfani, for instance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

ternal uncle, to emphasize his point, picked up Talfani and started back 593
to his village with her. The father flew into a rage and the child was 586
fought over by the two men. When the father finally secured the child, 155
he held her tightly in his arms all morning. Talfani's care had been primarily entrusted to her maternal grandmother, and when the grandmother finally left with her brother, the child wept so insistently to go with her that the father, with obvious reluctance, finally surrendered the child.

There was a similar situation when Nicolas divorced his first wife, by whom he had two sons, one about five years old and [illegible] other approximately two and a half. The father had had very little contact with the children, since he was away most of the time. On the other hand, for an Alorese parent, the mother had been particularly indulgent and fond. At the time of the divorce there were days of violent and public recrimination between the parents, which ended finally in the surrender of both children to the father and the departure of the mother to a distant village, where she was to marry another man.

Obviously all children are not exposed to such potentially traumatic 155
and affectionally disorienting situations, but practically no child escapes being witness to such occurrences. In the autobiographies there are a number of anecdotes demonstrating the skill children develop in playing one parent off against the other. The result of all this must be that the child is robbed of a sense of security and stability by being deprived of the opportunity to form a pattern of stable relationships.

RESIDENCE

Mobility of residence is another factor that may contribute to a 361
child's sense of instability. During early childhood such a sense of insta- [155]
bility may begin to take form and it will be emphasized by later repetition. The autobiographies give the most graphic picture of constant moving from house to house, village to village, and village to field. It is true that these moves are always within a circumscribed orbit. The result may be that a person becomes familiar with a landscape rather than with a residence.

Alorese houses are perishable. A field house rarely lasts more than [342]
two seasons. A village house of the fala type may last five or six years, a lineage house (*kadang*) somewhat longer. No one place of residence is constantly occupied for any great length of time. Even within the yearly agricultural cycle a family is apt to move back and forth between a village house and a field house.

The child's escape from irksome home life by changes of residence 155

155 and by the appeal to other kin is discussed in the next chapter. Mangma's autobiography is particularly rich in such material. The possible psychological repercussions of this mobility are patent. Neither persons nor houses are secure and stable. Furthermore, it is interesting to note in Chapter 12 on "Children's Drawings" that children seem to associate houses and persons.

CONCLUSIONS

Without wishing to overdraw the implications of the picture of early childhood in Atimelang, I see it as the period that inflicts hunger, desertion, and discomfort, even to the point of pain, on children who have at their disposal no mechanisms of defense or mastery, either physical or mental, by which they can deal adequately with the outer world. Rebellion and protest may not be the necessary concomitants of these frustrations, but when these are linked with inconsistency of discipline and when there is no system of rewards for "being good," nothing but vigorous emotional self-assertion is left as a mode of expression. When the child's sense of helplessness is further reinforced by contrast with a more favorable situation in infancy, and when the libidinal resources connected with erogenous zones have not been systematically repressed but on the contrary have been allowed free development, temper tantrums are the obvious device open to the child for achieving his ends.

Chapter 5

Late Childhood: From Loincloth to Thoughts of Marriage

WHEN an Alorese child is given his loincloth, he has taken the first step 858
toward adult status. This marks the beginning of late childhood, a period
that lasts from the age of five or six years until adolescence. Children 153
between these ages are called moku. At the beginning of this stage the prolonged and violent temper tantrums begin to disappear, and with some exceptions they completely die out in the course of two or three years. I should suggest that the disappearance of these tantrums is explicable in terms of the data contained in the preceding chapter. Tantrums are not an adequate technique for mastering an external world so inconsistent as that provided by Atimelang. Aside from having the futility of this technique borne in on them, children from five or six onward begin to pick up other devices for mastering the environment—devices that give greater satisfactions than those they can force from their elders. It is primarily with these devices that this section will deal.

At this stage differences become apparent between the life of boys and that of girls, so that it will frequently be necessary to treat them separately. Certainly one general impression that can be stated immediately is that boys are much less shy, much more in evidence, and much more mobile than girls. The reasons may be found in what follows.

RELATION OF FOOD TO TRAINING FOR THE ADULT ROLE

The first question to consider is what food the child expects and 855
from what sources. A boy can expect a meal at home about seven 867
o'clock in the morning and another at about the same time in the eve- [264]
ning. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself in the fluid play groups of free-roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot; a variety of insects, usually spurned by adults, can be found; in the fields near the house are papayas, mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and other vegetables that can be eaten raw or can be easily cooked.

As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their 867
own children and their playmates, but if raiding is too constant or the crop is scarce, children may be forbidden this kind of foraging. Such objections are most likely to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their assistance in the fields might be expected and is not

867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score,
and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over
the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still
effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an
overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt
friendships between age-mates. Mangma's autobiography (page 204)
[578] reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when
the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play
groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpada's autobiography (page 236)
graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding
[578 fosters one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and
155] the fear of theft.
485]

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals
as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is custom-
[855 ary to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering
578] about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to
men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they
[867] undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the
role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately
883 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve
much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of re-
lationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of educa-
tion in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of
the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is there-
fore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of
adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form
867 work groups (*tatul*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each
437 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor
is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the
rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are
plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the
mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled
corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such
group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger
may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set
up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who
are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recog-
nized as a predominantly female activity.

855
857 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some

of the less desirable portions of the animal to roast on the spot. Rat [224]
hunting, in which a group of boys assist grown men, is another source 855
of food. The rats are often roasted in the fields where they are caught, 857
and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less desirable [262]
parts. It is noteworthy that there is no institutionalized recognition of a boy's first success in hunting, as there is among many peoples. If a boy is praised at all for his successes, it is only because an indulgent adult happens to take notice of them. In any event, the procuring of the day's food is as precarious and inconsistent as the administering of discipline. Furthermore, the food secured is of the less choice kind, a factor [855]
which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child a feeling of being undervalued. It is certainly not without significance that in an autobiography like Malelaka's, where he frequently stresses the good treatment he received as a child, good treatment meant being given food. It indicates that feeding is not something a child expects as a matter of course.

There is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is 857
neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers and have more demands made upon them in terms of their adult role as providers for the family. Weaving baskets, sewing pandanus mats, and making bark cloth are additional skills deliberately [868]
taught girls at this time by their mothers. I knew only one woman, an orphan, who did not know how to make baskets. Interestingly enough, many boys also pick up these skills to a minor degree, but without deliberate instruction.

Girls frequently go out to the fields to work with their mothers or 855
with companions. Also, women are responsible for harvesting and pre- 857
paring food. By the time a little girl is nine or ten years old, she can 155
cook for the ordinary family needs. She therefore has more regular access to food. I know of no instances in which little girls were guilty of pilfering from gardens, although accusations to this effect were sometimes leveled at them. Such charges, on the other hand, gave rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. This does not mean, of course, that adult women do not steal, but one might expect a higher frequency of thefts by men than by women. Out of twenty-four theft anecdotes twenty-one apply to men. In the autobiographies there are eighteen [865]
identifiable cases of theft; sixteen of these were reported by the men.

Although a girl has more regular access to food she does not have 855
the guest privileges of the small boy. She gets no presents during butch- 568
ering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to remember her and give her a bit of meat. The meat at feasts is always

563 The meat at feasts is always
855 distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their house-
[574] hold. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons but not for themselves or their daughters. This is consistent with the theory that
[262] flesh food is the property of men. Since feasts are primarily occasions for food distribution and actual consumption is at home, women do get a share, but only as dependents of the men. Also, since meat is eaten primarily in connection with feasts or sacrifices and is definitely a treat, the way is open for it to become set in children's minds as a symbol of masculine prerogative. The system of meat distribution helps to rein-
[562] force early in life, and on a very basic level, the role of masculine prestige in the culture. Men are not the providers; in fact, they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for, but they are also the purveyors of a delicacy.

853 The girl, then, is set during early childhood in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle that she will follow all her life. Yet no girl who is unmarried may make a contribution in her own name to food displays, even though she may have grown and prepared some of the food that is brought in her mother's name. This means that she may be assuming adult responsibilities without receiving adult recognition. It is worth noting in this connection that public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

539 The following condensed version of an Alorese tale illustrates nicely the role of the sexes, and especially of the mother-son relationship, in the matter of food. Here the young men appear demanding and vengeful, while the woman vacillates between being a gratifying and a frustrating figure.

Story of the Wasteful Sons

Two brothers went to work in their garden and their mother cooked food for them to take along. When they came home they said, "Our friends have finished the food. It would be nice to cook more." So the mother cooked more food and took it to them in the garden. Part of the food they ate, part they spilled. [The meaning is that in carrying the food to their mouths with a coconut-shell spoon they were careless and let a portion fall to the ground.] In the evening they again asked their mother to cook food for them to take to the fields. They took the food and again ate part and spilled part. Then they ran home to their mother, saying, "Mother, we are sick; therefore cook us millet." The mother put the feces of their youngest brother in the pot of millet she cooked for them.

When the brothers entered the house, they smelled feces and refused to eat. They said, "Mother, it smells of *feces*." She answered, "Then 539 go to the privy to eat." They went to the privy but still smelled feces. When they returned to the center of the house, they still smelled them. Then they saw that feces were mixed with the millet and refused to eat.

The mother said to the youngest son, "Take this food and eat it." Thereupon he demanded of his mother all his adult male regalia [sword, bow, arrows, shields, plumes, and the like, the dialogue concerning which forms the bulk of the story]. When he was fully accoutered, he ran from the house, saying, "My mother cooked millet and feces for me to eat." He ran off toward the sea. His mother wept and followed him, saying, "It would be nice if you returned, my child." But he refused, reproaching her once more with her deed.

On the beach he deloused his mother and she fell asleep during the process. He then went out to the reef and summoned sea spirits to wake his mother with a wave. When the wave nudged his mother awake she pled once more for her son's return. Again he refused, repeating the story of her ill treatment.

As the son began his ascent from the sea to the sky [to become the morning star] he instructed his mother to prepare the cornfields of his brothers and to weed for them. His mother made one more attempt to bring him back by shoving a pole out to him on the reef, but it did not reach him.

PLAY, PRIVILEGE, AND RESPONSIBILITY

Aside from the described differences in relation to food, no sharp 857 distinctions are made in bringing up boys and girls, and there is no formal segregation. Children play a great deal. Girls emphasize food-gathering activities and cooking; boys emphasize hunting. It is noteworthy that the children have many games and toys, some of which are very ingenious—for example, a pressure squirt gun that is fashioned of bamboo.

The children's aptitude in games stands in contrast to that of adults, [524 who play no games at all and whose recreation is confined to dances, 535] ceremonial gatherings, and, for men, gong beating. I made no exhaustive survey of children's games and toys, but of a casual list of twenty-one items all but two were used by both sexes. The exceptions were cat's cradle, which was a girl's game, and wooden tops, which were for [524] boys.*

This list excludes the games imitating adult activities, which are a large part of play. Here, as among adults, one finds that skills may be

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* Compare sex differences in the subject matter of the children's drawings in Chapter 11.

857 Here, as among adults, one finds that skills may be weighted on the side of one sex or the other, but unskillful imitations [867] are not frowned upon or subjected to ill-natured ridicule. For instance, I have seen women laughingly play at beating gongs or shooting arrows, [524] while men will playfully attempt to weave baskets or pound grain. In the same way little girls will try their hands at top-spinning and boys at cat's cradle.

The care of infants is a responsibility in which boys and girls, like men and women, are inclined to share equally. Children of both sexes may at times resent this task, as reference to the autobiographies will show. The following notes illustrate nicely the sort of scene that forcing such duties on a child may produce.

861 857 Early one morning three little boys about twelve years old were gaily playing marbles on the dance place when Kolang appeared carrying her three-month-old infant. She approached her son, one of the three, and tried to strike him with the side of her clenched fist, as she scolded him for running off without the baby. At first the boy laughed and dodged. Finally, the mother got close enough for two or three blows, all rather light, and then she seized his ears and twisted them until the boy wailed. The mother stood by, still scolding him, but more gently now, and trying to hang the shawl with the baby in it over his shoulder. Some women who were waiting to go to the fields with Kolang joined in berating the boy for his unwillingness to care for his baby brother. Finally the mother picked up a stick and dealt the blubbering boy a soft blow. He then capitulated and swung the carrying shawl over his shoulder. During this episode, his two playmates had gone on playing marbles, paying no attention to the fuss. As soon as the women left, however, the three boys abandoned their game and set off on their daily aimless wandering about the village, the one burdened with his infant sibling.

857 Although boys quite patently have fewer duties than do girls, they have at the same time more privileges. For instance, at one of the young-corn feasts held in February, boys are the main actors and race through the village symbolically driving out all the rats for the coming year, while women and girls stay tightly shut in the houses. During the communal pig hunt at the end of the dry season, boys may accompany the men to serve as fags, while women and girls are forbidden to approach the hunting camp. At all feasts not only do boys help in the butchering but they are the ones primarily relied upon to play the gongs. No linkage between privileges and duties is established in childhood.

In their play children actually imitate many adult activities. After a burial I have seen children playing death feasts for four or five days in

succession. They beat pieces of wood representing gongs. They organ- 557
ize dances comparable to those of adults, in which they compose verses.
This versifying provokes good-natured ridicule among their elders. In
their play with bows and arrows boys learn skill in hunting. They even
organize mock wars between villages, in which they shoot blunt ar-
rows, throw stones, and hurl obscene insults that most adult men would
never use unless they were in an uncontrollable rage. The part boys
play in rat hunting, house thatching, and comparable male activities is
on a voluntary basis and is usually joyously entered into as long as they
are in the mood for it.

In most instances, boys are not counted on to render valuable serv- [558]
ices. Not until they are thirteen or fourteen are they considered old 853
enough to be sent on financial errands. It is a source of considerable 867
pride at this age to be given these assignments, and most boys seem to
carry them out willingly enough. However, in one instance that came
to my notice this was not the case. Nicolas ordered a half brother to
leave early the following morning for a village about a mile away
to fetch a sword that had been promised him. When the boy failed to
set out the following morning and seemed unwilling to go, Nicolas
flew into a rage and began pursuing him with a length of liana about as
thick as his wrist. The boy stumbled and fell, whereupon Nicolas stood
over him and beat him unmercifully. Although Nicolas' behavior was
censured by the men present, none of them made any move to inter-
fere. At last a distant kinswoman tried to drag the boy away from the
rain of blows, but she did not try to stop Nicolas himself. Again there [865]
is the picture of restrictive discipline, sometimes brutal in quality, but
no attempt to train the young through permissive attitudes.

On the whole, my impression is that children, in their curiosity and 557
eagerness about the life around them, more often than not participate in 558
adult activities. Depending on their effectiveness in a particular situa-
tion, they are either utilized or driven off. From the adult's viewpoint,
children are welcome when useful, ignored when not, and chased away
when nonfunctionally obtrusive.

Children are held responsible for their misdeeds, however. One dra- 861
matic case of this sort is worth repeating in some detail. The hero- 553
victim of the episode was a boy about thirteen who was generally 672
known by his nickname, Red Eyes—a name that is about the equiva-
lent of our "Spitfire." Red Eyes was the ringleader of a play group of
boys whose ages ranged from about seven to fifteen years. The tumu-
kun had a guest in his household who happened to stroll past the place
where the boys were playing. For no determinable reason Red Eyes

861 858 672 yelled at the guest that he had six fingers. Any unfavorable reference to physical appearance or peculiarities is a deadly insult, and in this instance the guest took the opportunity to institute a litigation against the boys, demanding a moko worth two dollars and fifty cents as a fine. There was no attempt to deny the guilt of the children, although only Red Eyes was to blame, and the older kin immediately set out to round up the culprits. Several of them managed to escape. Eight others were dragged to the dance place and made to squat on the ground before the bench of the chief. The kin of the children made a proper show of indignation and two of the stricter ones collected the boys' bows and arrows to toss them on the fire. Several of the men rapped their own children sharply on the heads with their knuckles.

672 [859] By this time the younger and less hardened boys were openly in tears. Meanwhile Red Eyes' father was summoned in his son's stead, and after a long discussion the insulted guest was persuaded to accept a broken gong worth fifty cents as compensation. The tumukun then 867 delivered a moral lecture, which was one of the rare occasions when behavioral precepts were laid down. He said, "If a person is lame, do not stare at him; if someone has big eyes, do not mention it; if someone makes mistakes in talking, do not laugh. If you do these things, people become angry and then your fathers and elder brothers will have to pay a fine for your faults." Here, the tumukun was expounding proper behavior, particularly for males. Another informant, in drawing the differences between men and women, said that men had to be more careful than women not to be insulting, because they were more vulnerable to financial revenge.

672 858 861 The anecdote quoted above serves to illustrate many points: First, children are held responsible for misdeeds; second, group responsibility holds even for children; third, a child can escape some of the repercussions of his misdeeds by running off and hiding; and lastly, moral lectures are customarily delivered after, rather than before, the misdeed has been committed.

858 The responsibility of boys for misdeeds, especially theft, is illustrated in a number of incidents in the autobiographies. Perhaps even more far-reaching in its implications is the inclination of people to blame any mishap, destruction, or theft on children. On several occasions when I complained of the theft or destruction of my property, I was answered with a shrug and the comment that boys must have done it and that therefore there was little chance of discovering the guilty one. Actually, in those instances that could be followed up adults were the real culprits.

CHILDREN AND THEIR PROPERTY

Parents have no scruples about appropriating anything a child may 421
have, or about treating it carelessly at the same time that they admit the 558
child's ownership of the property. This is in marked contrast to the rigidly scrupulous attitudes of some other nonliterate peoples such as certain American Indian tribes. Repeatedly I gave children small gifts, ranging from candy to a tin container, only to see these gifts in the hands of an adult a few minutes later, while the child stood by without source of redress. One of the major difficulties in using free-play techniques was that adults could not be kept from joining the children and appropriating the toys. As young people begin producing or acquiring property of greater value in adult eyes, this situation becomes more acute. (See Chapter 6.) A quarrel between two boys over a bow illustrates several aspects of this situation.

Padalang, a boy of about fourteen, gave his bow to an uncle, who 421
promised to mend it for him. When it was mended, the uncle handed 882
the bow to his son instead of returning it to his nephew. The son in turn loaned it to a playmate, who broke it beyond repair. When the nephew discovered what had happened he went to the house of the boy who had broken the bow and seized his bow in compensation — a thoroughly adult procedure. The two boys came to blows and soon both were bellowing with rage and pain. Adults took a hand in separating them and suggested various compromises, which the enraged boys both stubbornly refused to accept. Adult relatives became sufficiently excited to begin snatching the bow from each other's hands. At this point [578]
two neutral observers rushed in, seized the bow, and broke it into pieces.

Fantan the Interpreter, who was one of the two neutral observers, [768
commented afterward that they would not have dared to break the bow 621]
in this fashion if two adults had been quarreling, but instead everyone would have taken sides and tried to settle matters by compromise. Trivial as this incident is, it illustrates not only the helplessness of children 855
in protecting their own property, but also the peculiar harshness to- [558]
ward growing children that manifests itself repeatedly in teasing, ridiculing, frightening, and beating, as well as in a certain contemptuous highhandedness where their property interests are concerned.

As harshness may take the form of confiscating children's property, 855
so solicitude may manifest itself in giving them gifts. A minor gift of meat in the name of boys at feasts has already been mentioned. The loincloth, the symbol of status, is another gift children receive from

855 parents. Here again, boys, who wear the more highly priced woven cloth, are more privileged than girls, who receive only bark cloth. Both sexes between the ages of eight and twelve hope for the gift of their first shawl. Boys upon request can usually get a man to make them small bows and wooden-tipped arrows, possessions they begin to covet when they are only six or seven. Carrying baskets provided by their mothers are the counterpart for girls. Children of both sexes hope for the hoodlike pandanus raincapes that add so much to comfort during the rainy season, and most mothers see that their children are provided with them, since their manufacture involves only about two or three hours' work.

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858 All these gifts are small in comparison to the inheritance of fields "when a child is old enough to work" — which usually means between the years of eight and fourteen. Boys and girls alike inherit fields from both fathers and mothers. No distinction is made on a sex basis. The only discrimination is on the basis of industry and aptitude. This inheritance is not so significant as might at first appear. Before the child is told that a particular field is its own, it has probably already helped its parents in cultivating the land. After ownership is transferred, simply
[857] by a verbal statement, the field is still worked in collaboration with the family, and in return the child is expected to work in other fields the family owns. The crops raised on a child's field are stored in the loft along with the rest of the year's provisions and are used jointly. The only advantage accruing to the child is that the parents, if they feel they can afford it, will take a portion of the child's produce to the coast to exchange for cloth for his use. In other words, the child's satisfactions from labor are contributing to the larder and perhaps getting the coveted textile. Here again, however, children are largely at the mercy of adults, as portions of the autobiographies indicate. That the advantages are not too patent is shown by the fact that many children have to be forcibly reminded of the virtues of industry.

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867
165 The unreliability of parents toward their children's property gives an Alorese child early opportunity either to learn the ethics basic to adult property dealings or to develop antagonism not only toward the parents but toward the whole system they represent. This point will appear more clearly in the next chapter.

DISCIPLINE

861 In any discussion of child training, kinds of discipline and the persons who may administer them are of paramount importance. Theoretically, corporal punishment in Atimelang should be administered

only by biologic parents. Theory does not deflect from the parents to 861
designated relatives any portion of the right to punish; there are no avunculate or amitate relationships. In practice, however, theory is ignored. True siblings and parents' siblings are almost as free as parents themselves in rapping children on the head, in pulling ears, twisting mouths, tying up a child, and other such forms of treatment. Furthermore, older boys whose depredations may make them annoying to adults may be struck by anyone who catches them in the act, and adults are free in their use of the loose kinship terminology to justify such corporal punishment.

Since parents are not nurturing or idealized figures, physical punishment from them is probably not so acceptable as it might otherwise be. And since corporal punishment may be meted out by any irritated adult who cannot even theoretically claim to be nurturing, it is not to be wondered at that children are resentful and fight back when they are punished.

In addition to corporal punishment, teasing, ridicule, and deception 858
are widely used, not only in disciplining children but also as favorite 522
forms of amusement, especially among young men. I have seen youths 867
in their late teens and early twenties send boys on fool's errands and deceive them with false promises of rewards for services, and then guffaw with laughter when the crestfallen child returned. Fantan the Interpreter one day called to an eight-year-old girl whom we passed on the trail, saying he had just left some honey at her house and she had better hurry home for it. Actually, we had taken some ripe breadfruit to her house but it had been eaten up before we left. On another occasion, a man of about twenty-eight sent a twelve-year-old boy to fetch a bunch of bananas he said he had left at the foot of the village. In return he promised the boy six of them. The boy raced gleefully to the indicated spot but returned saying he had not found them. He was sent off again, and when he returned the second time he realized that he had been deceived. A group of six or seven grown men were sitting about watching the procedure and laughing heartily, to the boy's evident shame and anger.

Under such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that lying is taken [867]
as a matter of course in Atimelang. To say "You lie" is considered a 577
statement of fact, not an insult or a reproach. People frequently remark, 181
"He speaks with his mouth, but we do not know what he has in his heart." To speak without regard for accuracy but not necessarily with intent to deceive for one's own advantage is called "talking at random." The most commonplace statements are doubted. When I told friends

577 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I
181 was deceiving them. Only actual preparations convinced them. In fact,
Fantan the Interpreter, who insisted that I really meant to leave, was
reprimanded by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way;
we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *ful batol*,
[193] to persuade with false promises; *-kol*, to prevaricate; *-kora*, to deceive
with threats or intent to frighten; *likda*, to slant (distort) meaning, to
speak crookedly; *rima*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tafai-akdia*,
to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *tanai tanga*,
to talk at random without regard for truth; *-ware*, to deny falsely. This
is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pattern
[867] of mistrusting spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost
early in life, persists throughout adult experiences and reaches its fullest
expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of
finance.

865 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the disciplinary
567 techniques used to bring young children into social alignment.
855 Use of this device continues in late childhood. Obviously, however,
bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. Formerly
the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of
[646] slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop approximately
twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very frequent
occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being
bought and sold by people from Atimelang, so that the practice must
have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children
of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be
stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retribution
were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved
blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose parents
were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A
person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret
and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright
or used in a dowry and bride-price exchange. Such children seemed
usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or
two, always being moved farther from their original village until finally
they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These
slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members
567 of the family, but a special term (*maiya*) was applied to them.

855 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

of its adopted parents and might live down the stigma of its origin if it 567
proved itself adaptable and able. Once such a person had established 855
himself as a competent adult in the community, it was considered offensive to refer to his origin. It is quite obvious that the lot of a person who has been a slave is not a particularly hard one; but that it is a
source of fear to children may well be imagined. Fear of being sold into [861]
slavery may be intensified by early childhood experiences of parental desertion. The social attitude toward slavery is undoubtedly colored by experiences in early life.

A similar type of kidnapping may be a form of vengeance directed 567
toward parents delinquent in debt payments, so that the child becomes 672
the victim not of his own misdemeanors but of those of his parents. It 685
is a hard lesson in group responsibility for a guiltless child. Such oc- 858
currences, however, are undoubtedly rare. My notes contain only one anecdote of this sort, but it is worth repeating for the light it casts on oblique vengeances, the persistence of hostilities, and the value of a child to parents and to strangers. The event must have occurred some twenty years ago.

Lakaseni of Dikimpe, acting for Senmani of Karieta, got a moko 567
from some Fungwati people. It was worth only a dollar and a half, but 685
despite persistent dunning by Lakaseni, Senmani refused to pay for it. 627
The Fungwati people, to place pressure on Lakaseni, kidnapped his child. In retaliation Lakaseni tried to steal Senmani's eight-year-old daughter but was stopped by one of Senmani's sons-in-law. Despite the beating he received, Lakaseni returned the same day to Karieta and managed to steal another of Senmani's daughters, a child of three or four years. He took her to Fungwati and so bought his child's release.

The mother of the stolen child heard what had happened and that night tried to break into the house in Fungwati where the girl was being held. The door was securely barred but she managed to break through the house flooring. Once she was in the house, however, a group of men fought her off. Senmani himself went to Fungwati the next day and pled with his creditors, but they were adamant, saying they would release the child only when he repaid his debt with exactly the same kind of moko he had secured from them. This particular type was rare; Senmani could not find one immediately and the Fungwati people refused to give him extra time to search for it. The next day they sold the child to a distant village for a three-dollar moko. As the narrator put it, "Fungwati and Karieta had been at war and they still remembered it. Even though Senmani cried and cried, they sold his child anyhow."

567 When Senmani heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave
627 her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider
685 her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head
766 as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungwati, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

593 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the par-
567 ents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

868 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at him in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

869 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire
855 their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the
775 speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never
[755] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

869 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits
776 of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the malignancy 869
of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a 775
ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of 858
teasing and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A 522
case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' [177
voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast 538]
are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect
for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief
significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of
girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man
who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word
often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with
fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and
made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through deception, 761
teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these
methods may be linked to another. From them the child learns not only
stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of
human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely during 864
early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loincloth. [856]
At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that
"children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who
have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging
and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation.
There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment
of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins
adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed
at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most
children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of aggression [865]
at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme
provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent.
Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical
punishment from adults (see Lomani's autobiography, page 444). Some
youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the
same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience
in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

864 doubtedly occurs, both in homosexual and heterosexual forms. The autobiographies of Tilapada and Lomani contain accounts of girls' assuming the role of males in play, but these anecdotes do not indicate that any overt homosexual practices were employed. They may repre-
[514] sent an ego problem in which certain girls were rebellious at the less privileged feminine role and were escaping in fantasy to the masculine one. There is, however, one reported case of mutual masturbation between girls. The society disapproves and is shocked by overt homosexual practices between girls but does not object to play activities of the sort described in Tilapada's autobiography. Homosexual practices between small boys are reported. An informant insisted that "only small boys of between five and seven" indulge in this sort of play. It is said that if such behavior comes to the attention of any adult the children are scolded, but that it is not considered an offense of sufficient magnitude to warrant corporal punishment. It seems unlikely that sexual practices of this type are anything but sporadic occurrences, and they certainly do not loom as a problem in the awareness of the Atimelanger.

Play groups of boys often join groups of girls in field houses for several days at a time. Adults are usually suspicious of such alliances and are inclined to warn the girls against the boys. These play groups usually imitate adult relationships. This may at times take the form of attempted intercourse, performed either secretly in pairs or within a group of age-mates. As one informant put it, "Children hear their mothers and fathers having intercourse. Then they say to each other, 'Our parents do this, so let us also.'" Such behavior is not approved by adults, but when reported or discovered it is likely to be shrugged off as mere play. There is also much rivalry between boys and girls, which may break out into roughhousing that is definitely sexual among the older children. In younger children actual physical contact between those of the same or the opposite sex is casual and unselfconscious. De-
[515] lousing, a form of perfectly proper and affectionate attention, is seen frequently among boys and girls. In general, bodily contacts are taken casually by both children and adults.

[125] The freedom of children in relation to sex matters was illustrated by a bit of free play set up for them, with the purpose of securing sibling rivalry play. An amputation doll * was used to represent the mother, a rubber doll the older sibling, and a small celluloid doll the nursing infant.

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* An amputation doll is one whose joints are so constructed that the figure can be dismembered and reassembled.

864

I set down the three dolls on my verandah floor. A boy about ten years old immediately said, "It is a man, his wife, and child." I suggested that it was a woman and her two children. The four or five children, ranging in ages from seven to ten years, accepted this politely for a time, although L asked, "Have you a man too?" When I said I had no male doll, B commented, "They are divorced." Actually his own parents were not. B then sent the mother off to work in the fields and left the older sibling in charge of the infant. L, however, promptly brought the mother back from the fields and put the infant in her arms. B immediately picked up the larger doll, laid it in the mother's lap and said, "She nurses her older child too." (Note: the same word, *bebuike*, is used for—to drink, to nurse, and to hold in the arms and fondle and is applied to both males and females.) Then he said, "No, that isn't good," and stood the larger doll between the legs of the seated mother. A then placed the infant doll in the same position, saying, "It is being born." Whereupon L chimed in with the single word "Copulation." This suggests that the role of the larger doll had reverted to that of husband. At this point my interpreter joined the group and laid the larger doll on top of the mother doll. L put the infant doll under the mother.

I then gave the children some plasticine and L immediately made a loincloth for the mother doll. The others began modeling hats and bits of clothing. Next I drew a dance place with chalk on the floor and made the central altar of plasticine. L seated the mother, put the child between her legs in a birth position, and laid the large doll face downward on the mother doll. Some other children placed on the dance place the plasticine models of mokos they had been making. L said, "They copulate, the child is born, and here are the mokos to pay for the woman."

At this point a young man of about twenty joined us, picked up the mother and infant doll, and holding the infant to the mother's breast said, "It is nursing." I said, "But there are no breasts, and the child will be hungry." There was no reaction to this comment, so I modeled one clay breast and placed it on the mother doll. L promptly placed the infant doll against it. I pointed out that there was only one breast, but none of the children attempted to make up the deficiency. Just then an older man came up onto the verandah, and to avoid further interruption and hold the children's attention I showed them that the mother doll could be disjointed. They seemed only mildly interested, and although I told them they might take the doll apart, none of them attempted it.

831 By this time other adults had come and, characteristically, entirely pre-empted the children's playthings despite my attempts to prevent it. The men's play with the doll was singularly like that of the children. The interpreter made another breast and the tumukun placed the infant in a nursing position. Then followed some horseplay between the men, in which intercourse between the dolls was suggested. The attitude of some six women who were drawn by the group of boys and men was one of surprise and amazement at the doll figures, but only one of them, a barren, "masculine" woman, picked up the larger doll and played the clown with it in a mock nursing scene. Not only did the other women not touch the dolls, but much sooner than the men they lost interest and walked off.

861 Castration threats occur but seem to be rarely employed. The cases that were reported all happened in late childhood and chiefly in connection with offenses other than sexual (see Rilpada's autobiography, page 272, and Malelaka's, page 331). It is improbable that such threats are to be considered as traumatic as they may be in our culture, where they occur in connection with sexual and excretory activities that are rigorously suppressed. Further anecdotal material on masturbation, castration, and sex play is to be found in the autobiographies.

865 Obscenity both in our terms and in Alorese terms is not uncommon among children. To adults, obscene language from children is reprehensible and merits a scolding if it goes too far, but it is definitely not one of the major sources of friction between children and adults. The following observation indicates the freedom young children have in this respect.

196
865 Two little boys of seven and nine were racing about apparently having a very good time. The older boy began shouting "Vagina" at the younger one, apparently implying that his friend was a woman. The younger boy was answering "No, no!" each time. Finally the older boy elaborated the insult by shouting "Horse's vagina," at which the younger child redoubled his denials and the good-natured pursuit of his tormentor. Adults in the vicinity paid no attention to the children's shouting and seemed undisturbed by it.

The most common obscenity of young children, which to the Atimelanger is little more than a vulgarism, is "vagina" (*boiy*) or "your mother's vagina" (*ea boiy*). These terms also have the connotation of "to have intercourse." Adults, especially women who are given to careless speech, will use this expression frequently as an expletive of surprise. References to male and female genitals are quite freely made, and I have the impression that "evil spirit," the favorite expletive of early

childhood, is replaced in late childhood to a large extent, but not exclu- 196
sively, by the words for genitals. On the other hand, it was interesting 865
to note in the exchange of insults accompanying mock warfare be- [857]
tween two gangs of boys the point at which adults began to feel that
the children were overstepping the bounds of what might be allowed.
The boys hurled the following remarks at each other without provoking
comment: "Crooked neck," "Yaws buttocks," "Eat feces," "Follow your
dead mother," "Soft bellies," "Swollen throats." But two insults that
brought angry protest from adults were: "Sleep with your mother;
your father can't," and "May you grow hair on your penis."

AGGRESSION

The decrease of obscenity in growing children is paralleled by the 865
decrease in actual aggressions. Boys are told to become more circum- [856]
spect in their language and to avoid blows. The situation is nicely
summed up in a comment on an adolescent fight in which blood had
been shed. The narrator finished the story with these words, "We
promised not to exchange blows any more and if we fought, to fight
only with words." And in order to avoid fines, words too must become
more guarded as one grows older and richer. Even in fairly young boys
the adult male pattern of avoiding blows begins to take effect. On the
whole, I had the impression that there were far fewer physical combats
among the play groups of Atimelang than among comparable groups in
our schoolyards. Once when a pair of boys about thirteen and fourteen
began actually hitting at each other, my camera caught what my eye
failed to catch—namely, the fashion in which all the younger boys
drew away from the scene in apparent fright. This, of course, is in dis-
tinct contrast to the way children in our society tend to crowd around
in a circle when a fight begins.

The number of anecdotes in the autobiographies that deal with vio- [154]
lence do not substantiate my impressionistic observations on this point.
It is quite possible that adults dwell unduly in fantasy on a period that
allowed freer expression of hostility.

It is interesting in this respect that the forfeit for losing games is to 524
receive a specified number of slaps. However, despite this permissible 865
outlet for aggression, I was struck by the casualness with which the
slaps were given. Very rarely did I see either boys or girls, after winning
a game of marbles or jacks for example, take vigorous advantage of this
opportunity. In contrast to this should be noted the verbal aggression
in a game of "hide-the-thimble." A piece of blady grass is hidden on
the dance place by one player. The finder pounds the grass on a stone,

[524] 865 saying, "I am pounding your nose, I am pounding your mouth," and so on, enumerating all the parts of the body.

[155] The picture, therefore, seems one of progressive restraint from direct aggression to verbal aggression and of decreasing freeness in verbal aggression paralleling increasing wealth. As we shall see, this situation represents training in an aspect of one of the major emotional functions of wealth in Atimelang.

154 865 Children may vent aggression and take revenge in the form of spite and ridicule directed toward younger children or toward helpless adults. Matingma the Crazy Woman was the butt of a good deal of ridicule from young boys, who sometimes followed her down the trail imitating her walk and commenting in loud voices on her slack breasts and her promiscuity. In the children's drawings (Chapter 21) one boy represented Matingma the Crazy Woman and Lakamau the Simpleton walking together, to the uproarious amusement of the other children. On another day a boy of about fifteen drew Lakamau the Simpleton while Lakamau was present, to the victim's great discomfiture. It is worth noting that the boy later shared with Lakamau the candy he had received in payment for his drawings. Whether this should be interpreted as a gesture of kindness or a self-imposed fine, I am at a loss to say. It is quite possible that in Alor kindness and indemnification become closely associated concepts. The system of punishing and then [855] placating a child by "speaking nicely" to it suggests that such kindness is a sort of compensation for the discipliner's own irritability, for which he feels the need to atone. It might be considered a kind of indemnification pattern, which is also found in financial relationships.

[855] The spite and revenge that children may direct toward helpless individuals is quite possibly the explanation of adult teasing of children. One can afford to be spiteful only toward people who have no redress. 861 The degree to which adult discipline may be based on such a revenge 154 principle is almost overtly stated in this passage from an autobiography: "Now [as in my father's day] we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. [This was done fairly hard and was meant to hurt.] We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me." There is at least a modicum of moralistic hypocrisy in such a viewpoint.

There is no material indicating that a child ever turns spite or revenge inward upon itself. I know of only one brief episode in which an adult so interpreted the behavior of his child. "When I was five or six I

stuffed a pea in my ear and could not get it out. My father was angry 861
and pulled my ear for this. He said, 'Why do you stuff peas in your ear 154
in view of the fact that I don't strike you?' "

No discussion of aggression would be complete without some com- 865
ments on the techniques of resistance open to children when parental authority becomes too irksome. The most common device is to run away, often after some act of revengeful violence. It is a common experience to see men order a play group of children to do something, only to see the group melt away if the task promises to be unattractive. However, the group forms as rapidly again if some pleasant activity is afoot.

There seems always to be some kin who will offer sanctuary to a [593]
child in difficulty. Just as children learn quickly enough to play one parent off against the other, so also they learn which kin will stand up for them when parental demands seem oppressive. The case of Rilpada's rebellion against duties and his mode of escape is worth noting.

"Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field 855
house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani [his 865
infant brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani into the house and laid him down on a mat and ran off to Folafeng. From there I shouted, 'Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good; if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play.' I went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atimelang. . . . Mother called, 'All right, you have thrown away your younger brother. Tomorrow you will die.' That evening mother came to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back. She said, 'You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loincloth.' She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother, 'You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't want to stay with you.' Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't want to go back. My grandfather said, 'You hit him and opened his loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your water tubes in back.' I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for my younger brother."

865 This anecdote illustrates nicely that obedience is expected and that 155 disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely helpless in the face of what it considers ill treatment. The possibility of running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the 182 flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society 571 that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability to function economically and ceremonially. It can result in some cases, of which Mangma is one (see his autobiography), in extreme fluidity of residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap between theory and practice in community life.

STATUS

157 It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a 858 sense of being undervalued from the lack of provision for feeding them and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat. Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's property are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of unworthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by stating that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but compared with girls, and even women, they are not.

858 However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made to feel his status. Sometimes contemptuously and sometimes as a matter of fact, adults say, "He is only a child; he doesn't think yet." A comparable comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equivalent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that to call an adult a child (*moku*) is a great insult, because, as it was explained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing, has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.

851 Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a 885 sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has children. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

Also, men are frequently adressed or referred to as "the father of So-and-so." This modified teknonymy is rarer for women. [551
That it should occur in a group where patrilocal residence predomi- 851
nates gives it perhaps a greater significance than if it occurred in a so- 885
ciety with matrilocal residence. Children, therefore, are important in 858]
giving status to adults. They are valued also, as the next chapter indicates, because they give the death feasts, which mean postmortem prestige for the parents. However, it is quite possible that children may have a value in adult eyes from which the children themselves do not benefit.

There was one case of a child prophet, a little girl of about six called 858
Koleti, who was able to sway the community for several weeks. 791

One day Koleti's mother sent her to fetch a spoon. The child did not return and could not be found all day. Her father and paternal grandfather, who were on a dunning trip to a distant village, said they saw her appear on the trail and then fade into thin air. That evening the mother heard a rustling in the loft, asked who was there, and heard Koleti answer, "We are. We are coming down." And the child was discovered hiding in the loft.

Some weeks later the mother and father were both in a village about a day's journey away. Again the child appeared and this time ordered them to return to their own home. She then disappeared. Actually, the child had been left at home in the care of a sickly youth of about twenty, who reported that she had disappeared from home at the time her parents believed she spoke to them in the distant village. The child was by now the center of attention in the community, and adults suggested to her that she was in contact with a Good Being and was on the way to becoming one herself. Koleti was quick to play on this suggestion. She ordered a special house built in which she would live alone until the Good Being and his wife arrived to care for her. The house was erected and adults assured me that it had miraculously grown taller overnight. Koleti ordered that an all-night dance be held, saying her supernatural friends would arrive at dawn. When they failed to arrive, interested adults, including her father and his cousin Malelaka (see Malelaka's autobiography), were quick to make excuses and say the advent was merely delayed.

For days Koleti continued to be the center of attention. At a feast she fell ill and everyone crowded around her in concern. Her rationalization was that a small playmate had rubbed his greasy hands on her. Her pronouncements were all in the traditional pattern connected with the advent of a Good Being. She could not attend death feasts, all

858 people must abstain from seafoods, and she conversed with ghosts who
791 knew all that had happened. She was assured and autocratic in all she did. She even scolded one of the most influential men of the community, who chanced to be a distant kinsman, for delaying the first feast in connection with the erection of his lineage house. Her tone toward other children was as peremptory as that of adults toward children.

Many details of this anecdote are omitted here since they belong more properly to a discussion of religion, which must await later publication. The episode serves here as a rare, but not unique, instance of singular status achieved by a small child. It demonstrates that even children, to whom the society accords no very high position, may develop devices for wielding power.

CONCLUSIONS

856 This period of late childhood, when children are referred to as
861 moku, is characterized by the disappearance of temper tantrums and the child's acquisition of devices for taking care of itself in its environment. It is also the time when the discipline foreshadowed in early childhood assumes its harshest forms. The restrictive aspects of this discipline range from teasing and ridicule involving shame to actual physical violence or threats of violence. For boys there is very little constructive training for their adult roles, except as their somewhat privileged position in comparison with girls permits them greater opportunity and furnishes them greater incentives for absorptive disciplines.

856 Because boys must search for their food they learn incidentally a
868 great deal about the society in which they live. Girls, on the other hand, are deliberately trained in the food quest and the role they must play as providers.

Girls have a less privileged position but more consistent training and constructive participation in the activities of women. That they may resent their status as women is perhaps indicated by the fact that some of the growing girls assume male roles in play. Both sexes have the
856 same experience with inconsistency in adult behavior toward them. Both learn to assert themselves by running off, by seeking the protection of other kin, and by vigorous and often violent resistance. In certain realms at least, both sexes must acquire a feeling of their undervalued position, although they can depend on the assistance of adult kin in litigations and in sacrifices to placate the dead or malignant spirits.

These factors cannot but create distrust toward others and lability 856
in human relationships. Children must be left with a sense of bewilderment
in placing their loyalties and with an essential ignorance of warm
and trustful relationships. The lack of training and praise, as well as the
presence of teasing, ridicule, and fear, combined with lack of privileges
and esteem, must create in the child an essential distrust of itself. All
these factors will influence ego formations. They will probably affect
morality clusters by failing to provide consistent behavioral precepts.
They deprive the child of definite loved persons by means of whom 577
social standards can be internalized.

I do not wish to imply that the Alorese are without such standards—social
life without them could not exist. But there is good reason
to believe that in Alor the standards are not so rigid or so deeply
rooted as they are in our middle class. The likelihood of a deep sense of [154]
guilt, therefore, and of turning aggressions inward upon the self to the
point of suicide is much less pronounced. Suicide as a culturally recognized [762]
device is unknown, and I have records of only a very few situations
that might be interpreted by implication as suicidal. (See Chapter 7.)

In respect to sex the culture is much less harsh. Sexual activity is 856
expected to diminish during late childhood. However, information regarding
it is not withheld, and disapproved activity seems to be no more
harshly treated than social offenses such as theft and disobedience.
Again, as in earlier developmental periods, the activities of the instincts [155]
seem to be less destructively handled than those of the ego.

Chapter 6

Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex

88 THE problems of adolescence are very different for boys and girls. One of the most marked differences is the greater prolongation of the period for boys. Neither sex has any ritually or socially recognized crisis rites to dramatize the passage from childhood to adulthood. It is basically an individual and personal transition that must be made. There are no men's clubs, no secret societies, no tribal initiation for boys. For girls there are absolutely no first menses ceremonies or even restrictions.

The closest approach to a symbolic recognition of adulthood offered by the society is tattooing for girls, letting the hair grow long for boys, and tooth blackening and filing for both sexes. But even these devices are casual and optional, so that the initiative must be taken by the adolescent himself. They are not utilized to further the young person's education or alter his status.

TATTOOING FOR GIRLS

[224] 304 881 The time for girls to be tattooed is on the first day of the four-day communal pig hunt at the end of the dry season, when most of the boys and men leave the village. There is no implied sex segregation in the choice of this time, since any man who has failed to go hunting may be present during the tattooing process. In fact, men also may be tattooed, but this is done casually by some friend at any time during the year, and later in young manhood. Tattooing is rarer among men than among women. Almost all women are tattooed, whereas only an occasional man is.

The men set off for the hunt shortly after dawn, accompanied by a group of women who may not go beyond the crest of the hill. The women then return and are required to be quiet and avoid unduly vigorous activity until the men come back. Girls whose breasts are beginning to develop take this opportunity to be tattooed, but they must wait until a black column of smoke rises from the grass fired by the men for the pig drives. If they do not wait, the tattoo designs will be light and impermanent. Each girl herself expresses the wish and collects the necessary materials. These are a thorn and finely pounded coconut-shell charcoal mixed with the juice of banana bark. Some grown woman who feels that she has a certain skill in the matter will volunteer to perform the operation. The girl lays her head in the operator's lap; a

design is first traced on her forehead or cheek and is then pricked in 304
with a thorn dipped in charcoal. The procedure usually draws a num- 881
ber of girls and adult women, all of whom discuss animatedly which of a limited number of simple designs will be used. Often a little girl who has taken no initiative in the matter will be urged by a friend or adult to undergo the operation. Beauty is the only objective.

It is a tradition to insist that the operation does not hurt, and when I 304
asked a girl who had just had the task completed whether it was painful, older women answered before she was able to, assuring me that it was not. On one occasion some older women, by way of teasing the child's grandmother, urged a little girl of seven to let herself be tattooed. The grandmother arrived just in time to prevent the scheme from being carried out. She was very indignant that her grandchild should have been cajoled into it when she was obviously so young. In relation to a discussion of skills and craftsmanship which will come later, it should be stated that the tattooing process is often very crude and usually impermanent, so that traces of designs are rarely distinguishable on the faces of middle-aged women.

GROWING UP FOR BOYS

Whereas girls are tattooed from approximately ten to fourteen, the 881
comparable badge of adulthood for boys, i.e., long hair, does not come until somewhat later, at ages I should estimate from sixteen to eighteen. When boys begin to let their hair grow long, they also begin borrowing [562]
or acquiring male accouterments. These are dwelt upon in loving detail in many myths and consist of a sword, a front shield, a back shield, [526]
a parrying shield, a bow, a wide belt of woven rattan that serves as a quiver, an areca basket with bells, and the tubular, areca-bark hair cylinder with the accompanying combs and head plumes. Naturally, a young man rarely succeeds in borrowing or acquiring all these articles at first, but he gets as many as he can and struts about in them, often followed by the half-admiring, half-derisive comments of older women 522
and girls. There is a special expression for the type of laughter that 832
women direct toward a young man, which I can translate only by our word *hoot*. Its character is as unmistakable as the laughter that accompanies the telling of smutty jokes in our culture. A young man of about twenty himself described in the following words this attitude and the associated courting interests of both boys and girls.

"When a lot of women get together to work in the fields or to fetch 521
water, they talk and talk. When you hear them hoot, that means they 831
are talking about a man. Maybe one girl says she likes a certain man and intends to sleep with him

837 intends to sleep with him. When a young man ties up his long hair
522 and walks with bells on his basket, women watch until he has passed
882 by, and then they say, 'Isn't that a fine man!' and begin to hoot. If he
wears a big white shawl from the coast, women will say, 'There goes
my white chicken!' and then they hoot. The young man feels glad but
also a little ashamed. Also, when a young man begins to versify at a
dance and his voice rings out clear and strong, the next day the women
will say, 'Don't we have a fine man in our village!' and then they will
hoot. When there is a dance, the young man will hunt for areca and
882 betel the day before so as to fill up his basket. When he reaches the
831 dance place on the night of the dance, all the young women will crowd
584 around him and hold out their hands for areca. If one woman comes
back again and again for more areca, it is a sign that they already want
each other, and soon they will go off and make an agreement. Then the
girl says he must go find her bride-price."

882 This comment sets, better than any outsider could, the pattern of masculine vanity, which often persists through life and which is recognized as a male trait. Consistent with this newly developed swagger, other changes occur in young men's lives. In the course of a few months they break away from the irresponsible free-roving play groups of growing boys and become far more solitary and sedentary. They imitate the indolence of older wealthy men. At the same time, they begin to speculate about the possibilities and the means for entering the financial system of the adults and about ways of ingratiating themselves with men of influence who may be of assistance to them. The whole question of entering financial activities will be discussed presently in connection with marriage.

522 One significant detail concerning food should be noted in connection
882 with the coming of age in boys. The picture so far of the development
152 of masculine vanity and the good-natured teasing that it involves is
thoroughly familiar to us. There is another and comparable source of
teasing. Boys who are beginning to show open interest in girls and to
visit the village of someone they find attractive will be teased by older
people with comments like the following, "Padama has gone to visit his
wife in Karieta. When boys grow up, the food their mother cooks no
longer tastes good. They have to go to the house of a young woman to
eat." This kind of teasing makes the younger boys squirm with embarrassment much as it would in our society. A few years later a young man
[264] will insist on a midday meal, even if he has to cook it himself, as a sym-
584 bol of the adult status he is struggling to acquire. The extent to which
152 food and courting ideas can be linked is also exemplified in the follow-

ing instance. Langmai, who was courting Kolmani by helping her 584
with the storage of her harvest, suggested that they had better marry, 152
by saying, "Who will eat this corn I am stacking? I had better come
and eat it myself."

TOOTH BLACKENING

It is during this period of adolescence that both boys and girls have 304
their teeth blackened and filed. Again the matter is optional, but since 881
shiny black teeth are much admired and long uneven ones are consid-
ered very ugly, practically every young person has his blackened and
probably half have them filed. The process is more or less in the nature
of a prolonged picnic, free from adult supervision. It is without doubt 836
also a period of license for many of the young people, although adults 304
vigorously contradicted my phrasing it so. 881

The best indication of the sexual liberty current at this time is that stricter parents forbid their daughters to remain in remote field houses overnight and insist upon their staying at home or near by in the house of some responsible elder kin. Further, when I visited such a group one evening at sundown just as the strips of dye were being passed out, the young man in charge of procuring and mixing the paste used to darken the teeth said sternly to the children, "Now, no intercourse tonight"— a comment that produced a ripple of giggling among the boys and girls.

The actual procedure is as follows: In July or August some young 304
unmarried man, perhaps in his early twenties, announces that he will 881
blacken teeth for the children of the community and designates the
field house where it will be done. This is the slack season agriculturally,
so that girls can be spared from the fields. He purchases from some [317]
friend in the village of Bakudatang a particular type of soil found there.
This investment rarely exceeds five cents. With the earth he mixes a [384]
fruit resembling a small green fig. The resulting paste is smeared on a strip of banana bark which each child cuts to fit the size of his mouth. The preparation of each day's supply takes the better part of an afternoon. For at least seven nights, and often ten, the children sleep together in a field house, with the paste held against their teeth by the flexible bark strips. During the day boys assiduously hunt rats, and girls go to their fields to collect vegetable foods. The children all eat together, being careful to place small bits of food far back in their mouths in order not to spoil the dye. With the same objective a length of thin bamboo is used as a drinking tube during the period. Surplus rats are smoked to preserve them for a feast on the last day.

The whole procedure reminds one very much of "playing house." It is a carefree time for all the young people. There are no taboos asso-

There are no taboos
881 nected with the period except that attending a dance will interfere with
[784] proper dyeing and that if small children loiter too near the older group they will fail to grow up rapidly. For his services the young man is paid a nominal sum of an arrow, or nowadays a penny, per child. He seldom makes more than twenty or thirty cents for a week's work. When I asked why a young man undertook such a task when the reward was so small, the answer was, "Because he likes to be near young girls."

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881 On the last day or two of the period those who are to have their teeth filed go through the ordeal. The same person who prepared the dye usually does the tooth filing. The subject's head is laid on the thigh of the operator and wedged against his side with his elbow. The jaws are propped open with a piece of corncob. The six upper and six lower
[842] front teeth are then filed to half their length with an ordinary knife blade which has been nicked to resemble a saw. Apparently experience makes it possible to avoid the root canal, which occupies only the upper half of the incisors. The whole operation takes about two or three
[837] hours, and for this the operator is paid the equivalent of about five cents. It is undoubtedly painful but, as in tattooing, it is bad form to admit it. The result of this filing means that even when the back teeth
[832] are occluded, the tongue will show pinkly between the gaping front teeth when a person smiles. This is considered definitely attractive.

The complete informality of this ceremony is manifest by the fact that some of the young people return two or three years in succession if the first attempt at blackening was not successful. Also, anyone, at any time, may have his teeth filed down to a straight, even line for appearance's sake. The range of ages is also wide. Boys may be from about fourteen to twenty and girls from twelve to eighteen. There is no regulation against young married people joining the group. The married people, however, are most likely to be girls, since marriage comes early for them.

Tattooing, the beginning of masculine vanity, courting, and tooth blackening are all preliminaries to marriage for young people. It will be necessary now to describe the financial elaborations involved in marriage for the young Atimelangers, how they enter into such relationships, and what some of the associated sex attitudes and practices are.

STRUCTURE OF MARRIAGE FINANCE

583 Marriage has as one of its major functions the establishment of a series of exchanges between groups of extended affinal kin which will continue as long as the marriage lasts. There are three major types of

bride-price balanced by three types of dowry payments. These all have separate native terms. 583

	Bride-Price	Dowry
Payments in gongs and mokos	*hefuk*	*moling*
Payments in pigs	*pabeb*	*fila*
Free gifts of piglets, corn, and rice	*pangbe*	*hengma*

In arranging a marriage the young people frequently reach an agreement first and then persuade their elders to assist in the negotiations. [584] Just as frequently a marriage may be a matter of financial expediency for the adults, to which young people are often quite acquiescent. Regardless of how a particular marriage has been arranged, it is necessary for the kinsmen to discuss, sometimes over a period of months, just how the exchanges will be initiated. First of all *wamama*,* an engagement gift or option on the girl, must be given. This consists of a moko worth from $1.50 to $2.50 for the girl's father and a shawl worth $.75 to $1.50 for the mother. The theoretic bride-price and dowry payments in mokos should consist of the following series:

Bride-Price (*hefuk*)	
behak (his war arrow) Afuipa moko	$35.00
bekokda (his junior) Hawataka moko	7.50
bensi (his third) Kolmale moko	6.50
beouti (his fourth) Maningmauk moko	5.00
beyeting (his fifth) Tamanin moko	4.00
betelamo (his sixth) Piki moko	2.50
	$60.50

Dowry (*moling*)	
tukaiy befikda	
Maningmauk moko	$ 5.00
12 dance anklets	.60
bead dance pectoral	.25
bekokda (her junior) Maningmauk moko	5.00
bensi (her third) Tamanin moko	4.00
bebuti (her fourth) Piki moko	2.50
beyeting (her fifth) Kabali moko	1.50
betelamo (her sixth) Fatafa moko	1.25
	$20.10

This is purely a formal list of the approved payments and their relationships. It indicates a tendency for bride-prices to be three times as large as dowries. No case in my records exactly corresponds to such a theoretic description. What actually happens is that the male kin, in discussing the mokos each side has available, make a purely expedient arrangement which only approximates the theoretic one. Before the consummation of the marriage, the man should make the engagement gift and pay the first, and highest priced, moko. Without further ceremony the girl then goes to live with him. 585

Theoretically she then becomes a member of his village and his line-

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* This term is the equivalent of our "no trespassing." It refers to branches placed on a house door as a sign that the owner wishes no one to enter during his absence.

585 age, but her kinsmen are always ready to remind her of her original
loyalties. She usually arrives at her husband's house with a bundle of
wood or some corn as a symbol of her readiness to take up cohabitation.
[185] Again, however, this is the formal rather than the usual procedure.
[594] Quite often a very young girl may live in the house with her future
husband, because "if she cooks for the man, his heart will remember
mokos and he will want to pay her family." On many other occasions a
girl will refuse to go through with the physical aspects of marriage,
although the financial ones have been arranged for her and a first moko
payment has been made. This reluctance will be discussed subsequently
where sexual material is treated in greater detail.

602 If, however, a marriage does crystallize, the husband, after making
583 the first payment, is free to call on his affinal kin for the first dowry
return whenever he is in need of it. Similarly his affinal kin will dun
him for further kafuk payments as they need them. The liquidation of
the bride-price and dowry terms may take the better part of a lifetime.
Meanwhile, however, there has been carried on between the two groups
of affinal kin a series of exchanges in pigs of the so-called paheh and fila
type. These are not standardized and agreed upon ahead of time. The
[185] number of animals exchanged should theoretically be equal in value,
but the outcome depends on the fluctuating bargaining power of the
individuals concerned. The extent to which each group of kin is involved
in death feasts, the building of lineage houses, and the establishment
of new marital obligations will determine the frequency and size
of the demands they make upon each other. The result is that a young
[592] man is often fearful of marrying a girl whose male kin are too rich and
influential, because he may not have the resources to meet the requests
to which such a marriage exposes him.

431 In addition to the larger bride-price-dowry exchanges there are
583 the so-called free gifts (*punghe* and *sieagma*). Actually, the punghe
602 gifts are considered the man's payments on actual or potential offspring
and may be one of the chief avenues for minor exploitation. Stated conversely,
these gifts provide a man the opportunity to show himself
either large-handed or niggardly. Propriety demands that each child be
represented by a minimum of four punghe gifts, which means four piglets.
The corresponding sieagma, or vegetable gifts of rice and corn, are
such foods as the wife has been able to persuade her parents to contribute
to any feast undertaken by her husband. Actually, a boy who is
not yet married and who wishes to placate his potential and grasping
431 affinal kin may begin by giving punghe gifts before he pays his first
602 real bride-price or cohabits with his wife. In addition, there is another

form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*bisting*). He brings a 431
small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and dis- 602
poses of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law
for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of
the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast.

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they oc- 437
curred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Ac- 602
tually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones.
Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of
any female kin he calls *vi mayoa,* i.e., female child. This includes all his
nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called [583]
dowries (*moling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the
original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also [604]
is called a *vi mayoa.* In this case the term means a male child through a
female kin. Such a vi mayoa may ask his mother's brother for financial
help (*moling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying
dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of
these bride-price-dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in
this connection.

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean 586
is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles
are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the kafuk
and pabeh versus the moling and fila payments. As a rule the punghe and
siengma exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill
feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on
one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with
the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate
the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who
have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such fi-
nancial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of
common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on mem-
ory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments
against dowry payments.

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and [593
affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should 602]
hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. 578
Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called
and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fantan's autobiog-
raphy offers a nice example of such a situation.

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was 586
in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de-

586 tract from their pleasure in the recitation of the exchanges. Also, the
longer the marriage has lasted, the more elaborate will be the financial
182 reckonings—a factor that helps to stabilize marriages. Theoretically,
586 and almost always in practice, the bride-price exceeds the dowry, so
that the woman's family is in a debtor position. This too serves as a
check on facile divorce, since a woman's kin must be able to repay the
bride-price. On occasion a woman will be caught in a marriage from
which she cannot extricate herself because male kin cannot, or will not,
come to her support. Under such circumstances the only solution for
[587] her is to find a second husband who will pay back her first husband the
owed bride-price. This is generally possible, but the case of one young
woman caught in a strange village with a husband she did not like and
whose male kin were unsympathetic is worth repeating.

593 The girl had married a man from a distant village who paid her
father an unusually large bride-price, amounting to more than three
mokos worth about eighty dollars. The girl went to join her husband
but refused him sexual privileges. This is quite customary at the beginning of marriage, so the husband was not too impatient. After a month,
[833] however, one night when she left the house to relieve herself he followed her and raped her. Another source of friction was that she
wanted to cultivate a field near the village but he and his brothers insisted that she work in a distant field where she professed to be in danger from wild pigs. After a few months of quarreling she ran back to
her own village to live with her maternal uncle who had brought her
up. Her mother had died when she was young and when her father remarried she had been taken into the household of the uncle.

596 Her father was greatly annoyed at the rupture in the marriage, particularly since he had given so far very little dowry on her. However, the husband forced the father into a repayment of all but a thirteen-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko that the father refused to return until the husband returned a five-dollar moko of the dowry payment. This the husband refused to do because of a financial dispute as to precisely what was owed. The girl's uncle too was angry because he had been given no share in the bride-price, so that he refused to repay the husband and complete the divorce. The girl, on her side, refused to find another spouse who would assume her financial commitments. Both of her male kinsmen were furious with her for what they considered her unreasonable behavior. The father in his anger had taken back a shawl he had given her, and the uncle refused to pay for a seer who would counteract the poison that the girl said her husband had directed against her. She had been ill for several months, a condition she attributed to

the poison her husband had made over a piece of areca-nut shell she had 586 discarded. The young woman, when I saw her, was depressed and ill. She apparently felt herself in an impasse.

Cases of this sort are relatively rare. Women as a rule are too valuable to go begging in this fashion, and anyone with enough vigor and maturity can get herself out of such a dilemma, as reference to the autobiographies will show.

ENTERING MARRIAGE FINANCE

So far this discussion of marriage has been primarily concerned with 584 its formal structure, its influence on stabilizing relationships, and the position in which it places women in relation to their male kin. How a young man enters the financial game, with marriage and sex as motivations, needs some elucidation. The mode of entry presents a wide range—from those young men who are on good terms with wealthy fathers willing to set them up in marriages agreeable to them, to those young men who have no solicitous kin willing to, or able to, assist and who must break into the system through their own initiative.

The situation of the young man whose way is smoothed by the cooperation of a willing father needs little elaboration. The men's autobiographies set this picture in part. It is worth noting that elder kin are often genuinely concerned about procuring a wife for a young man. If [836] a youth becomes involved with a woman, her relatives may precipitate a public scandal and force a marriage. This places the boy's elders at a disadvantage in bargaining. However, the case of a young man who opposes his father's choice and that of a young man who must make his way unaided may be illustrated in two incidents given here in some detail for the light they throw on human relationships.

Atamau was a young man of about seventeen whose elderly father, Mobikalieta, had found it financially convenient about a year before to accept as partial payment for a debt a friend's immature daughter, who was to become the wife of his son. Atamau resented the girl because as his age-mates said, "He wants someone who is old enough to sleep with." The matter had been in abeyance for about a year, but to a 431 house-building feast in which the old father was a partner, the young 584 girl was sent with a food contribution in her own right. This constituted a sort of public declaration of the validity of her marriage. When she arrived on the dance place, Atamau flew into a rage and knocked her basket of food to the ground, saying she was not his wife and had no right to contribute food.

The father was angry and turned on his son, who then openly re- 584 593

584 jected the marriage, saying that the girl's parents were willing to give
593 back the bride-price. The father, despite his age and feebleness, flew into such a tantrum at this that he began dancing challenge back and forth across the dance place, shouting as loud as his aged voice permitted. The son sat quietly to one side looking distressed but stubborn. Bystanders tried to intercede only to have Mobikalieta turn on them in rage and threaten to leave the feast, although he was a building partner of the lineage house then being erected.

After various extremely boastful challenges on Mobikalieta's part he suddenly recalled the original cause of his anger and turning on his son said, "Perhaps you had better find another father." This was the equivalent of "throwing away" his son, one of the most drastic pressures a kinsman can bring to bear. Atamau began to cry quietly but refused to surrender his point. When I asked a bystander if Atamau would really seek another man to help him marry, the bystander smiled and said, "When a father and son quarrel, they don't remember their words (i.e., they hold no grudge)."

However, this was merely a traditional response. Actually Atamau and Mobikalieta were not reconciled. Five months later Atamau persuaded Maliseni, a rich financier, to take up his case. For two whole days Maliseni negotiated with the girl's father, with Atamau's father, and with the chief of Atimelang, who was considering buying Atamau's repudiated child wife. The negotiations reached a climax one night when for two hours Maliseni paced back and forth on his dance place discussing the matter with a sympathetic audience and shouting his conclusions to the dance place up on the ridge where the supporters of the girl were gathered.

584 All this difficulty centered around a series of interlocking obligations in which Atamau was being squeezed. The situation was complex but in brief was this. Mobikalieta had already paid the girl's father a ten-dollar moko, a five-dollar moko, and two pigs. The girl's father was notoriously poverty-stricken, and direct payment from him was out of the question. The chief of Atimelang was bidding for the rejected girl and was willing to pay back the five-dollar moko and the two pigs. Still unsettled was the repayment of the ten-dollar moko. The girl's father and the chief were saying they would not repay it until Atamau made a dowry payment on a kinswoman of his who was married to a kinsman of theirs. Matters were at an impasse for another month until the divorce of another of Atamau's kinswomen, through Maliseni's good offices, put him in possession of a moko. This he could use as the demanded dowry payment and thereby get back his ten-dollar bride-price

moko. With that in hand he could begin to accumulate a new bride- 584
price, by lending it at interest to Maliseni. Thereby he would be one [426]
step nearer to buying the girl on whom his heart meanwhile had be-
come set. These financial transactions must have been highly frustrating
to Atamau and the girl whom he wished to marry. They also gave [593]
rise to, or were the means of expressing, hostility between a father and
son, and they laid the rejected girl open to a good deal of sly teasing
from young men about her desirability and the reason for her marriage
to an older man.

Senlaka's experiences in trying to break into financial life were per- 582
haps even more frustrating and discouraging than those of Atamau. 422
When he was about fourteen or fifteen, he had spent a season working
hard in his and his parents' gardens. After a good maize harvest had
been tied into bundles and stored in the loft, his parents, partly to re-
ward him and partly to start him on his financial career, gave him a
piglet. Senlaka devoted himself to its care. He kept it penned and gath-
ered food to fatten it rapidly. When it was worth a five-dollar moko,
instead of allowing Senlaka to contribute it to a feast for a return pay-
ment in mokos, his father confiscated it for one of his own death feasts,
saying it was Senlaka's duty to contribute to their family ceremonies.

Senlaka was furious but helpless. He swore he would never again 582
raise pigs, a vow that he kept stubbornly for years. Meanwhile his
father died, but there was an older brother who had to buy a wife first.
When I knew Senlaka he was twenty-six, still unmarried, and as sensi-
tive on that score as all boys in Atimelang. For a young man of his age [584]
to be unmarried is considered even more of a social disability than for a
debutante who has been out ten years. Luckily Senlaka was a good 584
houseboy and the salary he received from me permitted him to buy a 454
moko from a coastal man who was pressed for tax money and to ac-
quire a couple of pigs. The special inducement for launching once more
on a financial career was a girl from Karieta with whom he had fallen
in love. He contributed his pigs as dowry payments on some female
kin and expected the higher bride-price in return. However, he lent his [583
moko at interest to Maliseni, the same financier who figured in the pre- 426]
ceding anecdote and one notoriously skilled in financial chicanery.

To add to Senlaka's difficulties his future brothers-in-law were plan- 607
ning a large death feast for their father. They counted on their only 584
sister's bride-price as one of the chief sources of income for the event.
Night after night when Senlaka went to see the girl, her kin berated
him for his slowness in paying his bride-price and threatened to sell
their sister to another man. They even demanded that he pay the whole

607 584 kafuk at one time, since his older brother had recently indulged in that bit of ostentatious financing. As Senlaka said, "They made me ashamed. It is not as though I were not an orphan. Now it has been three weeks since I have been to their house." In the meantime Senlaka had tried to [431] placate his future affinal kin by furnishing at different times ten piglets as free gifts (*pangbe*).

426 686 During these negotiations Senlaka was trying his best to force Maliseni to make the promised repayment on the moko he had lent him and Maliseni was putting him off with promises. Maliseni said that he had to wait until a man in a distant village gave a death feast, at which time he would receive payment on an outstanding obligation. Feasts are always held much later than the promised date, so only after much delay did Senlaka finally think he was to get the promised moko. When Maliseni returned, however, he "spoke nicely" to Senlaka, saying that unfortunately another creditor had insisted upon being paid but that if Senlaka could give him an additional moko, he, Maliseni, could repay both of them with an even higher valued moko that he expected to receive soon. Senlaka was furious. In telling me the whole story he said, "Here older men just try to cheat the young ones. It is a lot of trouble to get married here. Countries where there are no gongs and mokos and where you don't have to buy a wife are better."

In the interim another man heard of Senlaka's difficulties and said that if Senlaka would litigate for the return of his original moko—which would mean abandoning the hope of interest—a better deal could be arranged. When Senlaka broached the matter to Maliseni, the latter tried to dissuade Senlaka on the plea that such a procedure would shame him. Senlaka, however, stood firm and finally Maliseni returned a moko worth the original loan. After four months Senlaka was ready to start all over again with the help of another and, hopefully, more trustworthy older man.

584 In discussing the relationships involved, Senlaka admitted that the girl's two older brothers were inclined to press him less hard than her youngest brother and her mother. When I questioned him about the girl's attitude, his first answer was the traditional one, namely, that she stayed out of the family bickerings. Finally he admitted that she had told her brothers that if she could not marry Senlaka she would ask the kapitan for a tax bill. This was a way of saying that she would ask to have masculine status, that she would marry no one, and that her brothers would receive no bride-price on her at all. In view of the fact that theoretically, and often actually, a woman caught in such conflicts is expected to support the financial interests of her kinsmen as opposed

to those of her husband, this was a singularly loyal and romantic statement 584
on the girl's part.

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to give a simplified picture 581
of what marriage means financially, how young men enter the game, and the kinds of human involvements that may result. From even this brief résumé of the situation it becomes evident how firmly wealth and marriage, sex and frustration must merge in the minds of young Atimelangers.

ROMANCE AND SEX IN MARRIAGE

That there is such a thing as romantic love is evident from the foregoing. However, it is equally evident that this is not the term in which the institution is phrased by the culture. In this, of course, the Atimelangers reverse our romantic formulation of marriage. I have the impression that a stubborn romantic attachment like Senlaka's is a definite liability, since it makes him more susceptible to financial pressure.

In discussing the sexual and romantic aspects of courting and mar- 584
riage it is worth noting how consistently the men's autobiographies report that women took the initiative. It is often they who suggest that tokens such as shawls, bracelets, and the like be exchanged. It is the girls who are supposed to ask men for areca, which is symbolic at least of friendship, and often of actual courting. They flock as eagerly as boys to
the all-night dances, which often offer excellent opportunities for finding [535]
partners. Dances consist of a circle of people standing close and moving sidewise with arms thrown over each other's shoulders or around the partners' waists. There is every opportunity to select the partner of one's choice and to have close physical contact with him. The men, in speaking of marriage, often present themselves as passive pawns of women's or older men's designs. Such a picture might be more convincing if it were substantiated by the women's autobiographies and if the flirting, philandering, and recriminations of everyday life did not in part contradict it. The actual situation probably varies with individuals. The point to be noted is that initiative in contracting a marriage is not even theoretically denied to women.

In both sexes the striking thing brought out in the autobiographies is 584
the ease with which loved persons may be surrendered. It is a character 593
trait consistent with the supposition made at the end of the section on 571
late childhood, namely, that there are few opportunities in Atimelang
life for the establishment of secure and permanent relationships and
little expectation of, or insistence upon, them. This is far from saying 183
that they never occur. There are several couples who have established 593
what would be considered in any culture devoted and lasting marital

183 ties. Such ties are within the range of possibility but do not appear to
593 be modal.

One of the interesting aspects of early married life in Atimelang is
593 that the woman, once mutual residence has been established, quite often
833 refuses her husband sexual privileges. This refusal is often phrased in
terms of still unsatisfactory financial payments to her kinsmen, so that
men have another opportunity to link wealth with sex and sexual frustration.
However, if we may trust the autobiographies, men may also
on occasion show considerable reluctance to enter into sexual relationships.
Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies both point to such episodes.
In consonance with such an attitude is the fact that most men
[556 when engaged in elaborate feast finances are continent and even sleep in
834] the male guesthouses or on their own verandahs. The acquisition of
wealth can be pursued successfully only at the expense of sexual gratification.
It should be stated parenthetically that some women, as well as
their husbands, believe that they are lucky rather than unlucky in relation
to "pulling in gongs and mokos," so that continence is not required
of their husbands to assure success in financial transactions.

582 On the part of women the unwillingness to enter immediately into
sexual intimacies with their husbands, or at least the existence of that
traditional attitude, may be explicable in part by the very early marriages
they frequently contract. The first sign of swelling breasts is
[881 considered the token of a girl's readiness for adult sexual life. First
884] menses are considered irrelevant, and some women told me of having
borne children before their periods set in.* Not every girl, of course,
marries so young, but there is no doubt that marriage does come much
earlier in life for girls than for boys. This means that their period of
[882] sociological adolescence is much briefer and certainly in comparison to
boys socially much less trying.

581 The attitude of men toward young wives varies considerably, although
again opinion is weighted in favor of young women. Of course
the matter is relative. In the case of Atamau, previously cited, his overt
objection was that the girl was too young to enter into sexual relations.
The chief of Atimelang, who then bought the girl, said that it was better
to get a very young girl so that she could be trained to docility and
industry. A man from Dikimpe was very dubious of the whole affair
[582] and said somewhat scornfully that in his village they did not believe in
marrying children. Rilpada, whose autobiography is included in this
volume, was of the opinion that an older woman, who thought only of
her fields and had already learned to work, was more desirable as a

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* The menopause is treated in an equally casual manner.

wife. That may simply have been an attempt to justify the fact that his 581
wife was a good deal older than himself and that probably his sexual
interests were minimal.

One of the prime requisites in a wife is that she be industrious. [461]
Whenever either men or women expressed what they considered the
most prized qualifications in a partner, they generally agreed that
women should work hard and that men should be rich. Obviously phys-
ical beauty enters also, but it is not a verbalized prerequisite. Beauty 826
consists for both men and women of a light skin, small eyes, and wavy
hair. In women firm, well-rounded breasts are admired and in men
muscular strength. Actually it is extremely difficult to get a direct ex-
pression of judgment on anyone's appearance, since this belongs to the [576]
category of intimate remarks, of indiscretions, that it is essential to
avoid. Early in my stay I threw a group of adults into considerable
embarrassment by asking them to name the handsome men and women
of the community. In the realm of physical attractiveness, cleanliness [581]
too is prized, and one of the indications of the adolescent interest in
marriage is more frequent bathing and greater attention to hair comb- [515]
ing. Once a woman marries and becomes a stable family member, too
much cleanliness is looked upon askance as a token of flightiness.

The ideal, if not the normal matron is a woman who spends her 562
whole working day in the field and in housework, minds her own busi-
ness, is careless of her appearance, and goes to outlying fields with some
reliable female companion. Needless to say, a great many women are [183
not typical in this ideal sense of the word. Actually, vigorous, aggres- 554]
sive women who show masculine skills in finance and debate are re-
ferred to admiringly as men-women (*neng-mayoa*). Men with poor
memories often rely on their wives to help them keep track of their
financial involvements and they even send them on minor financial er-
rands. Vice versa, men who possess female skills and aptitudes in gar-
dening, gathering wood, cooking, and basketry may be referred to as
women-men (*mayoa-neng*). Women usually speak with praise of a man [554]
who is skillful and diligent in horticulture and, contrariwise, women
complain of men's lack of assistance in the fields almost as much as they
do of their financial peccadilloes. In these cross-references from one sex
to the other there are none of the derogatory connotations that go with
our phrases of mannish woman or womanish man. It is evident, there-
fore, that theory stresses sex differences in activities, property owner-
ship, and ideal types but that both sexes may, and often do, possess each
other's capabilities without any particular onus being attached to the
fact.

462 589 736 The result of this attitude is to permit, even if it does not actually encourage, each sex to control the other's techniques of livelihood. This gives the sexes an actual economic independence of each other which is not apparent in a theoretic formulation that appears to set up a complementary cooperation making for mutual dependence. It is quite possible, and is indeed a not infrequent practice, for single men and women to get along quite ably on a subsistence and minimal prestige basis. I have in mind, for example, a divorcée with two children who not only had ample means of subsistence but had accumulated gongs, mokos, and pigs equal to those of some of the poorer men. There were widowers and temporarily deserted men who managed quite nicely alone. The single man is perhaps at a disadvantage compared to the single woman, since he has seldom had the same training in industry and since his cultural status at best requires that he do little physical labor except communally. In fact, men living alone are often the subject of surreptitious gossip which accuses them of living by poaching on neighboring fields and livestock.

593 [562] When the interpretation of this attitude is extended to its fullest, it seems to be associated with the strongly rooted theory and fact that women are the providers of food. In addition, after an open quarrel in which divorce is threatened, the chief or the tumukun will often read the couple a moral lecture in which the wife is urged to be a mother to the man and the husband is urged to be a father to the woman. The conjunction of these two factors, the wife as provider of food and as mother, become indissolubly linked not only with each other but with experiences of early childhood. This image of the wife as the mother-provider was given perhaps extreme expression by Fantan the Interpreter, who was trying to explain the significance of the marital relationship from this angle. He said, "Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives 'mother.'"

586 In many cases this sentiment is more the expression of a hope than a reality. The mother is indeed the provider, but as we have seen she is an uncertain and unreliable figure. It is not surprising that even though the whole weight and prestige of the masculine-controlled finance acts to stabilize marriage, Atimelangers average about two divorces apiece. When one considers the elaborate affinal involvements and the cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce, the figure seems high.

This quantitative statement becomes slightly more meaningful when 586 broken down as follows:

	Males	*Females*	162
Number of cases examined	112	140	586
Adults who have never married	14	0	589
Adults who have at some time contracted a marriage	98	140	
Contemporary widows and widowers	5	25	
Additional wives		25	
Married adults who have never been divorced	49	93	
Divorces among those remaining	49	47	

Some of the significant facts apparent from these figures are that 162 there are twenty-eight more women than men in the community. This [105] indicates a higher mortality among men since out of 108 recorded births 589 the sex ratio was 1 to 1. However, despite the surplus of women, because of plural marriages, there are no women who have never married; whereas, because of the financial difficulties of men in contracting marriages, there are fourteen men who have not. Parenthetically it should be noted that of these fourteen all but one are young and still hope to contract marriages. Women seem to be definitely at an advantage in the matter of acquiring a spouse.

In marriages, however, the expectancy of women to lose a spouse [165] through death is higher than for men. On the other hand, the expectancy of rejecting or being rejected by a spouse is one to three for [589] women, whereas it is one to two for men. In other words, these figures suggest that men are less secure than women in terms of the voluntary dissolution of marriage. Might this, in conjunction with other factors, mean that men feel emotionally less secure in marriage?

One more comment should be made concerning these figures. They probably understate the actual expectancy of broken marriages, since [586] despite repeated checking there were undoubtedly instances that were forgotten by the several informants consulted. Furthermore, many of the adults listed were still young and had not yet run their full course of marital readjustments.

If the diagnosis of personality formation so far has been correct, the 155 marital relationships here described are not surprising. Most men are searching for a mother-provider whom experience has taught them they are unlikely to find and toward whom, therefore, they feel much latent hostility. On the other hand, the women have had little in their own childhood experiences to give the stability and security men seek to find in them. Quite apart from such genetic explanations, which are only probable, there is little question that once again a descriptive linkage exists between sex, wealth, and food.

000 So far the discussion of marriage has stressed in large part social forms, their possible repercussions on behavior, and their relationship to personality formations. It may be pertinent at this point to insert certain information on the Atimelangers' more intimate sex behavior and their ideas of procreation.

883 It is very common for groups of young people, who are beginning
591 to take gardening seriously, to congregate in field houses and live together more or less consistently for days or months at a time. This is an accentuation of "playing house" among children. Sometimes an older woman or a married couple is the nucleus of such a group, sometimes a pair of young girls or an orphaned boy. Although everyone vigorously
[836] denies that "irregular" sexual relations occur under these circumstances, it is perfectly obvious from the autobiographies that they sometimes do. Strict parents usually insist that their daughters return to the family home at night. The absence from the home at nightfall of young or adult men is rarely questioned, but the absence of women and children often leads to a shouted inquiry as to their whereabouts. It is one of the frequent sounds that echoes across the valley as people settle down in their houses after sunset.

832 Intercourse is solicited of young women by touching their breasts. A common euphemism for intercourse is "to pull a girl's breasts," since it is supposed that no woman can avoid being aroused by such a caress or would be able to resist a man who approached her in this fashion. Opportunities for this sort of approach are offered at dances and in the roughhousing that occurs among young people when they are away from their elders. In describing this situation one young man said, "Our hands move about at random and touch a girl's breast. That makes her spirit fly away, and she has to sleep with a man." If what has been said about early childhood experiences and about the role women are expected to play is correct, it is not surprising that most erogenous feeling
[831] centers on women's breasts. For a woman to touch a man's genitals is considered completely shameless. A less drastic form of soliciting intercourse is to tug at either a man's or a woman's hand. In marriage people usually wait until they think everyone else in the living room is asleep.
833 Then either partner may indicate desire by giving his spouse a short, tugging pat anywhere on the body. The woman is supposed to remove her loincloth, since the contact with it would be distasteful to the man.

The position in intercourse is ventroventral with the woman below or with both partners on their sides. Any other position is considered rather nasty. In fact, one divorce was partly precipitated, according to
[586] the wife, by her husband's demands for the dorsoventral position. One

informant said, "We hear that the soldiers on the coast know how to have intercourse while standing, but we don't understand such things." Inquiries about fellatio brought negative responses but precipitated the following folk tale about intercourse through the nostril. 586

"Long ago men on the Kebola peninsula did not know how to have intercourse with their wives. They did not know that women had vaginas, so they had intercourse with their wives through the nostril. A man from here had become a slave and was sold to the Kebola people. The wife of his owner was pregnant from nasal intercourse, and the husband did not know how the child could be born. He said he would have to kill his wife, slit open her abdomen, and remove the child. So the slave said, "All right, I'll do it for you." He went up into the house, chased all the people away, and took the woman out into the privy, where she gave birth in normal fashion. 539 831

"The slave hid the mother in a large storage basket and gave her the child to care for. Then he went out and buried a banana stump in a grave on the edge of the dance place and sacrificed a chicken. The husband asked, "Have you finished burying the dead person?" And the slave answered; "Yes." He said the child was already there but that the father could not see it. After three months, when the child could laugh, the slave took the father up into the house where the mother and the child were. He said, "Now I shall show you how this is done." Then, while the father sat there, the slave had intercourse with the woman. Since then the Kebola people understand how to sleep with their wives, but there are still some who seek intercourse through the nostril."

Cunnilingus was a definitely shocking idea.[*] In connection with children, it was stated that kissing is not known in the area. However, mouth play involving biting is practiced. Informants report that wrestling and mock fighting is often a preliminary to the sexual act. Night is considered the proper time for intercourse. Encounters during the day and outdoors are considered risqué. Women accuse men sometimes of preferring the latter type of encounter. 833

Inquiries from various women concerning anal intercourse produced a rather shocked denial of its existence. Anal birth, however, was referred to quite casually by a few older women but was unknown to some younger ones. The women who professed to know of such phe- 844

[*] Since there is a good deal of prudery about discussing these matters, this information was secured largely from one person, Fantan the Interpreter, after our relationship had been firmly enough established for me to be reasonably sure he would answer as honestly as he could. My command of the native language and opportunities for private conversations with women were not adequate for this sort of investigation. [115 124]

844 nomena gave circumstantial accounts. For instance one old woman said, "Yes, Kolata gave birth in this fashion. The placenta also was discharged through the anus. People placed a poultice of leaves on her as one would for a wound. It was just that the child took the wrong path. Another time, Kolpada had me for a midwife. The child's head appeared through the anus, so I massaged the child back into the abdomen, turned it around, and brought it out through the proper passage." I must confess myself at a loss to explain this particular fantasy.

833 In connection with other topics, reference has been made to continence
practiced by men and to frequency of intercourse. Men report
that during their early married life they have intercourse sometimes as
frequently as every night, but that every other night is considered more
nearly the average. However, when a man has two or more wives this
may mean that a woman has fewer opportunities for sexual activity than
183 her husband. Further, it will be recalled that men are not supposed to
834 have relations with their wives from the beginning of pregnancy until
the child can sit up, or at the very least begin to laugh. This is a period
[841] of about twelve to fifteen months. They are also not supposed to sleep
with a menstruant.

This might impose considerable restraint on men if they observed the restrictions, which often they do not, and if no other women were available. Furthermore, men are generally expected to be continent during the months of preparation attending financial displays. All these factors might seem to place men under considerable periods of restriction. Probably a man who wishes to avoid them is quite able to do so either by finding other women, especially widows, or by simply discarding the proscriptions in respect to his wife. Since these proscriptions have no attached sanctions, the attitude of his wife will be the determinant should he wish to disregard them.

753 A man's unfaithfulness may have deleterious effects on his children.
684 During the course of eighteen months there were several cases in which sick infants were taken to seers to have extracted from under their sternum a piece of a woman's belt string. This is considered a sure proof that the father has been unfaithful to the child's mother. In none of these cases did the mothers take any drastic action against the men. Their attitudes were those of quarrelsome reproach and did not lead to divorce proceedings. These were among the few instances in which personal hostilities were not translated into financial terms and fought out on that level.

831 Attitudes toward the male organ were difficult to determine but by indirection certain hints were available. For instance, gossip had it that

one particularly well-built and energetic young man who was still unmarried 831 would have difficulty in procuring a young woman as a wife because his organ was known to be undersized. His father had been concerned about it even when he was a child and had attempted to remedy the situation by massage. On another occasion some women were discussing an ailing boy of two years. They handled his genitals and shook their heads with concern because the male organs were so flaccid. Circumcision is known as a coastal, Mohammedan practice, but [304] it is not followed by the mountain people. Fantan the Interpreter reported overhearing a conversation between two middle-aged women who were comparing the virility of their husbands. One complained that her husband was no longer able to give her sexual satisfaction.

The terms dealing with sexual activities offer two very interesting 176 points in connection with the thesis that sex and food are inextricably 831 associated in the minds of the Atimelangers.

male organs—*batok* (his intestine)
female organs—*boiy* (also verbal form for copulate)
orgasm—*bomin ve meli* (heart from it tasty)
male hermaphrodite—*batok muri* (his intestine orange)
female hermaphrodite—*boiy muri* (vagina orange)
philanderer—*tafui* (crab)
illegitimate child—*tafui vi* (crab child)
uvula—*kai boiy bika* (head clitoris)

Of this list perhaps the most interesting features are that the male geni- [127] tals are associated with his digestive system and that an orgasm is described with a food adjective.

Homosexuality seems to be absent among adults, although again the 838 practice was known among the troops and prisoners on the coast. The attitude is one of not quite understanding why such practices should be desirable rather than one of disapproval. Inquiries into the matter usually precipitated anecdotes about a hermaphrodite from Dikimpe who had died some twenty years before. One of the most complete accounts, which reveals social attitudes toward such a person, as well as toward the two sexes, was given by his grandnephew who had lived with him.

"When Alurkaseni was still small, he was a woman called Tilamani. People would look at him and say, 'This is like a woman but in the middle is a penis.' He wore a woman's loincloth and learned to weave baskets. He even wove areca baskets, which are the most difficult to make. He went to dances and joined in with the women. As he grew up his breasts got big, and men would tug them. Men liked him. He did

838 not hang back or seem ashamed. He was very lucky at raising pigs, so a man from Atimelang wanted to marry him. He too wanted to marry that man. So the man from Atimelang paid a two-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko for him and tried to sleep with him but could not. Then the man said to Alufkaoni's brother, 'I won't have children if I stay with him, so you had better pay back my moko.'

"After that they changed him into a man. He was almost twelve then. His older brothers taught him to shoot and make war. When he was just learning, people laughed at him but soon he was very skillful and then people didn't laugh at him any more. People would test him. They would send him to cut beams. With just a few strokes on both sides of a tree, he would fell it. Then people would say, 'This is a very strong man.' He was brave and would lead war parties. He became a killer (*liki*, a title of distinction). Once when a man slept with his nephew's wife, he led all the other kin in avenging the matter by going out into the adulterer's field, chopping down his crop, and burning down his house.

"He built himself a house and lived alone. He worked in the fields and cooked for himself. He could pound rice just like a woman.

"When he was middle aged, people said, 'He should not be single. Let's give him a widow.' So they gave him Kolmani, who already had grown children. He wanted to sleep with her and she wanted to sleep with him, but he couldn't. She was happy to stay with him anyhow. He just bought her in vain. He paid her bride-price and gave her parents' death feasts for her."

841 In connection with sex behavior and attitudes there are some further topics that deserve comment. Women's menstrual periods have already been referred to as passing with a minimum of observances and notice. The only terms for menses that I procured were euphemistic ones, "my friend" or "headache." In a subsequent section it will be seen that the monthly flow is attributed to the breaking of egglike structures in the breast, which are then discharged. Women use dry, porous banana bark as pads. These are then thrown away in some distant place. No one is supposed to see them, not even a kinswoman. During her periods a woman should wear a shawl that covers her body more completely and prevents any possible detection of stains on her loincloth. The number of days between periods is not known. Instead a woman approximates the onset of her periods by the recurrence of the phase of the moon during which her last period occurred. The cessation of [842] menses is recognized as the beginning of pregnancy. During menstruation women are not supposed to feel sexual desires and similarly men

are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report [841] that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or [845] backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, "If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her friend, older people will say to him, 'Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?' A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time."

In connection with late childhood certain references were made to 834 just how far children might go in sexual references before adults were shocked and interfered. It is quite obvious that sexual topics are not tabooed, but it is rather the nature of the reference that is shocking or not. Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex [831] is public intercourse. Several pieces of gossip on that score were whispered about the community or were sources of open scandal. Again I had to depend on Fantan the Interpreter alone for such material.

"Padakafeli was married to Falongmau. She didn't want to sleep with [591] him. He got very angry and made a litigation. The chief said he would [594] have to have intercourse with her right there. The mandur held Falongmau. Padakafeli was ashamed, but the chief made him sleep with her outdoors on the dance place. Everyone was ashamed and went up into their houses except a couple of older men who aren't ashamed of anything.

"People are ashamed when a woman like Lopada (who was subject to attacks of hyperexcitability) begins playing with an older man, touches his genitals, or hits him. Sometimes a husband and wife will fight and the wife will rip off a husband's loincloth. That makes him and everyone else terribly ashamed. A man will never touch a woman's loincloth. It would spoil his luck.

"Once the chief of Fungama was away from home for several days. 593 When he returned, he found that his wife had left to come home to her 833 family here. He came to look for her and called for her to come down from her family's house. She knew what he wanted. There were many people there and she just sat close to her mother. Her husband came up and began fighting with her. They fought terribly and he ripped off her loincloth and wanted to have intercourse with her right there before all the people. He was like a crazy person. All turned their backs and were ashamed. Finally everyone helped to drag them out of the [578] house. They went on fighting down on the veranda. The girl's mother said they were terrible and tried to chase them away.

"Another time he acted the same way when his wife was working together with many people in the fields. Everyone went off but the

593 owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then
833 the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

831 It is interesting that Fantan, who gave these anecdotes, on two or
522 three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

835 In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is
582 interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Kolmani's and Malelaka's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kebola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and mokos in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote itself. It would indicate a complete externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but commerce is offended.

835 Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned
[626] upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the
[illegible] husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended father

835 ordered his kinsmen to fetch his son and tie him up. The son, unwilling to submit to this humiliation, armed himself and was prepared to fight. Rather than precipitate violence his father dropped the matter. The young man then left his father and went to live in his mother's village, where he married. After his father's death he returned to his own village and gave his father's death feasts. Even after the father's death, marriage to a stepmother would be considered incestuous. The clarification offered was, "He is the one who must give her death feasts, so it is just as though she were his real mother."

The material on incest is obviously trivial. It was practically impossible to get data, not because the informants seemed shocked, but rather because they showed so little interest and had so little to say about it. The myths and autobiographies are similarly lacking in this theme. [538] Rilpada's dreams and some slender data on Mangma might be interpreted as showing more interest in sisters than in other women. Similarly some of the women's autobiographies indicate marked attachments to brothers. I am quite sure there was no conscious and overt awareness of incestuous attachments in the informants, and their attitudes did not seem to exceed the culturally prescribed loyalty and solidarity between siblings.

773 831 In the poorly known and varied origin myths there are some implications of brother-sister incest, but again it is not emphasized. In two versions of a myth dealing with the creation of man, Manimoti and his sister Tilamoti came down to earth from above, but the stories then continued with Manimoti's activities as a culture hero, and Tilamoti dropped out completely. In another origin tale, Manimoti and Tilamoti were two of a number of children begotten by Fuilani and the village guardian spirit. They did not marry. In a quite different type of origin tale, two pairs of brothers and sisters met and established the village of Bakudatang with its two lineage houses. One of the pairs had no mother or father and was supposed to have emerged from a cave. They married and bore children, who intermarried with the offspring of the other pair of brother-sister spouses. The whole tale is obviously fragmentary and is not widely known in Atimelang.

831 571 The significance of this lack of interest in the incest motif may be explicable in terms of the general thesis so far presented. If human relationships are on the whole shallow and impermanent, there is less likelihood of incestuous fixations, and when they do occur, they do not touch off a problem common to the majority of the people in the group, so that the chances may well be that even incest themes in introduced origin tales are largely otiose.

IDEAS OF PROCREATION

842 The ideas of the physiology of procreation in Atimelang and their
relationship to sexual morality deserve some detailed consideration. A
child is thought to be formed from an accumulation of seminal and
menstrual fluids in the mother—and menstrual fluid is considered the
result of "things in a woman's breasts like eggs, which break and run
down into her abdomen." For the first two months the child is believed
843 to remain in liquid form. It is during this period that the mother develops food preferences. In the third month pieces of flesh begin to solidify, and the mother feels dizzy and nauseated. In the fourth month the child's feet are formed, and a tiny placental cord appears.

At this time the fetus is said to resemble a banana blossom. This is also the period when the mother begins to feel movement. In the fifth month the fetus has solidified as far as its abdomen and begins to kick slowly and gently. In the sixth month the whole body is formed, but the ears, mouth, nose, and genitals are rudimentary. In the seventh month features begin to acquire flesh and prominence, and in the eighth month the child is complete and begins to jump about. In the ninth month even its nails are there, and "the child kicks until its mother is terribly sick. It kicks itself out of the mother's body; it tears its nest (placenta) and so has to come out." This is on the whole a remarkably accurate idea of fetal development.

842 Many different bits of behavior and attitudes dovetail with this idea
836 of procreation. One of these is that repeated intercourse is necessary for
conception. This in turn has its repercussion—in practice if not in
theory—on sex morality. In theory, a young unmarried woman should
be a virgin, although there is no idea of virginity tests at the time of
marriage. However, should a husband shortly after marriage develop
753 feelings of nausea and a sense of discomfort just under the sternum, he will consult a seer. If the seer extracts a small piece of the fringe from a man's loincloth, this is considered a sign of the wife's premarital infidelity. The diagnosis of the difficulty is usually made by the patient. Nevertheless, the seer's role in fostering social conformity is not inconsiderable.

[753] Incidentally, infidelity, as previously noted, may affect children and
684 the marriage partner in this fashion at any time during the earlier years
of marital adjustment. It is a nice expression of the hostility and yet of
the basic bond among members of the biologic family. Also, a difficult
[845] first birth is considered a sign of premarital unchastity. In one such case
the tumukun was threatened with death by the irate husbands of a pair

of sisters with whom he was accused of improper relations at least five 834
years before, and prior to the women's marriages. Nothing of the affair 845
had been suspected until both women had difficulty in childbirth and their husbands beat confessions out of them.

Since a child scarcely ever results from occasional lapses from chastity, 837
both men and women feel free in that respect as long as they are 842
careful not to be caught. When I explained to Fantan the Interpreter 182
that we had different ideas in our culture, his comment was, "Oh, that's too bad," which was a nice index of the amount of latitude the Atimelangers' ideas of conception give them in respect to their ideas of sex morality. The very obvious advantage of such ideas of conception makes Atimelangers, in discussing the subject, extremely unwilling to abandon them, even though they grant that sows will conceive after a single contact with a male. They are quick to add, however, that three or four days in the pen with a male produces a larger litter. It is a nice example of how reluctant people can be to abandon formulations justifying congenial behavior and consistent with elaborated attitudes.

It is interesting that, as in many other cultures, illegitimate children 848
seldom, if ever, occur. In the Five Villages there was only one illegitimate child, the offspring of Matingma the Crazy Woman. Since Matingma's 836
craziness was phrased mostly in terms of sex, her aberrant and 159
almost unique status deserves mention here. Matingma was considered in her youth a perfectly normal person. She married a man in the Kalaisi area with whom she did not get along, so she returned to live with her father. On her return several young men wished to buy her. Time after time a preliminary payment was made, but each time the man involved requested the return of her bride-price because she was having affairs with other men. Her father assumed a bland attitude toward these complaints, answering, "Your wife is still here. Go sleep with her if you wish. I won't be angry." After about four such episodes no further attempt to purchase her was made.

During the first few years after her return, and at a time when she
was not in permanent residence with any one man, she bore a child. In [842]
view of the local theory of conception, she was undoubtedly considered to have been far more loose morally than she may actually have been. In the course of time she came to be known as the "crazy woman." Her illegitimate child and her profligacy were adduced as
evidence. It will be recalled that the fact that she took her child to the [689]
fields with her and permitted it to sleep on the ground was another bit of evidence. At the time of this investigation Matingma was at least in
her late thirties and had become a sort of village prostitute. "She steals [548]

159 from people's gardens. Men from whose gardens she has stolen sleep 836 with her as payment for the food she has taken. Very many older men [549] sleep with her, but young men are not brave enough."

Reasons for the lack of illegitimate children are not hard to find. If 848 Ashley-Montague's* suggestions are correct, it is quite possible that fertility is low at the period when young girls are indulging in premarital sexual activities. Further, mechanical abortions are practiced, and a 847 pregnant girl would probably attempt to avoid difficulties by a deliberate and early miscarriage. Although the society does not approve, married women, particularly older ones, make no very great secret of the fact that they avoid unwanted children by very vigorous labor or by even more deliberate attempts, like jumping repeatedly from a tree or rock or by jolting themselves in a squatting position against a stone. It is felt that these practices are most efficacious in the first two or three months, when the child is still in liquid form. Probably the accuracy of [843] ideas on fetal development can be attributed in part to the practice of abortions.

842 There are also "medicines" that are supposed to reduce the menstrual flow, delay conception, and actually produce barrenness. In addition, women class themselves as "long conceivers" (*pol lobu*) and "short conceivers" (*pol bui*). To be a long conceiver is considered an advantage. When a young man's wife fails to conceive after a year or two, he frequently becomes suspicious of her and may accuse her of having taken a medicine to cause barrenness. "A man will then beat his wife, and if she has taken such a medicine, she has to ask some older woman for the antidote."

842 278 "Medicine" for any of the three purposes mentioned above seems to belong more to the realm of magic than to that of effective pharmacology. Most procedures consist of eating certain leaves, like those of a sort of maidenhair fern, in a prescribed fashion over a given number of days. Another way of producing barrenness is to drink the dirty water in which one has washed a gong. This is again a reflection of the relationship, hostile in character, between sex and wealth. Men are never considered to be sterile, and birth control measures are never used by them.

842 · At this point I am less concerned with establishing the possible but improbable efficacy of certain leaves and procedures in reducing menstruation and in delaying or preventing conception than I am in indicating a series of attitudes. The sum of what I have said so far seems to

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* M. F. Ashley-Montague, *Coming into Being among the Australian Aborigines* (New York: Dutton, 1938), pp. 242ff.

indicate that women are not too eager to bear children, that men are 842
more eager for offspring than their wives. When I asked Fantan the
Interpreter about this, he said, "We men are the ones who want chil-
dren. Our wives don't. They just want to sleep with us. After a young
man has lived with his wife for a year or two and she does not become
pregnant, he is angry. He says, 'I work and work every night. I break
my back, but this woman does not conceive. I had better look for an-
other wife.'" That this was not a personal aberration of Fantan's was
evidenced by confidential statements made to me by three young men
who were dissatisfied at their wives' lack of fertility.

The care of infants by men and boys and their affectionate attitudes [855]
toward babies have already been mentioned. Supporting the thesis that [593]
women are often less eager for children than men, were frank state-
ments by two older women that they had committed abortions during [847]
their first pregnancies to spite their husbands, who were buying other
wives. The low level of nurturing qualities in Atimelangers is reflected [231]
in the absence of pets, with the exception of an occasional piglet, which
has wealth value.

A further sociologic point that may have considerable weight is that 885
neither men nor women are considered fully adult until they have chil- 842
dren. Adulthood for men means financial status and a role in the pres-
tige system, whereas for women it carries no such social premium; their
life pattern is set in childhood and continues through life with only
marriage as a break, and marriage per se does not confer adult status.

This subject of children and the wish for them—as well as such in- 842
dications as I have that men prize them as much, if not more, than
women—is far from exhausted, and there is some contradictory evi-
dence. For instance, if women are generally reluctant to bear children,
it is unlikely that questions on vital statistics put to sixteen women past
the menopause would give 7.5 pregnancies per woman, and that miscar- [163]
riages and abortions were only 10.5 per cent of one hundred and
twenty-one recorded conceptions for these sixteen women. Here, of
course, social disapproval of contraception and abortion may have acted
as a deterrent.

JEALOUSY

That men are not incapable of jealousy toward their children is 593
nicely illustrated by the episode in the autobiography of Kolmani the
Seeress in which Langmai, her husband, reproaches her for neglecting
her field work in favor of their child. In this connection, and in con-
tradiction to some of the preceding data that have stressed the men's [597]
desire for children, it should be noted that there were in the community

593 two monogamous and apparently devoted middle-aged couples who,
[597] never having had children of their own, each adopted an orphan.

Before we can weave all these sexual attitudes into some sort of functional coherence, a few comments must be made on the subject of jealousy. That men are jealous of their wives' behavior both before and after marriage is obvious from what has already been said. Adultery is
[648] punishable by death, although a husband is most often satisfied with a fine, and the male culprit usually moves away until the trouble is forgotten. The most extreme cases of male vengeance for adultery are to be found in the latter part of Malelaka's autobiography.

832 There are a number of devices for magically securing or keeping the love of a desired person. As might be anticipated, they all deal with food. A woman who wishes to keep the love of her husband can do so by putting into the bottom of the food pot shreds of her loincloth, clippings of pubic or axillary hair, or clippings of her nails. Certain plants too have the same effect. When the man breathes the steam of the food into which tiny bits of the proper plant have been dropped, he thinks thereafter of no one but the woman who cooked the food.

777 Men are supposed to know of certain roots, pieces of which, carried
832 in the bottom of their areca baskets, will give them luck both in wealth and in sex quests. Also, diamond- and lizard-shaped figures are cut by men from the crisp, thin sheath that grows out of some bamboo joints. These talismans (*tadialang*) are hung by a bit of string from the house eaves so that they wave in the wind. Their waving is supposed to beckon either women or wealth, depending on the wish expressed by the maker. Certainly never more clearly does the wealth, food, and sex linkage come out than in these love charms.

595 Jealousy on the part of women has direct cultural outlets and aggressive expression. When a man takes a second wife, for example, it is considered good form for the first one to quarrel about it. As might be expected, these quarrels are often phrased in terms of property. The first wife will ask how a man can afford to pay a bride-price on another woman when he has paid so little on her. Or she will claim that the pigs he has given for a second wife were in large part raised by herself, which may be true, and that she does not want them so disposed of. She does not have theoretic claim on flesh food, but in practice she may insist, quite rightly, on her interest in it.

After a few reproaches of this sort the first wife seeks out the second. They exchange insults for a time and then begin pulling, tugging, and beating at each other. Immediately all the women of the village become involved. Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in

Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in addition there is always a large group of women who try to separate 595 the combatants but who manage in their role of peacemakers to land 579 some very effective blows. A whole village may be in a turmoil of struggling women waging a shifting warfare in the mud or dust of the dance place for as long as from two to four hours.

Men at such times are inclined to stand out of range and watch the tide of battle with mixed amusement and contempt. Sometimes a man may become indignant because he feels that the violence is going beyond bounds, that real injury may be done, and that he may be fined. If he is bold, he may step into the melee with a rattan switch and lay about him in an effort to separate enthusiastic combatants. Women usually resent this sort of interference, and as a rule the officious male is turned upon by recent enemies, who combine to drive him back to the fringe of spectators, where it is felt he belongs. A husband who is the cause of such an outburst either sits by passively, wearing an uneasy grin, or, if he is a man of particular dignity, goes off to another village or to his field until things calm down.

Naturally some battles may be much less violent than others, de- 595 pending on how much real jealousy motivates a woman utilizing this formal cultural outlet. More than once a senior wife who is in earnest makes life so uncomfortable that the junior wife finally insists on a divorce, but even a wife who has urged her husband to buy another woman will go through the forms of a quarrel. The only case in which the culture denies such expressions is in the inheritance of a widow through the levirate.

The effect of this cultural pattern is to afford women a very direct 562' and relatively harmless emotional outlet. It reminds one of the formal- 154 ized wailing required of them as an expression of grief that is denied men. In these two cases the culture grants more direct and recognized outlets to women than to men. It is not surprising, therefore, all other things considered, that men are apt to consider women, in comparison to themselves, somewhat vulgar creatures who do not know how to guard their tongues. It will be recalled that earlier there was occasion to refer to the training boys and men get in translating physical violence into verbal forms and in toning down verbal aggression on pain of financial sanctions. I know of no case in which women, or their kinsmen, were actually fined for verbal excesses, although such threats were made.

In the case of plural wives, separate households are established, and 595 a man is supposed to divide his attention, labor, and gifts equally among them. Any slight on his part may result in reproaches directed toward

595 him and quarrels among the wives. A duty of the senior wife is to cook for the husband's guests and to take the initiative in contributing food to his feasts. The feasts are supposed to be held at the house of the senior wife. These duties may at times be considered in the light of a privilege and any infringement may be resented by her. At other times an infringement may make the second wife feel that she is imposed upon. For example, the tumukun's two wives, who had a long history of mutual hostility, once spent almost four hours shouting recriminations at each other on just this score. The senior wife precipitated the quarrel by harvesting a small patch of corn which the junior wife claimed. Their quarrel resolved itself into complaints on the part of the younger woman about the extra work and the consumption of her food involved in entertaining the tumukun's guests at her house; the older woman complained of favoritism and the extra attentions received by the second wife.

Not all wives retain an initial sense of hostility and jealousy. For instance there were two cases of older men with three wives each. In both cases the wives got along very well together and cooperated freely. It was generally recognized that they were good friends, although there had been the customary quarrels at first.

It is worth noting in this picture of jealousy that both men and women direct physical and verbal expressions of jealousy and anger primarily against other women. Men are less subject to open and violent attack on this score. This may constitute an unconscious expression of the fact that women, primarily as producers, are basically the most valued possession of the group. The structure of financial prestige built around the male may be compensatory in function.

POSITION OF WOMEN

562 From what has already been said it is evident that the power of women is far greater than a phrasing of their status in terms of finance would imply. In other words, their control of food gives them power over people but no prestige.

Women are also the pivots on which many of the financial transactions turn through the system of affinal exchange. A number of clues indicate men's dependency upon women. For example, I asked repeatedly of men at the time their wives were about to give birth, whether they would prefer a boy or a girl. The answer was invariably,
[842] "Boys are good. They give our death feasts. But girls are also good. We get their bride-price."

[illegible] Another phenomenon that might possibly be interpreted as a recog-

nition of women's vigor and the covert respect in which they are held [illegible]2
is the rareness of rape. I was able to collect only three cases, known to [37]
about five informants, and only one of these dealt with a local woman.
This may indicate, however, no more than that women are not apt to
refuse chance adventures. A further possible hint of the real status of [727]
women is that in warfare their heads are as valuable as those of men.
Anecdotes of the last head-hunting wars revealed that out of ten persons
dead or injured, four were women. However, since even half-grown
children can be counted in the system of revenge, we must
conclude that all adults or near adults are of equal value in this respect.

Still another index of the real, even though disavowed, equality between
women and men was contained in a bit of casual chaffing. Some
men were tugging at heavy firewood and it hurt their hands. One of
them said jokingly, "Our hands are not used to it. A woman should do
this." I answered in the same vein, "That is because you don't work as
they do." The answer was, "Yes, our hands are soft, so when we hit a
woman it doesn't hurt. But their hands are calloused, so when they hit
us it hurts a lot." A woman who was sitting near by joined in with the
comment, "That is a lie. Men's hands are heavy too."

However, the questions of preference in the sex of children, of rape,
and of physical vigor are merely symptoms. Women are in a position to
refuse men sexual gratification and food. They can either facilitate or
impede a man's financial career. An aggressive woman is usually able
to humiliate a man. The case of Fuimai and Maleta, her brother-in-law, 593
is instructive in this connection precisely because their quarrel was one
of the rare ones that did not center upon finance, and the sexual element,
if it existed, was not avowed. Fuimai's husband could not get along with
her. He was seldom at home and she was looked at askance for her freedom [626
with other men. It was whispered throughout the village that 837]
among others she had had intercourse with her brother-in-law, Maleta.
One morning Maleta took a papaya from Fuimai's tree and sent a child 607
with it to my house to sell it. Fuimai followed the child and took the 562
money for the fruit. Maleta was furious, and in the quarrel that ensued
he chopped down the three papaya trees near Fuimai's house. Everyone
scrambled to strip the fallen trees, while Fuimai and Maleta continued
their quarrel. Maleta sat sullenly on the ground below the verandah
while Fuimai hurled a staccato of invective at him: "You should be
ashamed! Were they your papaya trees? Is this basket I am weaving
your basket, perhaps? Who always feeds you? You come here only to
eat. You eat my fingers. I plant the fields of rice and corn. Whose fields
are they? Are my fingers tasty? You should be ashamed." Here defi-

607 nitely a woman was able to assert herself in terms of her real power as a 562 provider quite apart from financial status or kinship authority.

The power of women as opposed to that of men is less rigidified by 593 status requirements. It may leave a weak-willed woman in conflict. A 562 determined woman, however, has greater liberty in placing her allegiance where she will. An anecdote in the autobiography of Kolangkalieta gives such a case (page 494). Her husband was repudiated by his brother. She was free either to repudiate him also or to offer him the support of her own village and kinsmen. She chose the latter course. The husband could not but have felt the degree to which he was dependent 562 on his wife. Women's in-group loyalties and status obligations are less fixed than those of men. To a self-assured person this might give freedom. To an insecure person this might heighten a sense of bewilderment. Since the basic childhood training of Atimelang girls inculcates very little more in the way of internal resources than it does for boys, we should not expect women to be notably more constructive than men, even in the face of greater freedom of choice in certain areas. Test data substantiate this reasoning.

CONCLUSIONS

882 A number of points may be drawn together by way of summary for 562 this chapter. Boys have a longer and more difficult sociologic adoles- 155 cence than girls because they must enter the financial system. Their experiences and knowledge in that field may well be such as to reinforce the impression of uncertainty and inconsistency secured in connection with disciplines in childhood. Their search in marriage is for [581] sexual gratification, for a provider, and for status both in wealth and in children. They seek in their wives a mother-provider, a role that women have been ill equipped to fulfill. Girls have had a more purposive training in childhood for adult roles although the administration of disciplines has been as inconsistent for them as it has been for boys. Their sociologic adolescence is brief, and they may undertake the sexual aspects of marriage unwillingly. In addition, marriage means for women far 562 greater economic responsibilities in a social system that does not grant them status recognition equal to that of men, while at the same time it places on them greater and more monotonous burdens of labor. For women complete adult status through childbearing is not rewarded socially; it is to an extent penalized in that it adds to labor and responsibilities. The important role of women is covertly recognized but not overtly. There is little in the way of cultural rewards (except posthumous remembrance in the form of death feasts) to make them want to

be mothers to their own children. There is even less to make them want 562
to be mothers to their husbands.

The culture fosters a linkage of food, sex, and wealth. All three of 182
these are associated with many avenues of possible frustrations and prepare 594
the ground for instability and distrust in the marital relationship.
Despite this, the essential biologic unity of the family group is recognized
in the repercussions of adultery on the spouse and offspring.
Family unity is reinforced and extended in social organization by the
woman's theoretic absorption into the man's lineage and village and is
expressed economically by the theoretic mutual dependency in the division
of property between the sexes, which should make for cohesion.
Formally phrased dependencies may be denied in actuality by the initiative [562]
allowed women in sexual affairs, by the real power they are capable
of exerting, and by the cross-skills allowed the sexes, so that individuals [562]
can exist alone, adequately if not maximally. The weight of male-controlled
finances and the complex affinal exchanges succeed in throwing
the balance on the side of the theoretic structure.

The sum of all the personal factors and the discrepancies between 155
form and practice in institutions should combine to make people isolated units, highly individualized and self-contained to the point of being encysted, without at the same time creating any basic self-assurance and independence born of self-confidence. The recognized patterns of teasing, deceit, lying, and chicanery may be considered both as contributing causes and as effects of such attitudes. All these factors should produce a modal personality whose independence rests upon frustrations, confusions, and surrendered goals. In some instances the inability to create human contacts may actually be phrased as a fear of them. As Mangma said after telling one of his dreams, "We die if people are fond of us."

Chapter 7

Adults and Institutions

000 THE foregoing chapters have searched for the possible genesis of the modal personality in Atimelang and simultaneously have tried to indicate how that personality is both the product of social forms and the active agent in them. In this section the attempt will be made to search further for the interrelated forms and forces of personality as they manifest themselves in institutions, values, and everyday modes of emotional expression and behavior among adults.

STATUS AND FINANCE

554 In the formation of personality the devices furnished by the society for placing oneself in relation to other individuals are important. In other words, the status forms of a culture may well have significant repercussions on ego development. In Atimelang there are four main factors determining status: age, sex, wealth, and kinship. The age and sex factors are beyond individual control and function automatically. This might be an optimal orientation situation for the individual, although the reverse of the coin must not be forgotten since it automatically disfranchises women and the young. The wealth factor is considered almost a function of age, although in practice it is far from
556 being so. It is noteworthy that wealth status is not formalized. There is hardly a trace of institutional expression of rank or of inheritance of financial position. Every man's financial resources are largely, although
[764] not completely, consumed in his death ceremonies, since the wealthier a man is, the more elaborate his postmortem prestige. Social prestige depending on wealth, therefore, must be constantly validated by individual effort. The burden as well as the rewards of such effort rests
[885] primarily on middle-aged men. The manipulation of the wealth-status system is one requiring constant vigilance, aggression, chicanery, and an excellent memory. The stress that successful competition places on a
[887] man is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that, if they have able sons, old men usually withdraw gradually from active participation and retain power only in an advisory capacity. They leave the actual dunning to younger and more vigorous men.

562 Every competitive system automatically implies that a large portion of the population will fail to achieve the goal set up by the culture. Granting, therefore, that a competitive system will automatically debar

a large number of its members from successfully achieving the desired 562
goal, we have the problem of discovering which people are disfranchised
and what compensatory roles they may play. In Atimelang, as in
many other cultures, the female half of the population is debarred from
cultural goals on a sex basis; women must either break with the cultural
tradition, surrender any claim to the major prestige rewards of their culture,
or derive it vicariously through aligning themselves with a successful
male.

This last device may apply to groups of males also, as among the Indians 554
of the Pacific Northwest, where a sib functions as a unit feeding
the prestige activities of a titular head. In other societies with structuralized
rank or with castes, large parts of the population are given restricted
status positions that remove them from any competitive effort
for prestige. In Atimelang it is assumed that all males will enter the
competitive system. In fact, every man is practically forced into it if
he is to marry and if he is to retain his health by placating in death
feasts the potential malignancy of dead kin.

Overtly no differences in wealth are allowed for in middle age. 556
Every middle-aged man who is married, has given a feast, or been associated
with any transaction amounting to about one hundred dollars is
called a rich man (*kafakai*). There are no formal terms for degrees of 192
wealth, except by adding an intensifier, *berka*, meaning in this case 556
"powerful," "potent," although, significantly enough, the more usual
meaning is "bad." It is not customary to use this term, however, unless
one wishes to flatter a man. Conversely the most bitter insult is to call a
man "poor." Actually there seems to be no simple word meaning poor.
One can say, "He has nothing" (*nala bopa naba*), or one can say,
"Setang," meaning worthless, of no account. This, incidentally, is a term
of reproach that is very frequently shouted at troublesome and naughty
children.

The system of making no overt, outspoken distinctions in respect to 576
wealth is carried even further. It will be recalled that an expression of 554
opinion about physical appearance was hard to get. The same applied
to all kinds of derogatory or flattering distinctions. It was just as difficult
to procure a social judgment about a man's industry, his honesty,
or his skill in craftsmanship. Good manners require that everyone, verbally
at least, be granted an equal ranking even in the face of glaring
discrepancies. When I discussed the matter with a young man, he said,
"If anyone heard that I had said he was less rich, less industrious, or
less handsome, he would be ashamed and would want to fight with me.
He would be angry." Linguistically there is an interesting correlate of [193]

[193] this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for
554 modifiers. There are only intensifiers.

576 This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a considerable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an
[426] unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token" (*makiling*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.

154 All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the
626 foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers. Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atimelangers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation, shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern,
[155] as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame produces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive quality.

154 That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of sui-
155 cide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As
154 we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it
556 are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of danger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of expressing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains. The result, at least in the past, was war.

QUARRELS

578 In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

nitude. Hardly a feast or ceremonial gathering occurred without at least 578 one acrimonious dispute. My first impression was that these debates might lead to violence at any moment. People shouted at each other and men grasped their bows or swords in the right hand. They took short springing steps backward and forward shouting challenge before meeting the point under debate. The usual preamble was "Hik, hik, my friend So-and-so!"

Further acquaintance with such debates revealed that they practically never developed into physical violence, at least between men. In eighteen months on one occasion only did men come to blows and begin to spar with swords. Even then the gestures were largely formal and seemed deliberately wide of the mark. Finally, by accident, one man received a slight scratch on the forehead. He immediately threw down his sword and rushed to the dance place to litigate. Repeatedly I had the impression that the principals as well as bystanders were terrified lest a quarrel develop into real violence. In every outbreak of any magnitude much of the furor was caused by alarmed neutrals who tried vigorously to placate the opponents and who shouted orders that there was to be no fight. The reasons for the fear will be more apparent when the nature of group responsibility is developed, especially in connection with war.

This does not mean that there never is any real violence, but it does 593 mean that when it occurs it is usually within the small family groups, 578 where repercussions are apt to be limited. The anecdote (page 60) of the man who beat, unmercifully and without interference, his young half brother, is a case in point. In another instance a girl of about fifteen came to have a bad scalp wound dressed. At the time, she told me that she had fallen. Later I discovered that her mother had struck her with a stone because she had gambled away her own dance anklets in the newly introduced card game that was the rage among young people.

Quarrels were so frequent that an attempt to record all of them 578 proved too time-consuming. However, in even the partial record made, 602 every type of kin was involved: parents with children, siblings with cousins of both sexes, grandparents with grandchildren, aunts and uncles with nieces and nephews. An informant in discussing these intrafamilial quarrels added quickly, "But they don't last long. They must forget and eat together." Again food appears as a symbol of reassurance and [264] social euphoria. Out of forty-seven quarrels of sufficient vigor to produce a public outburst and to come to my notice, thirty-six were between acknowledged kin. This is not a significant number in view of the high degree of interrelationship within the villages. What is signifi-

578 cant, however, is that twenty-five of the thirty-six kin quarrels were
602 between affinal kin including husbands and wives, co-wives, and more remote affinal relatives.

152 In all these outbursts of rage I never saw an Atimelanger lose his temper at an inanimate object. Even at animals they shout loudly and harshly but without the sense of real anger that is evidenced toward human beings. This suggests for one thing a less anthropomorphic cast of mind than among ourselves. For another it suggests no very powerful reserves of anger and no latent hostilities of such magnitude that they take any avenue of discharge, regardless of reality. Also, it may be attributable to the far greater ease and frequency of partial discharge of anger permitted by the society. These suggestions are substantiated further by the brevity of sulking periods. Sulking does occur and there is no doubt that grudges are held, but only in rare cases do they last for more than two or three days. The long periods often required to reach an agreement place a premium on being able to maintain a certain pitch of anger. At the end of a prolonged litigation anger has so far evaporated that the winner will willingly kill a chicken or a pig to eat with his opponents and the judge.

154
535 There are a number of more or less formalized outlets for anger that help to drain off the frustrations and humiliations associated with the social system. All-night dances end at dawn with the challenge dances (*dokak*) between men who dash back and forth in pairs across the dance place brandishing swords at each other.

There is also a rattan switch dance (*dengdemu*) between young men, in which one partner stands as impassively as possible with one leg thrust forward while the other dancer, after many preliminary feints and flourishes with a rattan switch, hits him with as much force as possible on the shin bone. From one to five blows are given and then the partners change roles. It is significant in relation to the general grav-
[578] ity with which bloodshed is regarded that drawing blood is bad form and cause for offense. Anyone who draws blood by mistake usually hastens to apologize.

Such switch dances sometimes become expressions of intervillage hostility so that series of partners are often from two opposing villages. The degree to which this dance contest is really a hostile act is evident from the number of older people who tend to discourage it and from
[535] the fact that the accompanying gongs are played in the rapid, staccato fashion used in times of crisis. It would be a mistake to interpret the dance as primarily an exercise in physical fortitude, although forti-
[181] tude in this case is a matter of pride. Fortitude is not a particularly

prized virtue in the culture, as we have seen in connection with the education of children and as was abundantly evidenced in cases of illness and wounds. An interesting episode happened one day when an older financier, *Malieni*, suggested dancing with young men in this fashion, but offered to pay two cents for each blow instead of receiving return blows. There was some debate among the young men as to the worth of this offer and it was finally rejected. This was apparently too new an extension of the aggression-wealth concept to be generally acceptable. 154 535 [167]

In the delivery of large dowry payments (*moling*) there is a mock verbal battle in which the female kin of the wife and husband exchange insults about the value of the gifts being given. The men often join these debates. Frequently they are purely formal and are carried out in a mood of chaffing good humor and with much amusement. At other times there may be serious ill feeling expressed and a genuine attempt made to shame the husband and his kin into more generous gifts to the carriers of the dowry payments. 584 578

When feelings become intense, particularly between two kin, a drastic expression of hostility is to swear a curse against one's opponent. These curses vary from mild pronouncements of noncooperation in the future to actual death penalties by leprosy or some other form of dread disease. These curses can be removed by countersacrifices, and usually are, when peace is restored. They are pronounced seemingly in the heat of a quarrel and are subsequently regretted. The curse placed on Fantan by his wife (see autobiography, page 374) is a case in point. 578 789

WEALTH CONTESTS

The expression of hostility through wealth has been touched upon in connection with marriage. There are two other forms of institutionalized wealth combats. One is a sort of wealth contest called *tasab* and the other is a type of fine by challenge and shame called *kolukek*. Both of these devices are used only rarely. The realistic hardheadedness of the Atimelang financier does not foster any abuse of these devices. 154 556 578

No wealth contests (*tasab*) occurred during my period of residence in the village, so that I am dependent upon hearsay accounts. During eighteen months there were, however, at least two such threats, which did not materialize. Within the last twenty years probably not more than three such outbursts have occurred in the Five Villages. A condensed and simplified account of one of the most elaborate of these wealth contests is given below. 556 578

Malesta was a young man who had married *Malieni's* sister, Kol-

556 pada. Maleata gave his brother-in-law a broken gong as part of his
578 bride-price but received no dowry in return. Maleata sat on the veranda below his brother-in-law's house dunning for it. He said, "My brother-in-law Malieni, why don't you give me a dowry?" Malieni, who was angry at this persistent dunning, said, "Wah! I shan't give you a dowry! That fellow down there is one who can be looked through
[596] as far as the Kamang district. He is transparent to the Mating area." This was a very insulting speech, its implication being that Maleata was a poor man of no substance and solidity.

Maleata then went to complain to a powerful older kinsman called Mangma, who visited Malieni and in a placating fashion asked him, "Why are you like this?" Malieni merely elaborated his previous insult
[596] by saying, "The one down there on my veranda is like civet-cat meat; he is a floating seed. Perhaps you are going to cry?" This enraged Mangma, who then collected a group of his and Maleata's kinsmen. There were five in all.

They armed themselves and stood on their dance place to shout challenge. "Hik, hik, my friend Malieni! We shall reckon wealth." They hung their gongs on the racks and beat them with the sharp, rapid strokes which signal anger or catastrophe. They brought all the weapons down from their houses. The five kinsmen began to slay their pigs
[602] and the pigs of all their kinsmen, thereby making them automatically their allies in the declared wealth feud. Then they set out for Lakawati, where they also had relatives, and returned carrying three pigs. On the ridge above their village they beat gongs and Maleata shouted toward Malieni's dance place, "I bought your sister. I gave you a bride-price, and you promised me a dowry. When I came to collect it, you insulted me. (He repeated the insult verbatim.) Then I quarreled with you, but it was you who thrust a spear into your sister's carrying basket. You were richer than I, that is true. But you failed to pay my dowry, and now we shall see who is richer." As they came down the ridge they met a party of Malieni's allies, who had also been out collecting animals. The two groups fought with bamboo throwing-spears and stones. No one was hurt, but a moko carried by the Lakawati allies of Mangma and Maleata was broken by a stone and had to be repaid by Mangma and Maleata with interest.

This type of challenge and encounter, in the course of collecting animals for slaughter, went on for several days. "A man would eat a
[562 whole pig by himself. We were sick of meat. Everyone who was a kins-
602] man of one side or the other had his pigs killed. The more distantly related kin of both groups of contestants tried to stay neutral by con-

tributing pigs to both sides. Women were hiding piglets in the houses 556
so that all the animals would not be killed." 578

Then the *Male House* I* of each chief contestant decided to meet [608]
and reckon their tallies. They set up forked tree branches on neutral ground between the two villages. The young men of both sides met there and fought. They pushed and tugged and sparred with clubs. When they finished fighting, the Male House representatives of each side took two tallies apiece and tossed them into the air, saying, "Moon-Sun, we give you these two tallies. If our side is at fault, may our tallies be fewer. If our side is right, hide the tallies of our opponent; make ours flow in like water."

Then each side began laying down tallies. *Malieni's* representatives would put down one and *Mangma's* representatives would lay one on top of it. When *Malieni's* tallies were finished, *Mangma's* side still had many. Then *Mangma's* side shouted a formal gloat, "Ispalich! The rooster's tail droops! You are a voiceless night bird. Our lineage house's taproot goes down deep. You were mistaken." Then they all danced challenge, saying, "Hik, hik! my friend *Malieni*, sit quietly; don't talk. We are the ones to talk. We are a bird with a bell-like voice; you are a silent night bird."

After this climax of the contest there was an all-night dance. At [555
dawn the winners gave to their six *Male House* kin for their services a 602]
series of graded payments that amounted to about twenty-five dollars 437]
in gongs and mokos plus various pigs and a sword. In addition, all the pigs used had to be paid for.

For five years after this event *Malieni* and his rivals avoided each 578
other. Finally the winners sent a go-between to *Malieni* with offers of a peacemaking feast on the spot where the reckoning had taken place. Here the principals exchanged areca, rice cones, and meat. Each side ate the other's food, and peace was restored. At least the contestants no longer avoided each other.

This particular contest broke out over an affinal exchange. It in- 556
volved many people who had no particular interest in losing the pigs 578
they were raising for other purposes. It failed also to settle the hostility between *Malieni* and some of his opponents. About ten years later the rivalry broke out once more, this time between *Malieni* and *Malelani*, one of *Mangma's* and *Maleata's* chief supporters. This time the precipitating factor was that *Malelani's* three young men refused to let *Malieni* join them in a rat hunt. *Malieni* was angry and shouted at the boys, "I'll hit you if you don't wish me to go with you. Go copulate with a

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* See page 11.

556 ding." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest 578 broke out. Malieni's Male House I, a man called *Malikalieta*, came to his support. This time *Malieni* was victorious in the reckoning of slaughtered pigs.

578 602 In 1938 *Malefani* died and there were whispered rumors that he had been poisoned by *Malieni's* brother, because of their protracted hostility. This did not prevent *Malieni* from giving burial services as the [508] representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effectively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported *Malieni*. There was every indication that *Malefani's* sons were inheriting their father's feud with the *Malieni* faction. This did not mean that the two sets of opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood back to back against *Malikalieta* in a quarrel over payments for their services as house-building partners in the erection of *Malikalieta's* lineage house.

556 602 554 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of personal hostilities; for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are determined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consistent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest break out no one's pigs are safe.

681 In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*habakrek*) the system is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has [177] been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a system of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still [164] resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There is a case of such a challenge in *Mangma's* autobiography, the details of which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted here.

668 681 627 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvious intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his innocence through a hot water ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

purging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukak." He did this [695]
by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the 631
excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through 627
a ceremonial dunning procedure (*nalael, nobaer;* literally, follow me,
call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group
of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They
stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the
three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This
was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar
and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure [562]
profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for
their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price demanded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of [554]
financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any
financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the
long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than [illegible]
reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly
only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other
two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were
and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once [177]
it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one
case of the old kalukak system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a
quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger
brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new
wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older
brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the
possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and
the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the
chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began
kalukak proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile
taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace
with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard deal- 636
ing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point 627
that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in [721]
turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for
years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial col-

686 orings. The case of hard dealing in connection with a debt mentioned
627 on page 67, which led to the theft of a child and from there to the taking of a head, is an illustration of such a situation. Refusal to meet obligations may also lead to threats of burning the debtor's house. In about 1917 Padata the Leper set fire to Maliseni's house because Maliseni refused to pay him a moko worth seventeen dollars and fifty cents. The whole village burned to the ground; and in addition to the destruction of property through fire there was wholesale pilfering of chickens, corn, rice, and piglets in the course of the confusion. Perhaps one of the
[674] best indexes of human and property relationships in Atimelang is that such disasters as a fire are occasions for pilfering by the very people who come to assist. In still another case financial hard dealing and insult between brothers precipitated a murder. It is referred to in passing in both Tilapada's and Kolmani's autobiographies. For the light it throws on a number of facets of Atimelang temperament it is worth giving here in detail.

578 Langmai owed a debt to Fanpeni, his young unmarried cousin, and
627 Fanpeni came one evening to dun him. Langmai did not invite him
686 to enter the house and eat. He added insult to injury by referring to Fanpeni's unmarried status and by dilating on the pleasures he himself had in sleeping with his own wife. Fanpeni sulked all night on the verandah below the house. The next morning Langmai and his wife left the house without paying any attention to Fanpeni, who was by then in a murderous mood. The wife's younger sister stayed behind to care for the children. In the course of the morning she went off to fetch water. Fanpeni waylaid her and cut her throat. He then ran off to a village so distant that it was not considered practicable to follow him.

Berkama, an uncle of Fanpeni, feared retribution and left for a near-by village. The dead girl's kin sent word that if he stayed away they would consider it a sign that he approved of his nephew's act. Berkama feared this was a ruse to lure him back to Atimelang in order to murder him, but finally when his wife's powerful cousin offered to take him and his family under personal protection, he consented to return. The matter blew over for the time being.

684 Meanwhile the daughter of Berkama's sister married a man from
578 Manetati whose brother too was married to an Atimelang woman. This
627 other Atimelang woman ran away from her husband, lived with another man in the vicinity, and finally returned to her own village.

One day Berkama's sister, mother of the first girl married in Manetati, went to visit her daughter, accompanied by her nephew, the twelve-year-old son of Berkama. The deserted husband shot the child simply

The deserted husband shot the child simply [672]
because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because 684
there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's 578
family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three 627
or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage, 682
was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He 578
then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was ac- 627
cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some years earlier by Fanpeni. Incidentally, the murder of a lineal kin to appease affinal kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, although I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157 there is a case in which a maniac was told by kin that they would take his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of 182
so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that rec- 152
ognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incalculable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpada's autobiography contains the statement, "The older people all lectured us about fighting and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a 721
very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by 726
boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk. There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids before Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered a period of about thirty years.

1. *Manisenlaka* of Kewai killed Motlaka of Lawatika. No one seemed to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Loumani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in revenge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in selling a head.

3. Lanpada of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

721 pada's head. Lanpada seems to have been completely innocent in the 726 matter except that he belonged to a village allied to the Kewai complex. He had come to Dikimpe on a dunning trip.

4. Padakalieta of Dikimpe was wounded by the Kewai people in the course of a general skirmish in which the villages of Kewai and Atimelang fought those of Dikimpe and Lawatika.

5. Likma of Kewai was killed by Manimai of Atimelang. At this point Atimelang had changed sides without notifying Kewai. The change occurred because Padakalieta, no. 4, had kin in Atimelang and the Dikimpe people persuaded the Atimelangers that they owed Pada- [572] kalieta vengeance. The death of Likma is particularly instructive. He and his murderer were friends. The murderer visited Kewai while Kewai was still under the impression that the Atimelangers were allies. Likma was persuaded to return to Atimelang by his friend, who promised him protection both there and en route. As the two approached Atimelang, Manimai, who was walking behind Likma, shot him in the back and brought his head into the village.

6. Kafolama of Hatoberka, a village allied with Kewai, was killed by Manipada of Atimelang in a general skirmish resulting from death no. 5.

7. Two women of Alurkowati, a village that had been relatively neutral up to this point, were wounded by a group of Lakawati men who ambushed them as they went for water.

8. Lakamau of Alurkowati was killed by Padakari of Lakawati in a skirmish.

9. An old woman of File was killed by a group of Alurkowati and Dikimpe men who were out to ambush a Lakawati person. The men had gone to an area where Lakawati people had outlying fields and where they hoped to ambush some unsuspecting and unprotected person. They failed to find anyone from Lakawati and took the head of a File woman instead.

In an affair of this sort it is obvious that the important thing is to get a head, any head, by way of revenge. It is also obvious that the most immediate kin do not necessarily feel responsible for securing vengeance [572] in person. It is more usual to ask a friend to execute vengeance, and then the kinsman goes through the elaborate payment procedure for the head secured as "spouse" for his own murdered relative. In the [619] above encounters it will be seen that the Five Villages formed an alliance, after some slight vacillation on the part of Atimelang proper. This alliance was based on territorial and the resultant kinship propinquities. Their casualties were two persons dead and three wounded, of whom three were women. Kewai and its allied villages of Lakawati, Hato-

berka, and Kafakberka had five dead, one of whom was a woman. Of 721
the casualties only three occurred in open fight, the others were through 726
ambush and treachery. It should be stressed, however, that the use of
the word *treachery* in English gives the act a derogatory quality that the
Alorese do not recognize.

The termination of this last war came with the death of the File
woman. Dikimpe people took the initiative in paying for her murder.
Since the score was five to five at this point settlement could be arranged
honorably by go-betweens, and thirty dollars in mokos and
gongs kept the File people from joining the war. At about this time also
the Dutch were insisting upon the termination of head-hunting. However,
some twenty years later the Kewai and Atimelang people were [578]
still suspicious of each other and there were very few contacts between
the villages, although they were only about an hour-and-a-half's walking
distance apart.

The fact that bereaved kin are not necessarily the ones who take direct 602
vengeance does not mean that they are absolved from responsibility 721
but, characteristically, that responsibility is financial. They must 432
buy a head to match the one lost by a relative. Actually a head itself is
not always necessary. Tokens for a person killed or wounded but not
decapitated are acceptable. In such transactions there are six sellers and
six buyers. The sellers (*namu*) are the persons who were present at the
death and who counted coup on the head. The buyers (*banumama*)
consist of specific kin, such as a brother, and the first five Male Houses
of the deceased. The prices for heads naturally vary. The maximum expenditure
I have recorded amounts to approximately one hundred and
twelve dollars in gongs, mokos, weapons, and pigs.

The ceremonial accompaniments of such transactions are slight and 432
slovenly in execution, as are all ceremonial procedures in Atimelang. 262
The sellers of a head bring it to their village in a basket filled with 727
ashes. The basket is hung in a bamboo thicket and ignored until the
payoff, which may be years later. The first two killers are under a rice
taboo for six days. They may eat only corn served them in the inner
woven compartment of an areca basket that is kept covered with a
serving basket. The eaters take a handful and rapidly cover the container
again. This is to prevent the ghost of the dead man from contaminating [778]
the food and making his slayers particularly susceptible to
revenge. On the sixth day the buyers make a rice roll with a head and
limbs. The chief seller shoots this food effigy and may thereafter eat
rice. The sellers then give the chief buyer bananas, pigs, and chickens, [431
which are cooked and eaten on the spot by the five other buyers. That 602]

432
727 is, the closest lineal kin of the murdered man receives from the sellers
262 gifts of which he does not partake, whereas the more distant Male
431 House kin may eat freely of the food. This parallels the procedure in
602 death feasts, at which close kin of the dead refuse food. After this lifting
765 of taboos, payments are in order, but, as in the payoff of death feast obligations, they may not be made for many years. This preliminary procedure is simply a token of an obligation undertaken. In 1938 and 1939 there were still such outstanding obligations awaiting settlement, although no heads had been taken for at least twenty years.

727 If an enemy kills a man but does not have a chance to decapitate
766 him, the home village of the victim itself decapitates him, puts the head in an ash-filled basket, and hangs it in a bamboo thicket or on a remotely located platform. Before putting it aside, however, the six potential buyers of revenge shoot arrows into the head of their kinsman and urge his soul to go out and find six sellers, that is, six avengers. The head is "fed" every few days and whenever it smells food it is supposed to cry. This assures the kin that the head is still there and that it has not been stolen by an enemy for resale.

727 In all this system of revenge the head is actually of minimal importance.
682 One can sell the fact of a death without producing the head. On the other hand, any head will do if a lineal kin wishes to buy one and make an honorific (i.e., financial) settlement for a death. In such a case, a stolen head will do as well as any other.

727 At the payoff for the head the sellers must first be appeased, and, as
432 in all financial settlements of this sort, there are hours and hours of haggling, of derogations, of threatened withdrawals, and of attempted chicanery. When claims of the various ranks of creditors have been met, the climax of the ceremony is to bring the head onto the dance place. Since the real head has usually long since disintegrated or been lost, a cowrie shell or a stone wrapped in coconut fiber can be substituted. The bundle is woven into a closed coconut-leaf container like those made for cooking raw rice and is lashed to the end of a pole. A volunteer, who is paid a small fee, stands with the pole and its bundle on the village boundary. He calls the buyers to come fetch the sellers and the bundle. The buyers and their female kin assemble in full regalia in front of the head bundle and begin "dancing" it into the village.

535 The dance is a vigorous challenge dance resembling the gestures
432 used by men in debate. This dancing of an object into the village is
727 also used for house posts, valuable mokos, spirit-bird bundles, and any prized objects. The sellers follow this procession. Once on the dance

place, the wielder of the pole begins switching the bundle rapidly back 535
and forth as he circles the dance place six times. He is surrounded by 432
the buyers, who try to beat the head bundle as it flicks back and forth. 727
At the end of the sixth round the buyers seize the pole and bundle, rush to the village edge, and toss the bundle off into the bush, where no further attention is paid to it. Now the dead kinsman has a "spouse" (i.e., [775]
the fellow victim) and will not return to make trouble for his living kin. The thrashing given the head bundle is supposed to kill the spirit of the spouse so that it too will no longer be a menace.

The final ceremonial gesture is the mock feeding of the buyers. They 727
stand in a row on their dance place and a piece of rice cone is offered 769
them. They pretend to take a bite, but actually the rice is rapidly passed over their shoulders to children standing behind each buyer, who run off and eat it secretly. This appeases the dead kinsman. The same procedure is repeated by the sellers on the village boundary. This appeases the spouse of the dead kin.

It is consistent with the picture drawn so far of food and finance that the malignancy even of souls cannot be fully appeased until gestures of this sort are made. The cost of such appeasement must act to
curtail excessive head-hunting. The financial costliness of placating the 435
dead is true also for the ordinary death feasts and for the spirit-bird 764]
ceremonies that replace the death feast series in cases of violent deaths. 766
This latter type of ceremony parallels in form that just described for a human head. There are three or four species of small birds which, when killed and dried, may be sold as spouses for those dead from accident or from dysentery, leprosy, or smallpox. It is important in terms of local values that even though a man has caught a spirit bird he may not [432]
use it to appease his own dead kin, but must buy one from some other set of six captors.

An instance of nice adjustment occurred when the Dutch put an end 177
to head-hunting. Spirit-bird ceremonies were substituted for head cere- 727
monies where vengeance had not yet been secured, so that the soul of 766
the murdered man could be appeased. The Alorese were caught by cultural changes between the fear of their dead kin and the living Dutch. Fortunately they had at hand a ceremonial device they could, and were willing to, substitute in order to avoid this dilemma. If this device had not been available it is possible that the natives would have feared their dead more than the Dutch garrison and that head-hunting would not have ended so quickly and easily. As it was, the solution was probably as much of a relief to the natives as it was to the government.

SATELLITES

556 It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descriptions
578 of various wealth activities. The gist of the foregoing pages has
182 been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and hostility and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provoke extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to moderate an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

556 From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages
571 stood out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no term to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servitors of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help dance in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

461 This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a
556 show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Visiting, sitting, talking, and chewing areca are the only physical exertions worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor
[562] makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the
554 young. Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with
602 the powerful man to whom they are attached. In return for their assist-
571 ance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

possible to give any numerical estimate of this group since their status 554
relationships are so shifting. A man might be willing to assume a satel- 602
lite relationship to a very rich and powerful kinsman, one in the upper 571
ten per cent for example, but would not play such a role to a kinsman
in the middle quartile of any hypothetical distribution curve of wealth.

This satellite role is of course markedly reminiscent of the fagging 857
mentioned for growing boys and seems to be a persistence of the child- 858
hood role of being ordered about on small errands and duties. In greater 562
docility, in more physical labor, and in the rendering of services, the
satellite males approach the role expected of women. This is purely my
interpretation. There was in Atimelang no thought of comparing the
less successful men with women.

SKILLS

There are in addition a number of lesser skills, nonfinancial in nature, 554
for which a man may acquire a certain reputation even though they 463
procure him no social rewards. There follows a list of men with such
skills, which I was able to obtain only indirectly in the course of extended observations. It is by no means complete but gives a sample of skills respected by the group. Not all the men listed here were in that somewhat vaguely defined satellite category. Those listed who were at the same time obviously men of considerable financial power have been starred.

Lakamobi of Alurkowati: calendarer; making of wooden mortars.
Rilpada of Dikimpe: a seer.
*Malefani of Dikimpe: burying lepers, making leprosy curses; a minor seer.
Riemau of Dikimpe: butchering animals and dividing meat at feasts.
Maieta of Lawatika: making village guardian spirit carvings.
Padamai of Folafeng: carving.
Fanseni Long Hair: carving; knowledge of ceremonial procedure.
*Maliseni: vigor and violence in debate.
Mangma of Karieta: genealogical information; industrious gardener.
Lakamau of Alurkowati: skill with bow and arrow; skill in extracting wax from people's ears.
*Atakalieta of Folafeng: making curses to protect fields from theft.
Nicolas of Folafeng: divination by means of chickens.
Atafani of Atimelang: fencing with clubs.
*Maikalieta of Atimelang: clearing new fields.
Manimale of Alurkowati: suspected poisoner.
Padatimang of Dikimpe: a seer.

555 177 One source of status and distinction is not included on a current list of minor skills; that is, bravery in war. Before the pacification of the island by the Hollanders a man might gain distinction through wealth or warfare. Today only wealth remains. For the successful warrior a special status term exists that means essentially a "killer," a "bad man" (*liki*). Seers also have a special status term (*timang*).

554 At present in Atimelang only two men are definitely at the nonprivileged end of the scale. One is a man about forty years old who has
never married and never distinguished himself in any way. The other
is a young simpleton who still associates with boys and is a docile servitor to his elder kin. Otherwise, even satellites and poor men are to some
extent involved, or hoping to become involved, in the competitive system. Perhaps this is one reason, combined with others, that skills are on
so low a level in the community. The foregoing list of people known
[461] for special abilities indicates the poverty of the range. It does not, however, indicate the triviality of the reward. Such skills may serve to identify their possessors, but little more. They are not substitutes for wealth, and the power they give over other people is minimal. They may arouse a modicum of respect but they give no true prestige.

756 555 The seer has opportunities for wielding social power, but that power, though real, is covert. The payments he gets for curing are so small that they serve only as a supplementary source of income. His position is reminiscent of the more academic scientists in our culture, whose power is indirect and whose reward financially is not comparable to that of a "captain of industry." In the autobiographies are the histories of two seers, a man and a woman. I have the impression that they are both people with a considerable desire for power who are using the role of seer to inflate their own image of themselves because the financial role is largely blocked. Rilpada's life history and dreams deserve special study from that point of view.

461 It could be argued that such substitutive gratifications might be expected to flourish in a society where the cultural goal is so often associated with frustrations and difficulties. That they do not may be symptomatic of a general underdevelopment of mastery techniques. It is patent that in practically all specialties there is a singular slovenliness of achievement. Maikalieta, who is listed as a man distinguished for gardening, planted a field far too large for his labor resources for weeding it. A careful study I made of his expenditures in gardening feasts and of his returns revealed that he had lost out in the enterprise, although he did not seem aware of the fact.

Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all

Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all singularly crude, and no value is attached to them once they have been 461 517 used for sacrificial purposes. It is not unusual to see these "sacred" carvings 778 lying on the ground rotting away. (It was always considered a windfall to be able to sell me one. Also, I found it impossible to appeal to pride in order to procure good specimens for the museum collection I was making, and only by repeatedly refusing to pay for the poor ones did I get better examples of handicrafts.)

Although they are capable of building large and imposing houses, 461 about a third of the houses were of the shed or field-hut type, which 342 can be thrown together in a few days. Even an imposing new lineage house will have the edges of its thatch torn to shreds within a year by its owners, who pull out a handful whenever they want a torch at night. As I have already indicated, tattooing and tooth blackening are so unskillfully done that they fail frequently to be permanent. Basketry [285] is of the simplest sort, with a minimum of overlay decorations. The Atimelangers have never acquired the arts of weaving known on the coast, of pottery produced in villages not two hours away, or of *cire perdue* casting known in the eastern part of the island. This is true despite the fact that they know the processes fairly well, and there are no taboos or restrictions that I could discover against the practice of such crafts.

Their mythology is confused and unstructuralized. Their knowledge 773 of genealogies is so deficient that many individuals do not know their 601 more remote Male House kin. Ceremonial procedure is almost always a 796 source of fumbling and of heated argument as to proper procedure. In respect to some of these items, it is possible that they represent newly or partially introduced features which were not clearly understood in the first place, or else features that were survivalistic. Regardless of the possible historical situation, the fact remains that little is done by way of elaboration and integration, and no effort is made to master the resources of the environment.

From the point of view of depth psychology all this might well point 155 to a weakness in ego development. This would be in agreement with my suggestions in the preceding chapters, that it is precisely in the realm of ego development that the Atimelang child suffers the greatest handicaps and receives the least encouragement. The rewards are few and meager in childhood as well as in adult life. Men want to be rich; they may have the drive, but more than drive is necessary for successful accomplishment. Consistent training and the assurance of reward (or penalty) are essential to learning. These two factors are largely absent. It is not astonishing, therefore, that so many men accept the

155 role of satellites, which is a partial abandonment of goal and a partial continuation of childhood patterns.

FINANCE AND ESTHETICS

[517] It is interesting that there are only two areas in which men seem to
533 achieve any degree of esthetic self-expression. Both are indirectly asso-
536 ciated with finance. One is gong playing, the other is versification. It will be recalled that gongs are one of the currencies. Whole gongs (*fokung*) are not very fluid as currency since they are prized for ceremonial purposes. Broken gongs (*rai*) are used constantly as small change. Their values range from about fifty cents to several rupiahs. Gong playing begins in middle childhood and may continue through-
533 out life. More often the long, steady gong beating of death memorials (*tinewai*), of lineage house building, and so forth is turned over to boys and young men, but older men frequently experiment with new rhythms or set the pattern for an orchestra composed of mokos and gongs of different sizes.

538 The connection of versification with finance comes out more plainly than that of gong playing and finance. It is the only form of poetic expression possessed by the people. It is, in fact, practically the only attempt at literary expression of any sort. The preoccupation with finance and even its esthetic transmutations are evident from some of the verses quoted below. The dances last from eight or nine o'clock in the
[535] evening until dawn the next day. They usually precede a ceremonial event, with its inevitable financial concomitants. The participants, facing inward, their arms about each other, form a circle on the dance place. They progress sideways.

Any man may begin a verse. The form in which he expresses himself has certain stereotyped limits and a set range of elaborate metaphors, but it is not so fixed that creative leeway is forbidden. As the soloist finishes a verse, he indicates a change in tempo. Thereupon all
[539] the dancers join in one of the dozen or more set choruses characterized by syllables which are predominantly meaningless and slightly more rapid in beat. The ability to improvise is highly esteemed. Ambitious young men of seventeen or eighteen years first try to versify in this fashion. An inadequate performance is not publicly ridiculed, but there is a certain amount of snickering behind the performer's back. Those with real ability persist in their efforts and may be admired performers by the time they are in their late thirties or early forties. Abilities naturally vary. By rough estimate perhaps 10 per cent of the mature men are recognized as good singers. A few verses taken at random from

two dances are given in order to illustrate the flavor of Atimelang's 538
poetic fantasy.

SPIRIT-BIRD DANCE FOR A DROWNED MAN CALLED LAKAMANI 539

Verse 1. A creditor.
Heloma! Helele! Men of Mobi's family!
Tomorrow at dawn your creditors will ask for long treasure;
They will request large wealth.
Toss your creditors' shields;
Strike their bows.[*]
Creditors will grasp the wealth and turn away.[†]
Verse 2. A creditor.
When the earth is at dawn,
When the world is light,
Fani, my chief, ask for large wealth;
Request long treasure.
Your creditors, standing in file,
Will hang the roar of a storm [‡] on their shoulders.
Verse 3. A guest.
The sound of your dance rises; your chorus swells.
The sound of it hangs on me; it droops over me.
I blew the fire to give light.
I came to join the dance.
I stand on the edge of your dance place.
I have stumbled through the dark to come stand with you.
Verse 4. A creditor.
Tomorrow at daylight, when the world is at dawn,
If I see something tasty and good,
If I come upon something sweet and good,[§]
I shall sit upon the verandah of Latawati[‖]
And there pour out tales in your praise.
Verse 5. The debtor-host.
My creditors, you have spoken truly; correct is your tale.
At dawn tomorrow I shall hand you tallies.
I shall set the date of payment.
Go to Latawati[‖]

[*] Pay them well.

[†] Be satisfied and leave without further dunning.

[‡] Gongs and mokos given in payment; this refers to the sound that gongs and drums make when beaten by satisfied creditors.

[§] If creditors are well paid.

[‖] Name of creditor's lineage house.

539 And when the last tally has been destroyed,
When the last tally leaf has been torn off,
Return to my level dance place.
The hand of illness will be pried open,
The teeth of disease will be pried apart.[*]
You will not have long to wait.

Verse 8. A creditor.
Creditors are your family tree;
Creditors are your tree branch.
Their faces are not strange; their eyes not different.
Just now when the sun set
I grasped the quail-voiced horn.
I came down to your level dance place
To pry apart the teeth of disease.
Lakamani, that small man,[†]
Will lead the way;
He will grasp the hand of illness.
He will take it to the bamboo-skirted boundary of the village.
He will leave.

Verse 9. A guest.
Quietly I slept, restfully I sat;
But the sound of your voices rose, your chorus swelled.
This I heard, it opened my eyes.
So I came gladly to join in your rhythmic stamping.

Verse 10. The debtor.
My many dance guests, you have spoken truly; correct is your tale.
The sound of my dance rises; my chorus swells.
You heard it; it prods your ears.
Blow on the fire for light; join the dance.
Make a light and join in.
I shall not scrutinize you,
I shall not question you.[‡]

Verse 11. A creditor.
Fani, my chief, illness is close to you;
Disease approaches you.
The sun set and you ordered your creditors to come.
They grasped the quail-voiced horn

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[*] The function of this dance is to protect the debtor from the illness caused by his dead kinsman's ghost. When a payment has been made, the ghost is appeased.

[†] The deceased for whom the payments are being made. He is called "small" to indicate that he need not be feared.

[‡] Greet his guests suspiciously.

And came down to your level dance place.
Voices gathered, throats chorused
To open the hand of illness,
To pry apart the teeth of disease.
Lakamani, that brass bow,* will guide illness away.
He will grasp its hand and follow a distant ravine.

Verse 12. The debtor-host.

My creditors, you have spoken truly; correct is your tale.
At dawn tomorrow you will see nothing tasty;
Nothing sweet will appear for you.†
I shall give you tallies.
When I set a date, return.
Meanwhile go to Latewati,‡
Sit upon its verandah.
When the last tally leaf has been torn off,
When it has been destroyed,
When the intervening days have passed,
Come back; return to my level home §
To open the hand of illness,
To pry apart the teeth of disease.
This place is devoid of wealth,
There are no treasures in this spot.
But Lakamani, that small man,
Has run ahead to ask for large wealth,
To request long treasure.¶
Your bows will be struck; your shields tossed.**
You shan't sit long.††

Verse 17. A guest.

When the sun like a shrimp bursts on the hill,
Shields will crackle with dryness.
I shall become very sleepy.
I shall take the memory ‡‡ of your dance to my house.
Because of you I shall eat heartily.§§

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* Meaning is obscure; probably means strong and valuable.

† He does not plan to pay them when the dance ends at dawn.

‡ Name of the creditor's lineage house.

§ Literally, "plateau," a figure of speech for dance place.

¶ The dead are expected to precede the living kin when they set out to collect debts and to dispose the debtor toward generous payments.

** Creditors will be well paid.

†† The payment will be so large as to be immediately satisfactory and require no dunning on the part of the creditors.

‡‡ Literally, remnant.

§§ Refers to the morning meal after an all-night dance.

539 *Verse 18.* A creditor.

When the earth is at dawn, when the world is light,
Fani, my chief, I shall see something very tasty;
Something sweet will appear for me.
You will scratch for wealth,
You will scrabble for treasure.
Place tallies in my hand,
Give me the promised day.
I shall return to my Latawati house;
I shall sit on its verandah.
When the promised number of days have elapsed
And are passed, when the tallies have been torn off,
I shall come back down to the level dance place of Fani, my chief.
The wealth for which you scratched,
The treasure for which you scrabbled,
The wealth for which you dunned,
The treasure for which you asked,
Your creditors will gather together and carry away.

DANCE FOR VILLAGE GUARDIAN SPIRIT

Verse 1. A host.

Helome! Helele! The Village Person, the Community's Owner
Was seized today by a Kamang arrow.*
As far as the foot of the slope it held your eye and your hand.
Through good years and bad years I shall feed and bathe you.†

Verse 2. A host.

Oh! Village Person! Our ancestors and our forebears,
Who were accustomed to beat drums and bang gongs
There in the village, the level village, are no more.
Today I thrust the Kamang arrow into the former dance place.
I waved it before your eyes.
So come up from Kamang
Descend from Manikamang
Come from Likuwatang
Descend from Watalang
Here to the level land of Atimelang.
We are as numerous as grains of sand.

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* A seer from Kamang had been in charge of rearing the village guardian spirit.

† The host promises annual sacrifices to the spirit. The term "feed and bathe" is that usually employed for children.

Good years and bad years also,
I shall feed you. Each year it will be thus.

Verse 3. A host.
Just now as the sun set, all gathered in your honor.
They brought a goat with horns downy as nettle fuzz;
They brought a pennant and they brought wealth
To prod your ears, to catch your eye.
In return, drive wealth toward our tumukun,*
Chase it in his direction.
Each year you will be fed and bathed.

Verse 4. A guest.
Halomal Halele! Village Person!
Formerly people were good and rich,
But even in the past it has been told us
Only one piglet sufficed to summon the Spirit,
So come now to us from wherever you are,
Run here to us.
Protect the food crops.
Divide them among the chief's and the tumukun's hundred kinsmen.
Feed each hand every year.

Verse 5. A guest.
Drowsily I narrate, sleepily I talk.
May it catch the Village Person's eye.
May it prod his ear.
May corn of all sorts encircle the bamboo-skirted boundary of the village.
White drooping rice-heads follow other villages.
Village Guardian, run to meet it;
Intercept its path; draw it here.
Divide it among all hands of this long Atimelang.

Verse 6. A guest.
The sound of your dance rises; your chorus swells.
The sound of it hangs on me; it droops over me.
Nudge the young men to waken them.
Call the young women to go.
Blow on the fire to give light.
Join the dance;
Make a light and join the dance.

* One of the hosts.

53 *Verse 7.* A host.
We divined with areca nuts
And the lot fell on the Village Spirit.
To the Village Person it pointed.
We took a goat with horns downy as nettle fuzz,
We summon him with the goat,
That he may guard us and be well-disposed toward us.
Verse 8. The seer who officiated.
I was wandering on the coast when your tumukun ordered me,
When he commanded me
To come up here to level Atimelang.
Your Village Guardian hung upside down.*
I took a pronged arrow to hook his incisors.
I tugged him here to set him free upon your new dance place.
He guards your food, so feed your Village Spirit,
Both good years and bad; forget no year.
Pour out the true tale; throw forth your speech.
The Guardian Spirit, this Village Person, had turned his head
from you.
The people of Atimelang were beginning to dwindle.
There were no rice storage baskets.
There were no corn racks.
Only to the Village Guardian, to no other spirit,
Did our divination point.
When the sun set, when it hung low
Our chief took a small pig
To feed and bathe the Guardian.
Verse 9. A host, addressing the Guardian Spirit.
Debtors are numerous, debtors are many.
So follow them persistently; lead the way to them.
Hook wealth with your horn,
Let it pour in like sea or water.
I shall feed and bathe you each year.
Verse 10. A host, addressing the Guardian Spirit.
My kin, the Guardian Spirit, act like a dog;
Like a dog persistently track our many debtors.
Let wealth come sliding in like flowing water.
For the sake of our Tilelwati's ancestral house beam,

* Was neglected and the village had fallen on hard times.

Oh, Village Guardian, track down those who have been our guests.* 539
Now in this drowsy fourth quarter of the night
We call upon you; we ask your help
That you may persistently track our many debtors.

Verse 11. A host, addressing the Guardian Spirit.
Listen, Guardian Spirit,
Pursue new wealth and old wealth.
From the market or from the Kamang area
Show it the way here.
Hook it up with your horn.
Let it slide in like flowing water.

SOME FINANCIAL PRESSURES

If compensatory skills are minimal and esthetic outlets seem only to 556
reinforce the premium set on financial success, it may be of some inter- 426
est to turn once more to some of the institutional details involved in financial manipulations. This will give us an impression of the sort of difficulty involving chicanery and frustrations with which the less successful are incapable of coping and before which they surrender to a greater or lesser degree. In the section on marriage the obstacles of some young men in launching into the system were described. Difficult as a youth's position may sometimes be, it is only a portion of the sum of difficulties he may encounter as a man and of the distrusts and suspicions the system, as a system, is calculated to engender.

It must be evident by now that wealth consists essentially of a series [554]
of outstanding credits, not of accumulated property. But no debt is 426
ever paid by one individual to another without a preliminary dunning. 165
except in the case of general payoff feasts. However, to give a feast a man must work at dunning for months ahead of time to be assured of enough tangible wealth from his debtors to provide a satisfactory payoff for his creditors who crowd to the feast. The game played at such ceremonial payoffs is to force as much as possible out of the host, while he in turn has been trying to force as much as possible from his debtors. He uses a variety of magic wealth-bringing devices that range from building a new shed for his wealth-bringing spirits and placating them with food, to beating gongs and mokos morning and evening in order to draw in more gongs and mokos. The strain of debt collecting is nicely illustrated by the words used, which mean to draw (*filia*) and to tug [illegible]
(bag[illegible]). Terms also applied to heavy loads such as house posts.

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* Who have accepted gifts, that they may repay them.

426 (*hefik*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. The 768 difficulty of calling in reserves is further illustrated by the uncertainty surrounding the date set for a feast. The case of the tumukun's payoff death feast will show just how harassing such a situation can be.

The tumukun must have been pondering the event of a death feast for some weeks, but the first indication I had of his plans for it was on March 23, when a group of women gathered to hull rice. The next day [787] he divined to discover the proper date, and the result of this divination set April 4 as the day of the feast. When April 4 arrived it was obvious that no feast was under way. I asked what had happened and was told there had been a two-day delay in order to give guests time to arrive. On April 14 the tumukun again divined for a propitious date, and the day was set for April 26. That night and the next day he had satellites [211 deliver thirty-nine invitations in the form of "tommo tallies" to inform 202] his debtors that gongs and mokos were to begin arriving as early as April 22. These tommo tallies are strips of coconut leaves in one end of which a flat knot is tied; the other end is slit as many times as there are days before the feast. The guest is supposed to tear off one tab a day.

[789] Meanwhile the tumukun had been making gong- and moko-bringing magic every evening and morning. Since all these activities were quite open, no one could have been ignorant of his plans. April 26 came and went, however, but no guests arrived. The tumukun was very much ashamed and, characteristically, very angry. He complained to me of the situation when I was indiscreet enough to inquire about the cause of the delay, and he blusteringly threatened to carry litigations against his debtors to the radjah himself. He began once more a round of visits to his debtors scattered through about ten villages to berate them for their recalcitrance. I asked a neutral person if people were angry with the tumukun and was told that they were not, that such delays were customary.

On July 13 the tumukun again began morning and evening to beat gongs and mokos in order to draw in his wealth. A few dowry payments arrived during the last days of July. On July 28 he went to fetch the soul of his father-in-law, in whose honor the death feast was to be. [769] The father-in-law had been buried in the old Alurkowati village some twenty years before, and his soul had to be brought to the dance place in Atimelang, where his feast was to be given. The tumukun took this opportunity to berate his father-in-law's soul for its inactivity in spur- [776] ring debtors to make payments. The souls of those who are to be honsoul are supposed to precede the human creditors and "soften people's hearts." For the next few days the tumukun's kinsmen and debtors continued making payments and by August 4 the feast was finally given, four months after the original date set for it. 926 765

Even then not an adequate number of debtors appeared, so that on August 4 there was only the slaughtering of pigs and the division of food. On August 7 the actual gongs and mokos were distributed. The [illegible] wealth array was one of the most elaborate I saw during my eighteen months, but I was assured that it was by no means the largest possible. There were fifteen mokos and eight broken gongs, representing about one hundred dollars, displayed on the dance place. This did not include pigs or rice. Practically the whole day was taken up with the distribution, although the actual passing out of payments did not begin until about four-thirty. At five-forty the first creditor, a satellite kin and village-mate of the tumukun, beat the moko he had received and left the dance place as a sign of satisfaction with the payment made. Some of the other creditors, however, were overtly and articulately dissatisfied with their payments, and some of the more implacable ones refused to accept them and leave until noon the next day. Meanwhile, in several instances, they had succeeded in forcing higher payments. Several times the tumukun and his guests were in acute rages over the negotiations. The tumukun finally managed to convince his guests that he had absolutely no currency of any sort left. Actually he had taken the precaution of hiding two mokos in a field house occupied by a kin so that his creditors would not discover them and insist on having them.

In attempting to visualize the general atmosphere of grasping hard dealing that runs riot on such occasions, one must picture a whole group of people who are present simply because they are creditors of the tumukun's creditors. They watch what is being distributed, and the minute one of their creditors is paid a gong or moko, they lay claim to it as payment for an outstanding debt. The result is that, in addition to the quarrels centering on the tumukun's debt liquidations, there is [illegible] also a series of minor quarrels being waged on the side.

A condensed account of this sort can scarcely begin to indicate the [illegible] anger, humiliations, and frustrations the tumukun had to endure for the prestige the feast brought him. It is not surprising that many men delay payoff feasts indefinitely and must often be forced into them. The most common pressure that forces a reluctant financier into a ceremonial payoff is illness, his own or that of some family member. Divination reveals that a dead kinsman is angry at delay or neglect and that 778 826 764

759 426 765 his soul is causing the sickness. A small preliminary sacrifice to the angered ghost removes the immediate symptoms. Then the long-drawn preliminaries leading to a feast are set in motion.

421 426 765 A less frequent form of coercing a man into ceremonial expenses is beginning an undertaking in which he is then forced to join. In connection with the death feast given by the custodian there was an example of such an involvement. The custodian was giving a feast for his father-in-law. This brought in, although very reluctantly, the maternal uncle of the custodian's wife and her sister. This uncle was held equally responsible by his female kin for the ceremony in view of the fact that there were no nearer male kin of the deceased.

Another case of forced participation happened in connection with the erection of a new carving of the village guardian spirit for Dikimpe. The person primarily responsible for taking the initiative and bearing the brunt of the expenses was Fantan the Interpreter, who had inherited this duty from his father. In Dikimpe the village guardian spirit carving had not been renewed for several years, nor had the spirit been fed. Thomas, who belonged to one of the Dikimpe lineages and was responsible only to a minor degree for the expenses, ordered a carving made and then left the major part of the activities for Fantan to carry through. It was interesting in this instance that Fantan seemed to bear no resentment.

A still rarer form of forcing a man into feast activities is through public shaming. A quarrel that resulted in a feast five months later is worth giving in detail.

571 593 *Mangpa*, a young man of about eighteen, had done a few days' work on the coast and earned some money which he invested in a crude kerosene flare and a bottle of oil. There were only about half a dozen such lamps in the village, and their owners were very proud of them. On *Mangpa's* return from the coast his father, who was ill, insisted on burning the lamp all night. The next night Djetmani, a neighbor, borrowed the lamp from *Mangpa's* father so that he might have more than just firelight by which to tie into bundles his newly harvested corn. On the third night, *Mangpa* wanted to carry his lamp to an all-night dance, doubtless with the hope of splurging a bit. He found the bottle empty of oil and the lamp dry. He was furious and berated his father until his father, who was both ineffectual and ill, burst into tears. *Mangpa's* mother, who is Tilapada of the autobiographies, turned on her son and scolded him harshly for his behavior.

578 *Mangpa* left the house in a rage and found Djetmani outside. The two began quarreling. Djetmani threatened to break the lamp. *Mangpa*

reported that Djetmani would die the day that the lamp was broken 578
and then added that he for one would be pleased to have it smashed
immediately. To wish a person's death is one of the more deadly insults. [578]
Djetmani pointed his finger at Maugata and said that he would
strike him were he a grown man, but after all Maugata was just an
unmarried boy. Maugata at this point ran up so close to Djetmani, daring
him to strike, that Djetmani's finger entered Maugata's eye. Maugata,
who was now practically beside himself, shouted, "Why don't you pay
for your mother's shroud? Why don't you give any feasts?" This referred [626,
to the fact that, about twenty years before, Maugata's father 426]
had furnished half a piece of cloth as a burial shroud for Djetmani's 765]
mother, and Djetmani, a man of about thirty with two wives, had not
yet given any payoff death feasts.

As usual there had been nothing quiet or subdued about this quarrel.
The exchange of insults had echoed through the whole valley and had
attracted the guests at the all-night dance up on the knoll. Maugata's
maternal uncle had joined the crowd that surrounded the fighters.
When Maugata's last insult was delivered, his uncle suddenly lost his
temper, berated him for quarreling and for his lack of restraint, and
then hit him so hard over the left eye with a rattan club that the boy
was stunned. Maugata, when he was brought to my house for medication,
was quite obviously making the most of his injury. Meanwhile [626]
calmer neutrals had interfered, and the chief ordered both of the men
to appear for a trial at sunrise when the dance ended.

The uncle and Djetmani danced all night, but Maugata went home 675
and for at least three hours I heard his mother berate him in a voice 578
audible to neighbors and passers-by. At the trial in the morning each
in turn told his version of the quarrel. The uncle admitted that he had
been at fault—not, however, in striking his nephew, but in striking him
on the head. He had already paid his nephew a fine of seven and a half
cents. The uncle was then dismissed. Djetmani in telling his tale became
more and more despondent. He ended with the comment, "I have 626
been made ashamed. I'll pay back that piece of cloth right now." 426

This immediately precipitated a general discussion about the relative 765
value of the shroud and the piece of cloth that Djetmani was planning
to cut in half by way of repayment. The cloth was brought, examined,
and then finally accepted as an equivalent. The chief cut it in two and
handed Maugata half. Djetmani got up and walked away crying. Maugata's
mother was in tears and Maugata, looking very sullen and angry,
was surreptitiously wiping his eyes. The next day Djetmani began the
preliminary sacrifices involved in a payoff ceremony. This he was able

426 Thus he was able
765 to give some five months later with assistance from the tumukun, whose
[571] satellite he was.

Another device to force participation in a feast is used only by kin.
626 This constitutes a kind of capital levy. It consists of openly shooting a
[602] man's pig in its pen. Since pork is never eaten casually, this forces the pig owner into at least a minor feast. For a case of this sort, the death of Fantan's child as told in his autobiography (page 387) serves as an illustration. The same device is used to force a reluctant kinsman into contributing the dead pig to the shooter's feast. That is, a promise to pay is substituted for the pig. This is the process underlying the slaughtering of animals in the wealth contest described previously, and it brings out the advantages of having a large group of kinsmen. Even the accidental death of a pig is often the incentive for a feast or sacrifice. The same holds true if a man shoots a pig that is rooting up his garden after he has warned its owner of the damage it is doing.

There are then a number of ways of forcing a man into feast activities and the meeting of ceremonial obligations if he is reluctant to participate in the prestige game. In the case of individual debts the final recourse, when debtors are delinquent, is forceful seizure or threats of the
426 sort already mentioned. To carry such a procedure through success-
427 fully it is necessary to have a sufficient number of supporting kin or
602 satellites who will provide the intimidating show of force required.
571 There were many cases of this sort during my eighteen months there. As a rule pigs are the property seized, but even mokos and gongs are subject to seizure, although this means entering and searching another man's house. There is, however, a measure of protection against such procedure. Most financiers with large outstanding credits are careful to keep no very valuable pieces of currency where they can be confiscated. With mokos of lower value one makes every effort to lend them out at credit as soon as possible after receiving them. With mokos of high value, which circulate less freely, it is customary to bury them secretly in some well-concealed spot. Only a man's brother or his sons may be partners to the hiding place.

426 Pigs cannot be disposed of so easily. Instead there is a system of part-
571 nership in pig raising that assures the owner of an ally in case of seizure.
427 Furthermore, it is a way of concealing the extent of animal wealth. The
425 system is to furnish a partner, often in another village, with a piglet to raise. This partner acquires half interest in the animal by giving the owner a stipulated number of payments and by feeding it. If anyone
425 attempts to seize the pig for a debt incurred by either of the co-owners,
571 the partner is of necessity an ally against this forceful procedure. It is a

way of using wealth to insure support and to enlarge or utilize satellite 428 and kinship loyalties to the full. This same device of farming out pigs 571 prevents every casual passer-by from knowing precisely the animal wealth of any given person. Rarely are more than two pigs kept penned [231] beneath any one house. *Malieni*, who was reputed to have an interest in as many as twenty pigs, had only three pigs penned in his dance place complex, where he lived with his three wives, his older brother, and his brother's wife. Probably *Malieni's* financial activities and unreliability account in part for his keeping only three pigs penned in the vicinity of his house.

Enough details have been given to indicate the relationship between 556 finance and status and also the fact that all men are to a certain extent forced into wealth-status manipulations that are precarious and aggravating. The lack of standardized currencies, the contract devices and the chicanery associated with wealth, the difficulties and delays attendant upon feasts, the competitive system in which, by definition, only a fraction of the male population can be successful, all contribute to the frustrations and irritations of gaining prestige. In addition, no one can relax his efforts once the goal has been reached. There are too many socially recognized pressures to permit him to withdraw and still maintain his status rating.

A nice example of the pressures and their inescapability is contained in a conversation between Fantan the Interpreter and Malelaka. Fantan, who was hard pressed at the moment, began fantasying, saying, "I should like to raise all my own pigs, and when I needed a gong or moko, I'd sell a pig for it. For my feasts I would use all my own pigs and rice. That is just what I think. It is not really true."

Malelaka, who was some twenty years older than Fantan, answered, 556 "That is what your maternal kinsman Lanmani did. People all envied 426 him, although they were angry with him sometimes. He raised his own 185 pigs and if he wanted a gong or a moko he sold a pig to get it. The other pigs he used for his own feasts. If others came and shot his pig for a feast, he did not let them carry it off (i.e., form a debt with him). He kept it himself. If people came bringing a gong or a moko, he would let them have a pig; but if they just promised to pay, he would say, 'I like meat too. I need this pig for a feast.' After a time people did not ask him for a pig unless they had gongs or mokos; they did not try to shoot his pigs any more. If his affinal kin gave him a pig for a dowry payment, he would use it right away, but he would immediately put another pig in his pen to replace it. When it was big, he would take it to his lineal kin and say, 'If you have a gong or moko, give it to

556 my affinal kin and I shall give you this pig.' So his lineal kin would pay
426 his bride-price for him."

183 In discussing this conversation later, Fantan remarked, "Yes, a man
here says he is rich, but all he does is to go around and cheat people.
He pulls in their gongs and mokos and promises to pay for them when
other debts of his are settled, but he only deceives us. People thought
my kinsman Lanmani was poor because he did not have a lot of outstanding
debts."

556 Supporting this type of personal expression of dissatisfaction and
782 difficulty with financial affairs is another more formalized expression.
Any large accumulation of gongs and mokos, such as the one described
for the tumukun's feast, is considered dangerous. Young children are
chased away from it, and adults must be protected by throwing away
one of the pieces of smaller value to the wealth-bringing spirits. The
piece is tossed by the owner into the brush, where boys and young men
fight for it. This is another permitted opportunity for aggression in
relation to wealth. Should this precaution or some similar magical one
[158] be omitted, the owner of the wealth will fall sick and die within a day.

The danger associated with excessive wealth is present also when a
rice crop is unusually large, when a carabao is slaughtered, or when
many wild pigs have been shot on the communal hunt at the end of the
dry season. Again, illness can be avoided only by throwing away a small
[764] part as a sacrifice, the essence of which goes to personal or ancestral
spirits who may be offended, and the substance of which is fought over
by the younger and less dignified males.

CONCLUSIONS

556 Obviously from the foregoing, status depends primarily on wealth,
156 but neither of these is any more secure or confidence-inspiring for the
individual than were his human relationships in childhood. Status and
finance on the institutional side reflect and reinforce the uncertainties
involved in trusting other people; yet certain aspects of the culture
reveal the need for their good will. Just as there are many positive factors
in child training, so also on the institutional side there are a variety
of constructive aspects within the total framework. There are the many
152 recognized avenues for expressing and draining off the very hostilities
556 engendered by the culture that tend both expressively and repressively
to maintain social cohesiveness. There is always the hope and the search
for desired goals, whether the goal be the nurturing mother-provider or
the status-wealth hyphenation. There are always devices for forging
through to such goals if one is a sufficiently self-contained and ruthless

individual. There is no room for sentimentality but there is every opportunity for expediency. Aside from external pressures for the maintenance of social equilibrium, the only internal barriers that prevent Atimelangers from being a group of utterly ruthless individualists is the fact that there has been no building up of self-assurance comparable to the demands for being self-reliant. 152 556

A member of a culture can always express far better than any outsider the essence of native attitudes. Communing with his familiar spirit one night Malelaka was instructed by this projection of himself in the following words, "If you don't hurry and take what you find, it disappears. It does not really disappear, but people hide it."

Chapter 8

Some Psychological Aspects of Religion

000 IN a study of the relationship between modal personality and culture, the field of religion is one of the most significant because it is often, although not inevitably, one of the areas in which fantasy may be given fullest play. It is also an area where the selection and rejection of diffused traits may manifest themselves with the greatest degree of independence from other determinants like environment, economic production, and technical effectiveness. Ideally a description of life in Atimelang should bring out religious aspects in connection with each of its personal or institutional concomitants, and religion should not be given separate treatment. It has already been apparent that one cannot discuss finances and warfare without including some mention of death ceremonies. A few comments on craftsmanship brought out the casualness that existed in relation to "sacred" carvings, ceremonial procedure, and knowledge of ancestral kin. Passing mention has been made repeatedly of village guardian spirits, of seers, and of garden sacrifices. The autobiographies have many references to familiar spirits and to Good Beings. The object of this chapter is to bring out the Atimelangers' relationship to the supernatural without getting lost in a mass of descriptive detail, which must await fuller treatment in later publications.

DEATH

Since the avowed object of this chapter is to indicate the Atimelanger's relationship to the supernatural, his ideas of the nature of death, of souls, and of the hereafter form a good point of departure. It has long been known that even death, which appears to be an incontrovertible physiologic phenomenon, is subject to a certain amount of leeway in cultural interpretations. A discussion of this point here will lead into bypaths involving trance, insanity, suicide, and attitudes toward illness before it will be possible to move on to the subject of burial and concepts of the soul.

763 At first glance it would seem that the Atimelangers take a thoroughly prosaic view of the matter. When a person is dying, it is customary for one of his grown children, or failing this, some near kinsman like a sibling, to hold the sick person on his lap much as parents hold children. [155] It suggests a reversion *in extremis* to infantile nurturing patterns in the search for which I suspect many men of this culture have spent their lives. In this connection, it is quite remarkable to observe the collapse

In this connection, it is quite remarkable to observe the collapse 763
into inertia that accompanies most internal illnesses. A person suffering 758
from headache, cold, influenza, diarrhea, or similar illness will mope
hopelessly in the house and be quite sure he is going to die. Kin usually
rally around the sick person with a good deal of concern, and divinatory [755]
omens are immediately sought. If these are unfavorable—and there is
never any thought of concealing the results from the patient—the depression is naturally heightened. The patient will sit in the dark, smoke-filled house without bathing, often refusing food, and getting no exercise
or fresh air for days at a time. These factors, particularly when combined
with a depressed state of mind, gave me the impression that it is quite
possible for certain Atimelangers to die with insufficient physical cause.
When the watchers hear the death rattle, they say of the person, "His 763
breath string is broken; already his dying is finished (*beaking tila sik; wan moni kangri*)." Failing a death rattle, the cessation of heartbeats and of breathing are also considered criteria of death.

In addition, a prolonged disintegration of normal conscious personality such as occurs in delirium or coma is also considered the equivalent of death. Signs of animation are thought to be simply manifestations of an evil spirit who has caused the death and has now possessed himself of the body. There is always a good deal of fear and distaste associated with such a situation. Under such circumstances the advisable thing to do is bury the body as expeditiously as possible. As a result people are occasionally buried whom we would consider still living. At least two such cases occurred in eighteen months, and Rilpada's autobiography gives a singularly matter-of-fact account of a near fate of the same sort. When this concept was discussed with informants they related cases of people who still talked, but who were so dead that their flesh had begun to rot away. From an Atimelanger's point of view this is quite possible, since sick people never bathe or move from their sleeping mats in the dark and often filthy living rooms. Under such circumstances any lesions could rapidly develop into extremely noxious infections.

The relation of such a concept of death to trance states is worth 756
considering. Among the seers of Atimelang it is assumed that in curing- 158
séances their tutelaries perch on their shoulders and speak through their mouths. The seer is supposedly unaware of what he is saying. This might sound like a true trance condition. My observations, however, lead me to suppose that seers were far from being in deep trances. Their eyes were open, their movements and speech controlled and coherent, and their muscular tone normal. Supernatural phenomena seem to be the result of obvious sleight-of-hand tricks, which appear singularly

756 inept when compared to the shamanism of even such marginal areas as
156 California. In other words, despite local theory, I observed nothing that
impressed me as real possessionalism.*

158 There were also in Atimelang certain individuals who had attacks of
787 hyperactivity. One of these was mentioned in connection with obscenity
828 on page 157. Another case was of a woman who began shouting and
joking in a loud and apparently compulsive fashion and sometimes accompanied
her conversation with a rhythmic jumping up and down.
On occasions of this sort people said that their familiars had risen within
them (*betimang bouin mirang*). This is the same phrase used in connection
[522] with seers. Such attacks usually provoke a good deal of amusement
among younger people, but older ones are inclined to discourage
any teasing or response that might prolong the attack.

158 Again from observation the attacks of hyperexcitability in these two
women in no way suggested trance conditions. Accounts of people considered
insane, which will be discussed later, gave no indication that
they were in trance states. In other words, I very much doubt that deep
trances occur except as rare individual aberrations. They are certainly
not induced deliberately nor are they culturally prized. It is quite possible
828 that real trances would be associated with the type of "death" that
763 was thought to occur in delirium and coma, and such an association may
756 have helped to check the introduction of such trances from other cultures.
273 If such is the case, it would also serve to cut down the impressiveness,
and therefore the potential power, of seers. Lastly, the danger of
losing one's normal personality would seem to offer a possible explanation
for the lack of interest shown by Atimelangers in intoxicants. The
use of palm wine is known among the coastal peoples, and the requisite
palm grows in the mountains, but the mountain peoples do not use it, or
even indulge in palm wine during protracted visits to the coast.

158 It is also interesting that one case of possible suicide, a person who
787 was obviously insane, revolved around this same theme of spirit possession
828 and premature burial. I quote a detailed account for the light
it throws on the subject.

The narration referred to an event that occurred about fifteen years ago and began with Fanseni's accidentally offending an evil spirit who lived near his maize field. Some two months later, when the maize was being carried back to his house for storage, signs of abnormality were first noted. Fanseni complained of a violent headache and refused to eat,

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* A detailed study of the trances was not made. It is possible, of course, that seers were in a subtrance. By this I mean that conscious control is not lost, but that an emotional condition exists in which the person deliberately shuts out many external stimuli.

although he gave his kinsmen a pig in payment for their help and as a 159
final harvest feast. The next day he stayed in his house, and when his 787
young nephews returned, among whom was Rilpada, he spoke to them 828
in a garble of Malay and Abui, saying, "Respects, gentlemen; my children, come up. Are you happy or not? If you are happy, you may smoke up this whole tube of tobacco."

That night several male kin stayed to watch over him. In the course of the night Rilpada noticed that Fanseni in his sleep had taken off his loincloth and defecated. As Rilpada drew his father's attention to the act Fanseni awoke and shouted belligerently, "Who defecated? Ung! Who defecated? I deny these feces. Let us fight." Those present were badly frightened and shouted to the near-by villagers, "Don't be afraid. An evil spirit has risen in Fanseni, but do not be afraid." At this point two men came to lend the watchers assistance. As they approached they tried to frighten Fanseni by shooting arrows at the outer house wall but succeeded only in making him deny noisily that he was afraid. When the two men finally appeared in the doorway, they aimed an arrow directly at him. Fanseni at this point picked up a piece of firewood, held it against his crotch, then broke it in two, saying, "This is my penis. Give it to your children to eat. Perhaps they are crying of hunger." He then scattered the coals from the hearth about the room. Everyone was now assured that only an evil spirit was capable of such behavior, so Fanseni was securely lashed and left in the house. The others went below to spend the rest of the night. Fanseni slept but was aroused by Rilpada, who threw a stone at the house wall to tease him. Fanseni shouted that he knew Rilpada was guilty of the act—a fact, incidentally, that Rilpada brazenly denied. At this point Fanseni managed to burn through his lashings, so that he had to be bound more securely than ever.

In the morning as the others were roasting cassava, Fanseni pulled himself to the doorway and watched them. When asked if he were hungry he nodded his head in the affirmative. There was some debate about untying him to let him eat. The opposition said there was no use feeding an evil spirit; nevertheless, he was untied and offered a large piece of cassava, which he stuffed into his mouth all at once. This confirmed the suspicion that he was still possessed.

Then Fanseni said, "My father, Padalani, who is down below, calls. Let us go to him." Followed by the others, Fanseni slid down the trail on his buttocks, grasping a stick with which he swept the trail as he went. On the way, he interpreted the call of a bird as the voice of a guru, resident in Atimelang at the time. Also, he kept insisting that his

158 dead father was calling him. He came to a big stone and pretended to
787 catch a rat under it. Then he broke off a piece of stick, held it near his
828 crotch, and offered it to one of his guardians for his hungry children.
The man who was the butt of this malice struck Fanseni's fingers only to have him say, "Eh, that's fine." Also, on the way down the slope Fanseni ate certain foods raw that are ordinarily cooked. A little later, without showing any signs of discomfort, he ate a raw tuber known to be extremely astringent.

158 Finally he reached his father's grave and there ordered the others to
787 dig his own grave just about two yards away. This they did. He then
828 gave them further orders, such as to fetch his shroud and eating plate
762 and to give his bow to a cousin. All these errands he assigned one at a
time in order to have people run back and forth as much as possible. Finally he adjusted his shroud and got into the grave. He got out again, however, complaining that a stone in it made him uncomfortable and asking to have it removed. He got in once more and then asked to have his food plate placed next to his body under the shroud. One of the guardians asked, "Are you *finished*?" Fanseni answered, "I am through, so cover me up." People began shoving in the earth and Fanseni spoke for the last time, saying, "Now I am glad. Just now it was bad. That must not be. Now it is good."

When the earth completely covered his body, Fanseni moved. In a panic the buriers fetched two large stones and hastily dropped them on him before they finished filling in the grave. The whole event naturally frightened the villagers badly. For several nights they stopped
[775] up every nook and cranny of their houses to prevent Fanseni's spirit
from entering and during the day frequently inspected his grave to make sure it was still undisturbed.

158 In the relative mildness of aggression and in the openly suicidal quality this case differs from three other cases of recognized insanity. It resembles the other cases in its obscenity. The suicidal quality in all
[659] these four cases must be recognized, however, since an uncontrollably
violent person is apt to be killed. One woman, Matingmale, was actually killed by one of the victims of her destructiveness; another was spared only because of the intercession of her kin. The fourth case, a
[762] man, danced challenge in front of the government soldiers who came
to avenge the murder of the radjah in 1918. Exposing one's body to bullets with only a carabao shield as protection can be interpreted only as suicidal in intent.

[787 All four of these instances were thought to be cases of spirit posses-
828] sion. If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal-

If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal- 154
izing aggression is correct, and if, on the other hand, society offers [762]
means, such as wealth, to externalize aggression, self-inflicted death is not likely to be a highly developed personality trend. This alone might explain the absence of institutionalized suicide. In addition, when death [787
may result from extranormal personality states, such as occur in delir- 158]
ium, coma, and insanity, it becomes clear why spirit possession is an evil and why shamanistic trances and intoxication have not been selected for social emphasis.

INSANITY

Before continuing with ideas of burial and death, it may be appro- 828
priate to develop somewhat parenthetically such other data as are avail- 787
able on insanity. What precisely constitutes insanity in the mind of 158
the Atimelanger is as hard to define as it is among ourselves. The history of a "crazy" woman was given on page 107ff., and it will be recalled that essentially the charge was one of prostitution. Lakamau the Simpleton was also called crazy. There was one woman, usually fairly quiet, who seemed to have hallucinations and whose chief claim to peculiarity in the minds of local people was that she would run off alone and spend the nights hidden in the fields rather than return to the house. She was considered possessed of a spirit. She and the first woman were the only two recognized by the community as insane (*lira*). In addition there were many people whose "spirits would rise in them," which meant that they had occasional attacks of hyperexcitability and about whom one said, "They are crazy," using the term in the same loose and often good-natured fashion in which we use it.

Also available were anecdotes about four other insane people no longer living. The case of Fanseni has been quoted. The other three cases were all characterized by greater destructive vigor; all were considered spirit-possessed and their destructive attacks seem to have broken out suddenly. For instance, Malingmale had worked quietly all day weeding her sister's fields. That night she suddenly began to beat her brother-in-law. She ran off, killed pigs and chickens, broke off corn, reached into a pregnant pig and pulled out the unborn young, and made obscene advances to men. People tied her up, but she broke away and continued her destructive activities. People shot her in the shoulder, but she went on, ignoring the arrow still stuck in her flesh. She tossed a small child in the air in play and continued to kill pigs and generally frighten people. She was finally bound securely.

Her father sacrificed to the spirit supposedly possessing her, and she [785
was normal for about two months. Then she had another outburst in 782]
which she held her child upside down by its legs from the door hatch.

158 787 828 She broke off corn, got into a pigpen and ate refuse with the animals, and stole rice cones from a feast. Periods of excitability alternated with periods of calm. In her last attack she went to other villages and continued her peculiar behavior. They tied her hands and sent her home, but she spent the whole night shouting and singing on the trail. The next morning she once more made sexual advances to an older man who threatened to kill her if her father did not fetch her. This sort of thing went on for four years, and the woman was finally killed while thieving in a garden. These attacks first appeared when she was about thirty-five, a year after the death of her husband. In her normal moments it was reported that she would hold her children in her arms and weep, saying, "This madness gives me much trouble."

The second woman's history and behavior are comparable. Lonmanima's attacks began by her open thieving of food when she was still an unmarried girl. She would steal eggs and sit eating them publicly. She would enter houses and snatch food from under people's eyes. At feasts she ran off with calabash serving plates full of meat. Despite these early outbursts she married and raised a family, during which time she appeared normal. Her difficulties recurred when her children were grown. Her most characteristic tricks were grabbing up children and running off with them, and attacking people indiscriminately with clubs or stones. She lived with her married children. On occasion when they gave her food, she would throw it away and return her dish broken or filled with feces. She continued in this fashion until she was quite old. Finally, as an old woman, she was chased away from a field in which she had been destroying corn. As she ran she fell over a cliff and was killed. For years apparently she had had recurrences of her manic attacks during which people had threatened her with death or restrained her with bonds.

The third reported case of insanity was that of Malkomale. His first outbreak was reported to have occurred when he was a middle-aged man. He arrived in a neighboring village, singing at the top of his lungs, and, on reaching the dance place, he shouted challenge, brandished his sword, and shot arrows at people. He kept shouting that he was crazy. He annoyed the inhabitants of two or three villages in this fashion, and when people threatened to kill him and sell his head, he dared them to proceed. In addition to this type of aggressive behavior he also tried quite openly to catch young women and rape them. Whenever he was finally caught and bound, he would calm down after a time and seem very depressed. He apparently had long periods of lucidity during which he carried on his affairs in a normal and successful fashion. In his

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787

manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases 528
were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders. [528]

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This 158
psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain 528
other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them.
Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence,
both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena 787
so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyper- 528
excitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing
only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is inter- [illegible]
preted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors
may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of [illegible]
seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general [illegible]
lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be
factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly,
the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain [illegible]
the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with 764
death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out imme- 426
diately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in
mokos, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by
the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth
is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates,
and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling
for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it
that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on [illegible]
future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are
being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two
women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the 764
dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with un- [illegible]
sheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the
following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are
observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-
four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to [illegible]
rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the [illegible]
stench of the body.

764 stench of the body. Delays are usually caused by financial dickerings between lineal kin and the *Male Houses*.

Once the actual burial gets under way there is an outburst of wailing and a din of beaten gongs. This lasts for the half-hour to an hour that it takes four or six bearers to dig the grave, flex and wrap the corpse, and toss it hastily into the grave, which they fill rapidly. The whole procedure is carried out in an atmosphere of excited tension. Burials accompanied by large financial displays are among the rare events from which children are chased away (often quite ineffectually) because such displays are considered something deleterious and contaminating. When the body is dropped into the grave, the spouse, standing off at some distance, chops a string in two. This symbolically severs their relationship and prevents the ghost's returning for him. The rite, however, is not immediately reassuring since for two or three months after burial the spouse will still carry an unsheathed knife wherever he goes. "They do this until they forget"—which is a measure, perhaps, of the duration of grief.

157 764 571 I do not wish to imply that there is no grief, or even that it is slight. I have seen genuine and undoubtedly deeply felt grief at death, but my impression, gathered from a considerable range of material, is in agreement with that from quite other realms of human relationship—that there is no premium on cherishing sentimental ties once they are irrelevant. Expediency and realism are the determinants. People will be concerned over the illness of a kinsman but, once he is dead, they go on to other things. A woman, well-liked in the community, died and her "sisters" wept two hours for her, but then became engrossed in other duties. A mother who lost her third infant in succession was deeply grieved but in twenty-four hours was preoccupied once more by her quarrels with her husband and by her field work. When I bought the crop of the field on which my house was to be built, the woman who owned the field wept. A year later I had the opportunity to ask her about it, and she said in a matter-of-fact fashion, "My twelve-year-old daughter planted that field, and she died just two or three months before you came. When I saw her crop being pulled up, my heart remembered and I cried. But now I don't think of it any more." The expediency and realism in human relationships is basically a shallowness of positive affect.

Balanced against this, enough has been said in other connections to make it clear that the dead are sources of malignant power, i.e., negative [152] affect. That death feasts may be delayed so long is perhaps a sign that negative affect is also shallow. Certainly by comparison with some

Nevertheless the Atimelangers cannot be considered ghost-ridden. The 775
interesting point is that these potentially malignant dead are always
one's most immediate kin. People have two souls. At death one goes to a
village below if the death has not been violent. If it has been, the soul [764]
goes above (adiy lomg), and a spirit-bird ceremony must be given for it.
The second soul is the one that loiters about the village boundary and
against which precautions are taken at the time of burial.

It is at this time that the soul is particularly dangerous because the 776
deceased wishes company. To placate it in this early and more potent 765
phase of malignancy and to relegate it to the village boundary there
are special feasts, the Hevelaberka held on the fourth day after death and
the Hevelakang on the ninth day after death. During these nine days a
few minor restrictions are observed by the family, including taboos on
salt, bathing, and sexual intercourse. During that time there may be also
one or two all-night gong-playing memorials (namoni), including the
feeding of the guests who attend. It is during these nine days that there
occurs all the unstinted use of pigs and the incurrence of debts, which [763]
must be repaid in subsequent years, or even generations, in a series of
feasts called Rolik, Bolel, and Tila (also called Ato in its final phase).
The first two of these feasts are named, significantly enough, after two
ways of preparing rice, the first refers to rice rolls, the second to small
woven containers in which raw rice is boiled.

The third feast can really be broken down into a number of ceremonies. To the whole series I have given the name of the first ceremony,
(Tila), which means string and refers to the purchase of either a sheep
or a carabao for the final and supreme death feast after which the soul
of the dead is banished from the village boundary and thus from interference in human affairs. The motivations for giving payoff feasts have
already been discussed in the chapter on adults and institutions. The
pressure of creditors, prestige, and, perhaps most often, illness of descendants lead to these final ceremonies. The dead become impatient and [768]
annoyed at the lack of postmortem prestige and manifest their displeasure by making trouble for the living.

As soon as an illness is diagnosed as the manifestation of a displeased 775
soul, a small quantity of rice is offered it in a bamboo container raised 765
on a pole. From here on, plans for a payoff feast should get under way, 775
but frequently long delays occur, and it is hoped that meanwhile the
small original offering will stave off the soul. In addition, the dead may 764
withhold good crops if the smaller garden feasts are not made in the 769
fields they have worked or if they are not named and fed at a series of 765
new-corn rituals owned by various lineages. All this placation of the dead 775

775 765 involves saying their names as small quantities of food are set aside for them. Death feasts are given primarily for parents or grandparents. Such feasts, which may be precipitated by illness but nevertheless give prestige, may reproduce for the individual the positive and negative emotions that cluster around child training and are reinforced by the financial organization.

SACRIFICES

782 261 The motif of sacrifice or feeding occurs over and over again, not only in relation to the dead but in relation to all supernatural beings. Feeding is the chief cultural tool for symbolizing social euphoria and for placating supernatural beings. Since the experiences of individual children with respect to hunger and disciplinary relationships vary greatly, it is to be expected that in adults also attitudes toward sacrifice will vary in the "depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy."* Mangma begins his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, is engrossed with accounts of his gardening prowess and with details of food taboos, and finally stresses sacrifices associated with the care of his sacred hearth. Tilapada begins the story of her childhood with tales of quarrels. She interprets subsequent anxiety [illegible] dreams as warnings that she has not placated the proper spirits, but she continues to neglect them. One man is conscientious and regular in making food sacrifices to his tutelaries, another neglects them until illness indicates that he has angered the supernaturals.

782 153 Individual childhood experiences in respect to hunger and discipline may find modes of expression in institutionalized fields, and certain institutions are reinforced because of the personal emotional content that can be directed into them. One must be careful not to use such areas as sacrifice and childhood experiences as exclusive causal sequences. It would be hilariously unhistorical to say that childhood feeding habits gave rise to a system of sacrifice in Atimelang. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread Indonesian custom. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that obedience was expected of children, that running away was a means of avoiding disciplinary harshness, and that children conformed against their wishes only when overwhelmed by a superior force. These are the essence of most Atimelangers' attitudes toward sacrifices and death feasts. As a rule they are offered only when the external pressure is such that it means preserving the health, prestige, or well-being of one's family.

I suggest that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long

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* Quoted from Sapir, in *Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941).

I suppose that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long 178
as its symbolic content can be so high. Any institution that may be in- 783
vested with high emotional value because of patterns of child training is 153
not one which can be lightly legislated out of existence. The implications of such relationships bear not only on the problems of the diffusion of culture and the persistence of traits, but also on applied anthropology as it is envisaged by enlightened colonial administrators. Head-hunting could be stopped almost overnight (page 131) because child training had been toward deflecting hostility into wealth manipulations rather than physical violence. Physical violence broke out only when finance failed to ease strain in interpersonal relationships. There were in addition substitutive devices at hand. Trying to eliminate sacrifice would, however, be a very different matter, and, in fact, there has been singularly little headway made by missionaries in that direction. Furthermore, Christianity with its magnification of the parental image may have failed to make inroads because paths leading in that direction had not been worn deep in the personality of the Atimelang child.

THE HEREAFTER

These speculations upon the emotional content and significance of 787
institutions were precipitated by a discussion of the feasts necessary for 775
the final dismissal of ghosts from the village boundary. It is really at
this point that significant interest in the dead stops. Perhaps this corre- [601]
lates with the Atimelangers' poor memory for genealogies. When the dead are no longer potential sources of danger and when they are no longer being named in connection with sacrifices, they are lost from memory. What happens to this second soul no one could tell me; whether it rejoins the other soul in the village of the dead, below or above, no one seemed to know. In addition, there is another place where the dead are supposed to go and to live underground. This is a low, uninhabitable coral island, called Hamirauka in the Abui language,
which is off the northwest point of Bendeleng Bay. It is quite obvious 612
from all this uncertain and fragmentary material that the Atimelangers are not interested in structuralizing any of these vague and contradictory speculations. There may be a rare individual who is concerned with such matters, but, if so, I failed to discover him, and he would in any case be aberrant in that respect. Again, this reinforces the argument that the Atimelangers are not concerned with speculative constructs or
the numinous. Even the village of the dead seems to be no more than 778
a reflection of earthly life. It is called Sabiek, or Sebiek, and is presided over by a figure named Karfehawa (literally, Kar-pig-jaw). The location of Sabiek and the identity of Karfehawa were completely nebulous to most informants. Rilpada came nearest to giving a coherent account.

775 On one occasion he said, "People have two souls, a long one and a short one, both called *hamoting*. When a seer sees a ghost he sees the eyes which have fallen out and travel alone. He may also see a soul which looks like a human being but which grows taller and taller. When it is very tall, it falls over and gets up short again. That is how it walks. Some seers see souls as very tiny spiders which float through the air. These are often called *bolbol*, but they are also *hamoting*. When a man dies, his breath has already gone, but two eyes linger here around the village. Some old people went to Hamintaka once and saw torn mats, broken pots, and drinking tubes like those broken on a person's grave, but we don't know anything about how the dead live in Hamintaka. The souls of the violently dead go above, but we know nothing about that."

Three months later Rilpada, who was, relatively speaking, an authority, gave the following in answer to questions about Sabiek: "People who die go down a slope and come to a level place where there is a big ravine with a bridge across it. The feet of those who cross become slippery. Those who are young and swift get across and go off a long way to Hamintaka. The people who fall go to Sabiek, which is Karfehawa's village. They say to Karfehawa, 'Grandfather, I lost my way. Give me just a little water to drink.' Then Karfehawa looks at them and if he likes what he sees, he invites them up on his large verandah and his wife cooks millet for them. She invites them to enter the house to eat. As they start up the ladder, she pours millet on them. Then the burial rope, shroud, and maggots all fall. The bones are picked up and covered with cloth. Karfehawa's wife, who is called Maningbal, takes a fire tube and hits her husband's legs. He jumps and there is an earthquake. When young people die, there is no earthquake; these occur only when grown and rich men die. Those that Karfehawa likes are given a field house and allowed to stay. If he does not like those who come, he spits in their mouths instead of inviting them up on the verandah. He orders them to follow the river down to the sea. There they
[[illegible]] turn into salt and lime rock. When lime bites our tongue we say, 'This is our dead forebear turned to lime.'"

In view of the fact that this is the most elaborate account of life after death that I was able to get, its paucity and its inconsistencies are striking. The emphasis on the adult and the rich, as opposed to the young and to those Karfehawa does not like (presumably the poor), is
[[illegible]] instructive. That lime, which burns the mouth, should be identified with forebears and that rejection is expressed by spitting saliva into the

775

mouth instead of giving food may just possibly be considered fantasies 155 centering on infantile feeding experiences.

GOOD BEINGS

The motif of revivification by spilling food on a corpse is poorly 778 developed in these speculations by Rilpada. It is, however, one of the 776 most persistent myth motifs, especially in myths dealing with Good Beings (*mele kang*: literally, something good). They inhabit villages above in the sky or below in the sea. There seems to be no relation between their place of residence and the abodes of the dead. Around these beings are woven the most numerous and elaborate myths and they are an ever-present reality. The murder of the radjah in 1918 was precipitated [668] by his followers' disrespectful treatment of a woman who had established herself in the minds of her fellow villagers as a Good Being.

In 1929 Malelaka had the Five Villages at a high pitch of excitement 787 over his predictions of the imminent arrival of these supernaturals. In one day two small guesthouses were erected, an area was cleared and fenced, and in addition two stone basins were made into which would flow upon the arrival of the Good Beings two miraculous streams. In one the old could bathe and be rejuvenated; in the other, people would be healed of their illnesses. Death would disappear and death feasts were to be discontinued. Meanwhile people were to abstain from such foods [illegible] as eels, crayfish, crabs, and fish. For some six recent prophets on whom there is material these ideas remain fairly constant. The interesting thing about the ideas are the fantasies they express—the desires to escape death, illness, and death feasts. The conflicts that this last prophecy created in Malelaka are reflected in his autobiography, which was given at the time when his Good Being speculations were once more active.

That such wishful thinking was not limited to Malelaka and his fellow 771 prophets is evinced by the cooperation they received in preparing 787 for these supernaturals. People from many surrounding villages were sufficiently credulous to bring their sick to the expected advent. There [668] was in fact so much excited interest that the government sent up the full garrison of troops to destroy the structures and arrest Malelaka. This interference plus the disastrous war of 1918 led to the growth of a good deal of scepticism, and the tentative Good Being talk current in 1938 and 1939 was meeting with much incredulity. The inclination to 157 abandon what has been a failure seems to me a consistent part of the nonfanatical and realistic temperament of Atimelangers. They are far

167 from lacking in stubborn persistence, but when an issue has been definitely defeated, they are ready to give it up.

776 Good Beings are thought of as human in every respect except for their miraculous powers, among which is their ability to revive the dead and to travel through air and water. Human beings who disappear are often suspected of having become supernaturals of this sort. About 1933 four young men were drowned when a boat capsized near the coast. Only three bodies were recovered. In 1938 it was believed in some [777] circles that the one whose body had not been found was now a Good Being and was inspiring the prophecies of a five- or six-year-old girl (page 77ff.). This motif of people's disappearing rather than really dy- [778] ing, and then being transformed into Good Beings is quite common in the myths.

To give an idea of the type of Good Being tale three condensed myths follow.

Maningbal and Dry Land Woman

779 Maningbal went to the coast with his six brothers, who deserted him there. He went to sleep so hungry that he chewed the fringe of his shawl. As he slept his mother and father appeared to him and told him how to get food and how to avoid a village of cannibals on his journeys. When Maningbal awoke he followed his father's instructions and reached the village boundary of Farik, a Good Being. Farik's two daughters met him and reported to their father that the stranger resembled him. Farik, fully armed, went to meet Maningbal and was convinced of his good intentions. He invited the young man to sit on his veranda and ordered his daughters to prepare food. When it was ready Maningbal was asked to enter the house. As he climbed the ladder, the sisters poured a pot of millet on his head, and he fell back on the veranda, shedding his shroud, burial rope, and maggots. The sisters covered his body with a shawl and the older one sat near his buttocks, blowing on them with a fire tube. The younger sister sat at his head, fanning him with a fire fan. When Maningbal awoke, the two girls fed him, and Farik ordered Maningbal to sleep that night between the two women. Maningbal was obedient but did not have intercourse with them, saying, "You two are good. I am fortunate to have met you, but, my sisters, I shall not embrace you." The girls reported this to Farik, who then ordered Maningbal to have intercourse with them.

The three thereafter worked together in the fields. After a time the two wives discovered that Maningbal was not working, but instead stood crying all day at a hole which he had made when uprooting weeds

and through which he could look down on his own village. The girls 773
told their father, who then insisted that all three should descend to earth and visit *Maningfal's* home.

Maningfal was alone, however, when he reached his village. By bathing in a spring, he turned himself into a person covered with yaws. He asked four women who came to fetch water to give him a drink. Three rejected his request and made insulting references to his condition. The fourth gave him a drink and spoke sympathetically. He sent her back to the village and promised to come in six days with a bride-price. On the sixth day people were dragging in the posts of his lineage house. *Maningfal* appeared with gongs and pigs, which he deposited on the veranda of Dry Land Woman, the girl who had been kind to him. He ignored all the invitations offered by others.

The two supernatural wives now came to join *Maningfal* and his new wife, Dry Land Woman. There was a shortage of food. Dry Land Woman asked *Maningfal* to help her climb for mangoes. When he was up in the tree, she took away the ladder, leaving him stranded. He was rescued by his two supernatural wives.

On another day Dry Land Woman killed *Maningfal* by dropping a heavy stone on him when he was down in a pit digging tubers for her. Again his sky wives found him and with the help of their father, Farik, were able to bring him to life again.

A third time Dry Land Woman tried to kill *Maningfal*, this time by sending him up an areca tree whose roots she had cut so that it toppled over with him. Again the other wives and his father-in-law revived him.

That night *Maningfal* called a dance. Toward dawn he and his father-in-law both seized the gongs and rose into mid-air with the two sky women. Half of his village also rose with them and came to rest in Farik's village. The other half of his village, containing Dry Land Woman and all the people who were quarreling, slipped down the mountainside into the sea.

This tale is interesting for the contradictory image of wives it presents and particularly in the fact that the malicious wife was the human one, whereas the fantasy Good Beings were nurturing and revivifying. Also, there is a picture of a kindly father-in-law with no talk of bride-price in marriage. This is in contrast to *Maningfal's* purchase of Dry Land Woman. Avoiding payment of a bride-price is, of course, quite aberrant to practice and may constitute wishful fantasies. Equally aberrant to actual custom is marrying sisters. In the story parents were given a protective role, whereas the siblings deserted their young brother — a detail that must have childhood associations for most Atimelangers. Worth

773 noting in the long-suffering character of the hero, who in the end takes violent revenge.

Maningbal and His Son Motingbang

Maningbal * had six sons and an adopted male slave. When his wife was pregnant once more, he left, telling her that if the child was born a male it was to be killed, but if it was a female to keep it until his return. The woman bore a son, but instead of killing him she hid him on a mountaintop with a large supply of food and male adornments. Meanwhile she buried a coconut and sacrificed a chicken. On the husband's return he thrust a spear into the grave, and coconut milk seeped out. The husband was convinced that she had followed his instructions until a rumor told him of the ruse.

Maningbal then set out with his seven children to kill *Motingbang*. He sent each of his sons in turn up the slope to kill their youngest brother. Each was offered food, accepted it, and then could not find the heart to slay his young sibling. Each returned and confessed his inability, giving as an excuse that the young man's face resembled that of his father. Finally the father went up, refused the proffered food, and, while the son passively submitted, successively blinded him, slashed his mouth, cut off his hand, and slit open his abdomen. Three days later two women, as they fetched water, saw *Motingbang*'s reflection in the pool. They searched for him and having found his body, replaced his organs with those of a dog and brought him to life with a fire fan and fire tube. When he was revived, they fed him and instructed him in what he must say when he met their father. From here on the tale proceeds much as does the foregoing one except that on *Motingbang*'s return to his native village it was his father instead of his earthly wife who tried to kill him.

There are in this story some contrasts in the role assigned kin. In this tale the brothers and mother are the kindly figures and the father is the sinister one. Again, however, the father-in-law gives wives to the hero without asking for a bride-price, and supernatural women have the power to restore life.

Momana the Crow Being

Momana and his brother went on a trading trip to the coast. The coastal people falsely charged *Momana* with theft. They bound his hands and feet and for three days dragged him behind their boat.

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* The *Maningbal* in this story is apparently a completely different character from the hero of the preceding tale.

Finally he freed himself and suddenly found that he was seated on the 773
top branches of a mango tree. He climbed down the tree and was discovered by two supernatural women. As in the other two myths, Farik, the father of the women, was reassured as to his intentions and invited him to the village, where he was revived by the usual millet treatment and the use of fire tube and fan. After his marriage to the two women, Momau began to feel homesick and with the help of his father-in-law went back to the surface of the sea and from there to his own village. His two supernatural wives had been transformed into a conch shell horn and a green glass bottle. These he neglected after securing a third wife in his own community.

A wild pig began to root up Momau's sweet potatoes. He went to guard the field and in an attempt to shoot the animal he was disemboweled. (This is presumably a punishment for the neglect of the two sacred objects, his transformed wives.) The villagers all pursued the pig, which escaped by flying into the sea and changing into a porpoise. Meanwhile his father-in-law, Farik, disguised as a Kabola man, went to Momau's village and miraculously healed him. The following day Farik transformed Momau into a crow and then back again into human form. Thereafter Momau himself possessed the power of healing severed bodies; this he demonstrated on his dog and child. He was also capable of assembling a shattered ax by simply blowing on it. His third wife was alarmed by these powers and said he had become a witch, whom all would avoid. Momau then turned into a crow and flew back to Farik's village taking with him the first two wives in the form of a conch shell horn and a glass bottle.

MALIGNANT SUPERNATURALISM

All this material on Good Beings represents, on the whole, wishful [158
fantasying about a better world and kinder characters, without quite 773]
eliminating the uncertainty and harshness of real relationships. Al- 776
though Good Beings are usually wonderful and enviable, there are categories of supernaturals envisaged wit' equal specificity who are consistently malignant.

Witches are among the most concretely visualized of such beings. I 754
very much doubt that anyone in Atimelang is considered a witch or practices witchcraft. However, Atimelangers are convinced that certain villages are witch-ridden, and Kewai, their enemy of the last war, is one of them. Men and women both can be witches; most frequently they gain power over people by inviting them to have sexual intercourse. Then, while the person sleeps, the witch steps over the partner's

754 body and urinates on him. Thereafter the witch is able to eat out his victim's liver at leisure. Abdominal pains after contact with people in areas known for their witchcraft always suggest the possibility of having been victimized.

Witches also have the power of transforming themselves into civet cats and streaks of light which are seen at night. They can detach their heads and send them rolling about after dark. They eat small children and seem to be associated with cannibalism. At least one informant said, [266] "They used to be the people who ate human beings." Cannibalism is an abhorrent and frightening idea in Alor. Witches also have a predilection [136] for snails—one of the animals, along with snakes and walking sticks (insect), that produce shudders of repulsion in the natives. The term used for witch is *palua korka*. *Palua* is the name of a small and harmless green snake; *korka* means bad or potent.

The only data I could procure about witches was in terms of gossip and rumors, some of which were recent and circumstantial. For example, a man who had died shortly after marrying a woman from Kewai was supposed to be the victim of her witchcraft. Malelaka even professed to have seen a witch once when he went to Kewai to visit his brother-in-law's uncle. As he skirted a bluff above the village spring, he saw the body of a girl leaning against the slope. The head and right arm were detached from the trunk and were floating about separately, looking for snails. Malelaka said that he reported this to his host and that the latter put a special medicine into the spring which would turn a witch into a normal person and protect normal people from witchcraft. A condensed witchcraft tale will probably give more adequately the flavor of local beliefs on the subject.

Tale of Witchcraft

539 Seven people from Mauwaning went to the village of Faliela. Mauwaning and Faliela were really one village, but there was a fence between the houses of the witches and those of the other people. The seven men reached the boundary. Atapada said, "If we lay aside our weapons, perhaps the people will not plot to kill us." Six of them laid aside their weapons, but Lanata kept his with him.

A young witchwoman came to Lanata, took his weapons, and placed them in her house. That evening she asked him to enter. Lanata was angry, but his six friends said, "Lanata, go up. We speak ineptly, so you go." Lanata entered the house, ate the food the woman had prepared, and slept with her that night. In the middle of the night the woman stepped over Lanata and urinated on him, thereby bewitching him. 539

The next day Lanata's six friends called him. He wished to accompany them, but the woman persuaded him to continue living with her in the village.

In five days the woman suggested that Lanata go pig hunting with his brothers-in-law. Lanata shot an animal which the dogs were pursuing and which proved to be a snake. This happened twice. His brothers-in-law wished to eat the snake, but Lanata refused and instead provided himself with crabs and crayfish from the ravine. The next day he returned to the village with only the remnants of his crabs, whereas his brothers-in-law brought in the snake meat. His wife cooked the meat, but Lanata refused to touch it, saying, "You eat what I should eat. You substitute for my mouth."

After a time the woman was pregnant. She and Lanata set out for his village of Murawaring. On the way she turned into a bat and flew to his village while he walked. While they lived in Murawaring, a child from Kewai entered their garden. The child saw a green snake sleeping on top of a tuber which was pushing through the earth. The green snake (witch) ate the child's liver, and the child died. The men of Kewai were angry. They encircled Lanata's house and set it afire. Lanata's wife turned into a bat and flew away. Lanata was shot as he tried to escape. As he lay dying his hand closed on Alurkowani's testicles so firmly that it had to be pried open. After that Lanata's soul possessed Alurkowani, and witches multiplied in Kewai so that now all the people there are witches.

The improbability of anecdotes about witchcraft makes one feel that 754
we are dealing here with a complete fantasy structure. The beliefs are [158
couched in terms similar to those used in near-by culture areas. In such 171]
clusters of ideas, peoples from other regions have invested a great deal of psychic energy. It is noteworthy that this is not the case in Atimelang, where neither witchcraft, sorcery, nor poisoning bulks large, either as an institution or a preoccupation.

Only two deaths of which I know gave rise to definite gossip of [754
poisoning. It was, however, very cautiously discussed in undertones 821]
and only among friends. It is possible that more such rumors circulated but never reached my ears. However, one man who had not been feeling well for some time talked quite freely with me about the possibility of having been poisoned on a trip to the coast, where he chewed areca with a stranger. It was very difficult to get any concrete data even from

754 those willing to discuss the matter. A dead man's tooth powdered into [illegible] food or mixed with tobacco is supposed to be deadly. A fly that alights on such food will die; therefore, finding a dead fly in food offered by people whose good will one has reason to suspect, arouses suspicions of an intent to poison. All interest in this field, as in the field of witchcraft, remains on a remote plane and is stimulated only by some ill fortune. I feel quite sure there was no general pervasive malaise in this connection. [illegible] At a time when Malelaka and his brother were absent a good deal visiting a village on the west slope of Kalabahi Bay, people whispered that they were purchasing poison there. So far as I know, however, the matter was dropped as a subject of gossip after four or five days.

Witchcraft and poisoning are definitely not major problems and are only minor causes, among many, of illness and death. There is absolutely no attempt, such as one often finds in sorcery- and witchcraft-ridden areas, to conceal nail parings, excreta, and all personal effects. On page 88 there was an account of a woman who thought her husband had poisoned her by using a piece of areca-nut shell she had tossed away. In an area really preoccupied with poisoning no woman on bad terms with her husband and in a strange village would have been so careless. The interesting aspect of these matters of witchcraft and poisoning is that they are present but largely latent.

789 685 301 578 The most frequently used form of malignant activity is the laying of curses. These, as we have already noted, may be directed by one individual against another. It is not done secretly; quite on the contrary, it constitutes a public declaration of hostility where personal relationships have reached the breaking point. More common is the impersonal use of curses, usually after one has been the victim of theft by an unknown person. Since there is very little property, except garden produce, whose owner is not generally known, most such protections against theft are to be seen in fields, near areca and coconut palms, or near the place where a child, too small to identify anyone, has been robbed. Toddlers often wear anklets with a bell or a single-strand cord belt on which coins or beads have been strung. If these are stolen, and not infrequently they are, a curse will be erected by an expert on the trail where the child usually plays. A common sight in gardens is a bamboo pole bearing one of a large possible variety of sickness insignia. These may be erected before one has been victimized, as a warning to a potential thief, or after one has been victimized, in order that the unknown thief may develop that particular illness.

685 789 An instance of such procedure may serve to make matters clearer. Fanseni Long Hair's son, a child of about two, had a coin stolen from

his belt. Fantani sent for *Manifani*, who was noted for his boldness in 685 burying lepers. Because of this specialty he always had in his possession 789 a few odds and ends of mats, pots, water tubes, and such things used by the people he had buried. The following morning *Manifani* set up a bamboo pole about five and a half feet high. The end of it was split and in the crotch he wedged a piece of the leper's mat. A man who erects such a curse should not chew areca, smoke, or have intercourse [784] with his wife on the preceding night. *Manifani* was paid one cent for his services, which indicates that financial reward was scarcely the motivation for the acquisition and practice of his particular skill. That evening Fantani took a smoldering brand, rubbed it against the foot of the bamboo pole, and told the soul of the leper to pursue the thief and give him leprosy. He then left the smoldering brand at the foot of the curse.

The practical result expected from this procedure is that the guilty [627] person will be frightened into returning secretly the stolen object. Out of many cases of this sort I never knew one in which a curse actually served this purpose. In the case of Fantani this certainly did not happen. The following night his wife called that she had just seen a firefly set out [775] from near the pole. Several people rushed out and tried to follow it, since it was assumed that the firefly was the soul of the leper searching for the guilty person. Fireflies are very numerous, so the people were soon confused and gave up their attempt to follow it.

Presumably no person except the one who puts up a curse may take 789 it down. In theory even the owner of a garden or a palm should not harvest produce until the proper person removes the curse. Actually the pole usually topples over of its own accord and is forgotten or disregarded.

Should a person develop any of the diseases for which there are 753 curses, there is surprisingly little interest in trying to connect the illness 755 and a specific theft. Correlatively, there is in the culture no concept of cure through confession. Repeatedly I brought up this question in relation to particular individuals only to have informants shrug off the question with a casual admission that possibly they were suffering from some curse against theft, but never have I seen curses included in divinations used to determine the sources of illness. An illness is not a source of shame, and it will be recalled that shame, not a sense of guilt, is the dominant sanction in Atimelang life.

This procedure all goes to indicate the automatic and essentially im- 789 personal quality of curses. Also, although curses are in fairly common 685 use and are of many varieties, they are probably no more numerous 821

789 than hardheaded, practical devices for safeguarding property. Coconut
685 trees are banded with sharp, downward-projecting bamboo collars
821 which require considerable time and effort to take off. They are purely
mechanical guards intended to delay a thief long enough so that the
owner will have a chance to discover him.

[684] Ripening crops, particularly those in more remote fields, are guarded by the owner himself, who will not hesitate to shoot night marauders. Many houses have a trap door at the head of the entrance ladder, which can be closed at night. Casual and unintentional entrance into a deserted house is discouraged by a latticework of green branches, which serves as a sort of "no trespass" sign. This prevents an intruder from pleading innocence should he be seen entering a house. All these very practical protections, which are used just as frequently as the supernatural ones, suggest that the Atimelanger does not rely to any great extent on supernaturalism for protection or vengeance against human beings. This does not mean that supernatural beings cannot protect or harm a human, but that human beings do not employ supernaturalism against one another to the extent that peoples in some other areas do. To be efficacious a system of automatically functioning curses would require a population whose sanctions were weighted more on the side of guilt than of shame. That curses are so casually treated bears once more on the point previously made that there is no very marked internalization of moral [157] strictures. That curses are so impersonal causes one to suspect that the negative aspects of personal relationships may be as casual and shallow as the positive ones have been diagnosed as being. In the overgeneralized [181] phraseology sometimes used one might say that modal personality in Atimelang does not have a paranoid trend.

771 In this connection also, people's relationships to a whole variety of evil spirits (*kari*, *loku*), wealth-bringing spirits (*nera*), and familiar spirits (*timang*) are in many instances casual and expedient. Every individual [776] has one or more of these spirits whom he should placate. With the exception of a few specialists, like seers and prophets of the type described in Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies, people ignore supernatural relationships until some misfortune occurs or some service is required. For instance, the village guardian spirit (*adenai*) of Atimelang had had no carvings and sacrifices made for it in about sixteen years. In 1938 two others of the Five Villages made the proper sacrifices. This, combined with my obvious interest, finally led the Atimelangers to perform the ritual that theoretically should be performed every year or two. Similarly, men will completely ignore for many years the supernatural beings they have inherited from their parents until some mishap

or undertaking reminds them that an image should be carved and fed. It 771
was said previously in connection with skills that the carvings of such spirits are usually crudely done, and after the sacrifices they are ignored and often allowed to rot away.

CONCLUSIONS

The attitude toward carvings might lead some people to the gener- 771
alization that the Atimelangers' attitude is spiritual rather than mate- 181
rialistic, that they worship the essence and not the substance. When we 157
look at all the evidence presented to date, a preferable interpretation might be that the Atimelangers are as exploitative in their relationship to the supernatural as they are to humans and that only a threat of danger makes them placatory.

A linguistic hint concerning their attitude toward supernatural be- [782
ings may be contained in the generic term for them, good-bad (*kang-* 776]
berka), which suggests a parallel to the positive-negative aspects of 157
human relationships. If we consider all supernaturalism as projections of the current attitudes of a group of people plus varying amounts of wishful thinking, we have in the foregoing description of religion an epitome of the modal personality of Atimelang. It is as though the group itself gave us in its religious beliefs and practices at least a clue to those generalizations about personality for which we are searching. Again, this generalization must not be interpreted as characterizing all Atimelangers. Malelaka's autobiography and dreams, and to a lesser extent Rilpada's, indicate that there are individuals who use the concepts of the supernatural for purposes of projecting all their desires for nurturing and solicitous relationships. They call their familiar spirits "friends" and consider them the sources of advice, gifts, and power. In Atimelang I suspect that these are the people who more than any others serve to keep alive religious activities and speculations.

Chapter 9

Some Personality Determinants in Alorese Culture

BY ABRAM KARDINER

[illegible] ALORESE culture is not polarized sharply in any one direction. There is no great subsistence difficulty to supply us with a focus. Therefore, instead of leading off from one particular feature of the culture, it is perhaps best to work from the life cycle of the individual and see what successive integrational systems we can identify.

CHILDHOOD

853 In evaluating the kind of care the mother is able to give the child
859 we must bear in mind the economic duties of the mother during the
858 time of the infant's growth. The child is left at home while the mother goes out to care for the garden. Hunger tensions that arise are generally well taken care of either by the appointed nurse or by an older sibling. However, the child does not have the opportunity to form strong attachments to the mother because the whole conditioning is not associated with a constant object.

At this point one may ask: Since the child is conditioned in this particular way, why does not this suffice? As previously noted, an element in the relief of tension, which is of great significance for the child, is the responsiveness and the consistency of the object caring for it. In other words, the child does not react in a predetermined fashion, but here the conditions favoring the recognition of a dependable object to relieve hunger tensions are not built up. Furthermore, the intermittent appearance of the mother in the morning and her reappearance in the evening, separated by a long delay, are likely to accentuate the conception of the mother as a frustrating object. We can therefore conclude that while there is no actual paucity of nourishment, the child is poorly nurtured. Dr. Du Bois has noted that despite conscientious feeding, infants do reject good food. She also noted the fact that infants try unsuccessfully to nurse at the breast of a mother-surrogate, such as the father or an immature sibling, which seems to be a sure indication of an unsatisfied oral tension. It must be stressed that breast feeding is available to the child at the earliest stage but that the substitutes just mentioned are no more reliable than is the mother herself. Hunger tensions in earliest infancy are therefore liable to frustration because of the confusion associated with the conditioning.

Even though there are these numerous traumata in connection with 155
feeding, weaning is not traumatic. But the readiness with which chil- [illegible]
dren suck at objects which resemble breasts is a further indication of 155
the effects of poor maternal care. A child free of hunger tensions can expand the character of its contacts with the mother, and once she becomes a dependable object the child has a reliable buffer against the outer world. If this buffer is absent, nothing but anxiety and inhibitions can result. This shows itself chiefly as a lack of interest both in the outer world and in those ego components through which mastery of it is effected.

Two additional features must be mentioned. First, the mother does 153
not find the feeding of the child particularly pleasurable. This is very 158
likely to be the case when the mother herself has been through the ex- 154
perience that she now imposes on the child. A second point is that in many of the illnesses which the child suffers at this time, it is the father who is blamed for having broken a taboo or one of the abstinences imposed upon him during the early life of the child. In this way the mother escapes a blame which she undoubtedly feels.

The fact that mothers occasionally masturbate their children while 154
feeding them is no commentary on their sex morality but on the fact 154
that the masturbatic activity is used as a palliative, and it is very likely that sexual gratification thus becomes very early in life established as a means of placating the child for frustrations suffered in other directions.

With regard to training the child to walk and talk, little deliberate [illegible]
effort is made. From comparisons with children in our society one can [illegible]
safely deduce the fact that the child is subject to a continuous series of frustrations in its efforts to establish some mastery over the world. This means also that positive and enterprising attitudes toward the world are not developed, for failures foster inhibitions.

While the child is thus not encouraged to strong ego formation in early childhood, there is an extenuating circumstance in the fact that
it is not subjected to discipline which it cannot understand. There is a [illegible]
conspicuous absence of restrictive discipline, particularly in connection with anal training. Here it may be noted that the Alorese seem to have no buttock erotic sensitivity or consciousness. This zone is seemingly devoid of significance—nor is it used in punishing children, as is the case in our society. And training seems to be synchronous with growth and is taught mainly by example. Hence these activities cannot contribute very much to the formation of the ego ideal.

157 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into economic activities.

155 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are [157] frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes reprisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolangkalieta narrates such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the mouth of a crying child.

155 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor 164 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity; its inhibiting influ- 593 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex- 155 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the systematic way in which the mother teases and cheats the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by [562] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continu- [586] ous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The super- [587] cilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin 152 in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

153 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character. 173 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the 593 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely 156 to have a peculiarly hollow inflection. The sexual role of the father, 593 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

it is this circumstance, together with the implied discipline connected 153
with sex, that makes possible the development of an Oedipus complex. 593
The social role of the father is appreciated very much later in life, at which time it may be despotic. He can arbitrarily claim any independent possession of the child and use it for his own ends. In marital arrangements the father is the one chiefly to gain by the sexual value of his daughter. We have thus in the father an individual whose rights over the child are strong but who gives the child practically nothing. The father's control over the children is apparently unequally divided between the sexes; a daughter, by whose marriage the father has something to gain, is more likely to remain in his power than a son. Sons, however, must feel some hostility toward him because of the sexual advantages he enjoys. The young man can have sexual relations only at the risk of incurring financial penalties. This factor must reinforce the already divided feelings toward women that the young man has derived from relations with his mother.

An extremely important point in the relationships of parents to 153
children, and one that has a direct bearing on the absence of inflation 861
of parental images, is the almost complete lack of reward systems. According to the general principles of psychology, a child can endure frustrations provided certain compensations are made or certain rewards given, either within a short enough time after the frustration in question or expressly related to it. In Alorese culture we have a frustration-reward balance which is extremely poor, and this can only add to the submerged hostility toward the parent. The role of the sense of shame as a basis for the superego is much less satisfactory than more concrete forms of punishment. It lacks the specificity so necessary for correlation with an act which is disapproved and it furnishes no quantitative evaluation of the degree of disapproval. Frightening the child as a disciplinary measure is perhaps more specific—that is, it permits closer connection between the offense and punishment—than shaming, and in this culture can only have the effect of heightening the already high degree of anxiety and of increasing the amount of aggression.

The importance of all these factors is the specific role that they play in 155
superego formation. The tonicity of the superego is maintained by the capacity to internalize the parental ideal. And this in turn is facilitated by the anticipation of rewards. The absence of reward systems means, therefore, that the internalization of the parental ideal must be defective. 593

As regards the siblings we have a unique situation. Children who 157

593 have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries
857 among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the oldest sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the garden. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

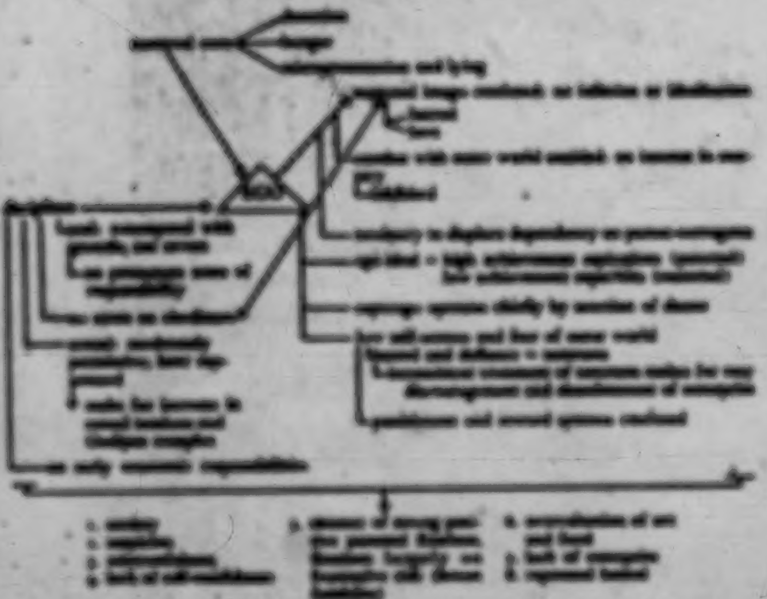
864
857 The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in some before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not
836 known either among women or men. The breast retains a high eroge-
152 nous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

861
855 A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over
152 again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situa-
858 tion in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

153 So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, abandoning many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

155

Chart I. Integrative Chain of Early Childhood


misrepresentation and lying
tendency to displace dependency on parent surrogates
ego ideal = high achievement aspirations
no early economic responsibilities

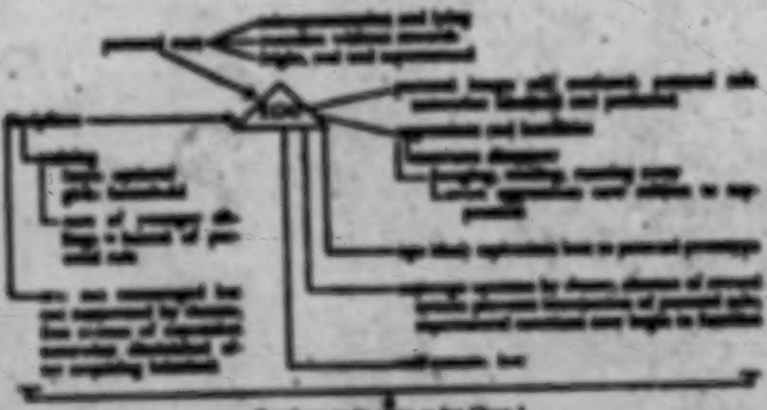
personality is not yet stabilized. We shall now list briefly those factors which seem to us most important for the picture of late childhood given in Chart II.

Late childhood is characterized chiefly by the channelization of aggression. Foraging and stealing is really constructive ego development in the boy. It would be an error to regard this purely as an effort to make good the deficiencies in parental care that persist throughout this period. It is also partly an expression of vengeance against the parent and a bit of self-assertion in that it implies, "I really don't need you any more." A general guilt feeling about the depredation of youngsters exists in the form of a universal fear of being robbed without any strenuous efforts to stop their depredations. 156 157 155

A second feature in late childhood is the fact that children of both sexes are prematurely inducted into the maternal role. The influence of this factor on the care of infants and on the development of sibling relationships has been discussed previously. 157

A third point is that although no formal training exists for the boy, there is a continuance of constant teasing, a continuance of the practice of fooling, misleading, and lying which only generates more and 158 153 β5

Chart II. Late Childhood



Residues make same as for Chart I.

β3 more distrust and ends finally in the child's complete inability to believe β13 anyone. This circumstance perhaps more than any other is responsible for the weak libidinal ties and the lowered sense of isolation that individuals often have. There are no persistent disciplines at this time, K3 and further new sanctions are invoked in the form of supernatural disapproval. It is at this time that the child also learns that some of its β12 rights in the family are invisible, that gifts received can be revoked arbitrarily, and that even such gifts as fields, gardens, and pigs are really only nominal.

β4 To offset these circumstances the child, particularly the boy, has a channel of expression, perhaps the most common that the culture recognizes, namely, running away. This offers both a safety valve for the pent-up aggressions and an opportunity to sustain the hope that the child may in one of its other relatives find the kind parent so long sought.

K6 One of the advantages to childhood development is the rather lacka- 134 daisical attitude toward sexual practices in children. In this activity they can indulge, surreptitiously to be sure, but without fear of serious punishment. However, it must be noted that sexual activity in children is tolerated rather than permitted or encouraged. The child's pilfering β7 and its opportunities for sexual activities with other children in some measure keep in balance those constellations already formed in early childhood. The activities afford some expression for pent-up hostility, but the situation is very little altered. It is likely that these oppor-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

[illegible]

tunities for both stealing and sex activity prevent the aggressions of early childhood from reaching explosive forms here.

It is not likely that the suppression imposed on overt forms of aggression or the gradual diminution in the use of obscene words injures the child in any way. However, it must be noted that the self-esteem of the child is in no way improved over what it was earlier in childhood; it still remains low. The child must still have the idea that it is a supernumerary, that it is of no account, for only grudgingly is the boy permitted to participate on the fringes of adult male activity. In this respect the position of the girl is distinctly better, but for reasons that we shall presently see, the prejudices accumulated in childhood do not make the maternal role acceptable to her.

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE, AND SEX

From this point on, the basic personality structure of the males and females must be considered separately.

Induction into adulthood for the boy is not accompanied by any severe puberty rites to mark the introduction of new and serious restrictions. It is not infrequently the case in societies where puberty rites are severe that the boy is compelled to surrender certain advantages of immaturity and is given new ones that he heretofore did not enjoy. As a matter of fact, in Alor puberty does not introduce the boy to any strikingly new experiences; on the contrary, it is the beginning of a long and arduous struggle for the achievement of manhood. The success of this achievement is vested largely in the father, who by virtue of his control over property—or of the opportunities for gaining control over it—can indefinitely delay the boy's entrance into manhood. Nor is there any necessity for binding the child to any rigid sexual taboos; these are left in the same status as in early childhood, that is to say, sexuality, as such, is permitted, but gaining status by marriage is rigidly under control. The theoretical advantage of free sexual play is thus actually canceled. The situation eventually arises where the father actually interferes, not with sexual gratification or the opportunities therefor, but with admission to the status of marriage. (See Chart III.)

In relation to his father the boy continues to operate under a system of coercions without rewards, notwithstanding the fact that the power of the father is only relative and the actual control of the subsistence economy is largely in the hands of the women. The status of the father becomes the envied objective of the boy.

In order to evaluate the boy's approach to a wife we must see those integrational systems which have already been formed by the time he

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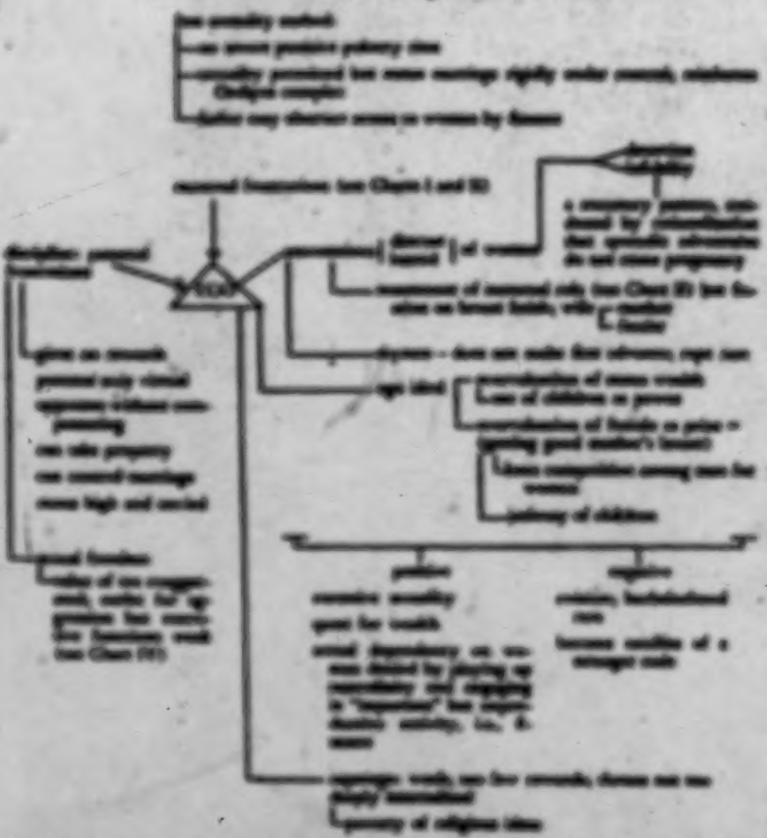
Chart III. Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex (Males)


Oedipus complex
maternal frustrations (see Charts I and II)
positive
negative
quest for wealth
poverty of religious ideas

reaches puberty. From the maternal frustrations we have seen that the boy contracts an unconscious hatred and distrust of the woman. Heretofore he has, however, had the opportunity through his care of the younger siblings to identify himself with the mother. In addition, he has likewise been compelled to aid her in her gardening. These roles suffer by comparison with the accepted prestige of the male role. His long experience with hunger frustrations and the fact that the mother 152 is knowingly responsible for them gives the boy a very strong infantile 155 attachment to the maternal breast, so that his approach to the woman is likely to be associated with the same inhibitions, fears, and hostilities that he contracted toward his mother. In consequence it is

therefore no surprise to learn that although the sexual impulse has not 832
been seriously checked, the approach to the woman is filled with shy- 155
ness and anxiety. It is a fact from the accounts of both men and women that it is the woman who makes the first advance. It is also significant that rape is very rare in this society. The feminine imago is bound to be associated with mother and breast, objects which he both longs to possess and fears. The attitude toward the woman is therefore controlled by two powerful forces: first, that the father can obstruct legitimate access to the woman, and second, that the woman herself is a source of anxiety.

In the face of this one may ask why there is not more male celibacy 155
in the society. The answer probably lies in the effect of these influences 831
upon ego ideal formation in the boy. He must derive an exaggerated idea of the value of potency—which incidentally is appreciated by the woman—but more important still, an enormously exaggerated idea of the value of status and wealth. The first represents the means of acquiring the good mother, the second the means of being equal to and opposing the despotic father. The goal of the man is fixed upon the reaffirmation of his self-esteem through the quest for wealth.

The difficulties and discomforts of a male's position cannot be over- 562
emphasized. It is interesting to note that in a society where there is a 589
preponderance of women the actual incidence of bachelorhood is occasional, whereas no spinsterhood was observed. No wonder! The weakest must fail, but to cope with this failure society offers two possible solutions: evasion through bachelorhood, which is held in great contempt, and becoming the satellite of a more powerful male, which is merely a perpetuation of the state of childhood.

Although opportunities exist in childhood for the expression of sexu- 593
ality, thereby diminishing the intensity of the Oedipus complex, the burden of conflict with the father comes in adolescence and in young manhood. By this time the boy has had too little opportunity to exercise any really effective aggression against his father, so that the expression through the quest of sexuality becomes the avenue of choice. It is not impossible to find that at this time a young man with serious sexual inhibitions makes violent gestures toward getting a wife.

As regards superego formation, it follows from the preceding de- 165
scription that it would of necessity be weak. The boy gets so few rewards for obedience that the threats of punishment cannot become very securely internalized. It is therefore no surprise to see that the two expressions of superego formation, religion and the technique of maintaining social cohesion, are not strong. There remain the sense

155 of shame, which is really an external agent, and the sense of guilt, which depends upon the internalization of the good parental image, the tenacity of which is maintained by the hope of being reinstated into parental grace. In this latter the young man has had exceedingly poor experience.

562 One final point must be mentioned in connection with the masculine
154 ego ideal. The dependency upon the woman is all too well known. Hence the playing up of masculinity by exaggerating the importance of male financial activities is largely a way of denying dependency upon the woman.

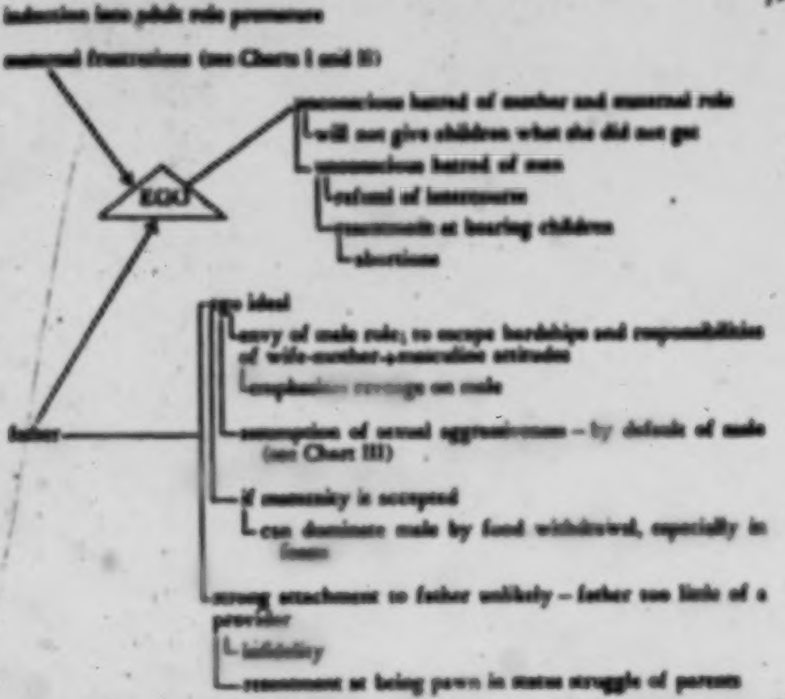
[882] The induction of the female into adulthood is much easier and is
155 accompanied by fewer necessities for changes in attitude, and by fewer conflicts. Here too we must review the experience of the mother and her resentment of the maternal role, which she is prematurely asked to
[157] undertake with the younger siblings. She will not be inclined to give children what she herself did not get. Her wish to abandon herself sexually to the man is filled with internal resistance. Likewise there is resentment at bearing children and caring for them, a fact that leads to two consequences, frequency of abortions and maternal neglect of children. This really completes the cycle. As far as the feminine ego ideal is concerned, the masculine role seems decidedly preferable. It is devoid of the arduous responsibilities and the actual hard labor that go with being a wife and a mother. (See Chart IV.)

832 Under these conditions it is not difficult to understand why it is that the female so frequently takes the aggressive role sexually. Actually this aggression by the female is largely through default on the part of the
581 male. Secondly, the status of marriage is, notwithstanding its hardships, infinitely more desirable to the woman than would be the state of spinsterhood. If the role of wife is accepted, the woman has some compen-
[593] sations. She can actually dominate the male by threatening the withdrawal of food, and she can exercise a powerful check upon his infidelities by making the financial obligations associated with bride-price infinitely greater. As we have said before, the whole financial arrangement in connection with marriage acts as a powerful check in keeping the tottering structure of relations between the sexes in some kind of balance.

593 It is difficult to formulate any opinion about the attitude of the woman toward her father, and no consistent pattern emerges of her reactions to her possible importance in his financial schemes. From it she may derive some sense of importance. There is little evidence to prove one way or another the nature of the infantile attachment to the father.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Chart IV. Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex (Females) 155


induction into adult role premature
maternal frustrations (see Charts I and II)
EGO
unconscious hatred of mother and maternal role
will not give children what she did not get
unconscious hatred of men
refusal of intercourse
resentment at bearing children
abortions
ego ideal
envy of male role; to escape hardships and responsibilities of wife-mother→masculine attitudes
emphasizes revenge on male
father
assumption of sexual aggressiveness – by default of male (see Chart III)
if femininity is accepted
can dominate male by food withdrawal, especially in famine
strong attachment to *father* unlikely – *father* too little of a provider
infidelity
resentment at being pawn in status struggle of parents

We may suppose it to be freer of ambivalence in childhood, since most 573 of the prejudices against the parents come from the influence of the mother. It would appear that the female has a more comfortable internal adjustment. The actual control of the household lies in her hands. 562 She does not, however, have the nominal advantage of status. It is therefore theoretically possible to see two poles in female adjustments—the masculine type which exercises power largely by dominating the male through permitted channels and the feminine type which accepts the feminine role. Perhaps the chief source of woman's security is that by reason of a series of factors she is actually the most valuable object in the society. Few women, however, are likely to be in a position of internal security to enjoy this advantage.

PRESTIGE AND PERSONALITY

What we have described up to this point is the basic personality 155 structure of both sexes. No change occurs in it from this point on, for

153 no new situations are encountered. What we will see henceforth is merely the working through of the old constellations in relation to the social goal of status.

157
154 It is the answer to the question, "What do I think of myself?" that can supply us with some information about the source from which the quest for prestige derives its motive power. The wish to be equal to, or better than, another is really a reflection of an internal need to think well of oneself. In this regard the Alorese quest for prestige has a very strong internal function, since at no time in the life cycle of the individual does he have the opportunity to think highly of himself. The male especially emerges into adulthood with a profound feeling of unworthiness. It would be reasonable to expect therefore in the male strongly expressed predatory trends, which would be less marked in the female. To bear this out it was observed that within limits it is the men who steal and ask for presents; the women do not. Women return gifts; men do not. Women share with others; men do not. The father is the chief beneficiary of the bride-price dealings; the mother much less so. The men seek compensations in dress and regalia; the women do not. The sensitivity to personal defects, that is, the touchiness, may be exaggerated in the men as compared with the women. It is the male who is predominantly mortified to have any derogatory epithet leveled at him. The men eat first when guests are present, and the women eat later. Every opportunity is exercised by men, both through the rights over children and through chicanery, to cancel out the deep feeling of unworthiness.

154
556 The role of money is therefore an important factor in the effort to establish security. Interestingly enough the wealth quest is not in the form of an actual accumulation of gongs and mokos. Emphasis falls rather on the fact that money gives one control over others, and this is what really tells the story. A lien upon another person means that you can at your will convert him into a giver. The inability to control the
155 mother was the most signal defeat of childhood. If we can allocate this
157 defeat to any zone, it is really to an oral one, for it is accompanied by
241 intense feelings of greed and envy. The general stinginess about food is evidently derived from oral frustrations, a fact which is strongly supported by the consideration that there is no coercive anal training in childhood.

556 The accumulation of wealth is obviously not free of dangers. The
576 fact that large displays of wealth are thought to cause illness, which in
578 turn can be remedied by giving a feast, indicates the anxiety that attends the accumulation of wealth, because it means that the individual

has a strong awareness of the power of other people's envy. Hence the 556
giving of a feast, by satisfying their oral appetites, diminishes the envy. 574
It is this remedy which tells us the origin of the whole insecurity feeling. 578
The remedy serves as an antidote to the envy of others, which the
wealthy person fears. This probably is also the source of the necessity for 578
evening things up—a compulsive trait probably derived from the necessity 426
of sharing with hungry siblings. In actual practice the whole
prestige economy in Alor is one in which the currencies are so distributed
that continual "squeeze" can be applied through financial
obligations.

The uses of this financial system are largely to channelize the enormous
amount of intrasocial hostility, and it takes much of the brunt off
all the other methods. The fear of exercising overt aggression in the 155
form of striking, killing, or even using magic is likewise traceable to
the faulty ego development in childhood. It is an error to regard aggression
purely as a form of reaction to frustration. In order to react
to frustration with aggression a high degree of effective organization
is necessary. In the Alorese child this organization fails to take place.
It is to be remembered that the tantrum is the expression par excellence
of the childhood frustration, and this is characterized chiefly by its lack
of organization. It is, so to speak, a spinal discharge and not one directed
by the higher centers. As was noted before in the discussion of
the relations of men toward women, the inability to be aggressive toward
an object that injures you must lead eventually not only to a fear
of the object but also to an inner feeling of paralysis. The control over
aggression is certainly not due to any superego interference. It is due
purely to an ego defect; they do not know how to organize their aggression.
In other words, the fact that overt aggression so rarely appears
in this society is merely a late consequence of a situation that began in
childhood and which there showed itself in the hopeless futility of getting
any response by this method. Even verbal aggressions, which are
given limited scope, are by no means employed by everyone. Unrestrained
aggression becomes a form of expression only in the insane and
in some of the jealous quarrels among women.

RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

What is distinctive about Alorese ideas and techniques for dealing 776
with the supernatural is their negative features. There is no elaboration
of either a supreme being or of a culture hero in their mythology.

In their practical religion there is the general framework of a family 769
cult, which, however, lacks precision. The dead are not to be placated

765 by suffering and renunciation, nor is there any attempt at restitution through penance in order to be reinstated into the good graces of the spirits. Good things are not asked of them, but rather the absence of bad things; that is, the Alorese do not pray *for bounty* but they do ask *for relief from illness.* The ancestors are angered if they are not fed. They will perform some wicked act against the neglectful individual, that is, they will cause an abortion or they will annoy a child. There is, in other words, no beneficent inflation of the parental imago, due to the poor frustration-reward balance in this society. So slight is the tendency to idealize the parental imago that effigies are made in the most careless and slipshod manner, are used in the most perfunctory way, and are forthwith discarded. There is little emphasis on giving the spirits permanent housing or idealized form.

Part 3 AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Procedure and Presentation

THIS part consists of eight autobiographies, each of which is followed 125 by Dr. Kardiner's analysis of it. The chart on the next page gives in condensed form certain information about the subjects. Preceding each autobiography is a genealogy. These lists do not pretend to be complete, but they do include the names of the kinsmen most frequently mentioned. They serve to give some idea of the size and nature of the kin group in which each subject grew up. A glance will reveal the difference between Fantan and Tilapada in wealth of close relatives. This is important among a people theoretically so dependent on kin loyalties for support and status. Duplications and variations in personal names may confuse the reader as much as they do the Alorese, but I have tried to overcome this obstacle as far as possible.*

The persons from whom autobiographies were secured do not repre- 115 sent the ideal or "type" person of Atimelang. The most successful men 128 said they were too busy with their financial and ceremonial affairs to spend the time required for telling a life history. Actually they probably did not need either the fee or the prestige that working with me involved. The "ideal" women of Atimelang, of whom there were a few, were either too unassertive or too engrossed in work to come daily to my house. I am under the impression that inability to secure autobiographical material from the successful type individuals of a culture is an experience many ethnographers have had in functioning societies. However, the autobiographies given here do represent, on the whole, average Atimelang adults. Of the eight, Fantan, Malelaka, and Lomani are farthest from the norm.

No attempt was made to secure this material until I had been almost 124 a year in the community and was able, therefore, to estimate the status of the informant in his own social milieu. I then selected people who were representative, articulate, and had good rapport with both the interpreter and myself. Autobiographical interviews were limited to one hour each morning before the informant began his day's work. It was understood that each session would begin with dreams of the preceding

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* In the case of an older person the term of respect for age, i.e., *kalieta*, was [sic] suffixed to the first syllables of the given name. For example, *Padalani* as an older man might be known as *Padakalieta*. In addition, the given name might be contracted with the first syllables of the father's name. For example, *Padalani* whose father is called *Maniani* might also be referred to as *Padamani*.

126 night. This procedure was facilitated by the local habit of remembering [illegible] and discussing dreams. However, a drawback was that I seldom heard [illegible] the first version. Informants were often asked to interpret their dreams, but this was of little value for individual psychology, since there is a partially standardized system of dream interpretation in the culture. An attempt to get associations with significant words in the dream met with no great success. Most significant, perhaps, are the memories or anecdotes related immediately after the dream.

It was necessary to ask questions and to do a good deal of directing [illegible] in the interviews. The degree to which I interfered is indicated by the parenthetical inclusion of the content of my questions, or, where that is obvious from the responses, by the word Question in brackets. Leading, as opposed to clarifying, questions were asked only when the informant seemed to be at a loss to continue. This was particularly true toward the end of a series of interviews, when the informant had begun to run

115 SUBJECTS OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Name	*Sex*	*Approximate Age*	*Number of Sessions*	*Sibling Position*
Mangma the Genealogist	Male	45	13	Second of nine children
Rilpada the Seer	Male	35	18	Third of five children
Malelaka the Prophet	Male	45	20	First of six children and six half brothers and sisters
Fantan the Interpreter	Male	25	11+	Youngest of three children
Tilpada	Female	45	19	Fifth of nine children
Lomani	Female	25	11	Youngest of eight sisters; father died in her infancy
Kolangkalieta	Female	50	11	Second of five children
Kolmani the Seeress	Female	45	13	Youngest of two children; orphaned in infancy

126 down and had failed to mention certain obvious topics. A case in point is Tilpada's omission of material concerning her children. The insertion of ages where they occur is the result of inquiry rather than spontaneously given information. Usually the informant named a child and said, "When I was like So-and-so." I would then approximate the age. These estimates are naturally unreliable but they are probably better than nothing.

Another point of procedure should be mentioned. Although I did not feel sufficiently in command of the language to dispense with an interpreter, I was able to check his translations and particularly the sequence of thought.

quence of thought. The subject was allowed to proceed as long as he 124
chose, and when he paused the interpreter repeated what had been said, 126
while I completed the written record. In the printed autobiographies
the original order of narration has been kept. Except for the deletion of 126
irrelevant and confusing place and personal names, the inclusion of a 128
few parenthetical comments for purposes of clarification, and some minor changes in punctuation and the like, the records are in the form in which they were set down in Alor. Although they may sometimes be difficult to read in this fashion, they seem more valuable and genuine pictures of the personalities. The reader will find that, except in the case of *Malelaka*, the first day's interview comes very close to epitomizing the individual's attitudes and preoccupations.

The autobiographies are rich in ethnographic detail despite the fact that informants were kept rather persistently to their own experiences and reactions. In a few cases ethnographic descriptions of an impersonal nature have been omitted. Even so, the autobiographies serve better than any other device to bring alive and make specific the generalizations and speculations in Part 2.

Chapter 10

Mangma the Genealogist

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

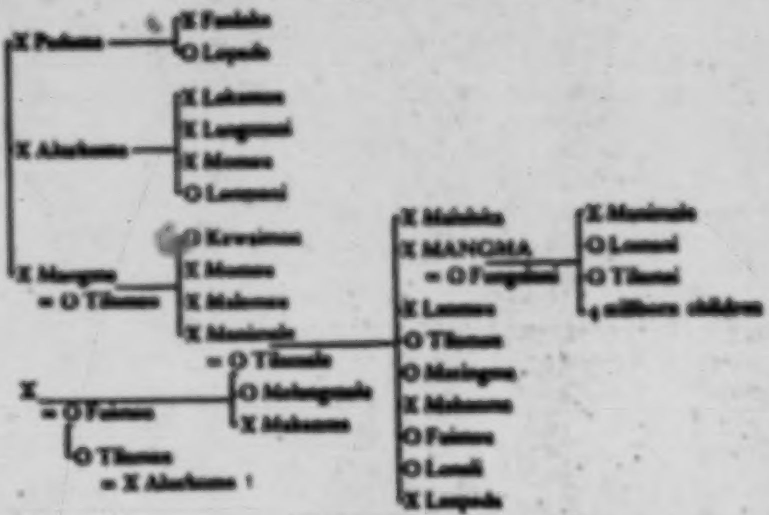
November 24, 1938

[What was the first thing he could remember?] When I was still 159x
very small and couldn't yet talk clearly, I remember there was a hungry
period. Mother and father went to the woods and took the roots of [22]
wild bananas and brought them home to eat. Mother was pounding [262]
them up in a mortar, and a little bit fell over the edge. I grabbed it up and ate it, saying, "This is my tuber [referring to an esteemed sort, grown locally]."

When I was still small I was sitting on a mortar. It was the time that corn was ripening. My mother did not cook me ripe corn but was preparing unripe cassava. I asked her for my ako. [*Ako* is baby talk for *hatako*, a prized tuber.] Just then there was an earthquake. I fell off the mortar to the ground. Everything rocked and shook. Cracks opened in the earth. Our house fell down. A heavy beam dropped across the mor-

Genealogy of Mangma

*159
115
601.


X Padama
X Fanlaka
O Lapada
X Alurkama
X Lakamau
X Langmani
X Mamau
O Lanpani
X Mangma
= O Tilamau
O Kawaimau
X Mamau
X Malemau
X Maniruda
= O Tilamada
X
= O Faimau
O Mahangpada
X Malemau
O Tilamau
= X Alurkama ?
X Malelaka
X MANGMA
= O Fungalama
X Lanmau
O Tilamau
O Maringma
X Malemau
O Faimau
O Losali
X Lapada
X Maniruda
O Lonmai
O Tilamai
4 stillborn children

*157 tar under which I was crouching, but it did not crush me. I was safe there.

When I was a little bigger [six to seven], Alurkai and I were friends. We were big enough to begin to use bows and arrows. We went to Alimau and shot Manggpada's dog. He ran after us and we couldn't run [163] fast because we were still small. He took our bows and arrows and broke them up. He cut a stalk and beat us. [Question.] He was no kin. Mother and father did not quarrel with him. Manggpada said, "Now I have beaten you. Next time don't kill my dog."

Once my mother wanted me to cut * the fields, but I didn't want to, [165] so she tied my hands together and left me in the house. I gnawed the rope through and ran away to Alurkoma [mother's mother's sister's husband, called grandfather]. I lived with Alurkoma for about a year. But I thought about my mother's tying my hands, and so I got part of a knife blade and pounded it to make it hard and went to cut the field. When it was all cut and burned over, my father and mother came to plant it. Then I cared for the field myself and weeded it. When the food was ripening, my mother came to harvest it. I remembered her tying my hands, and I said she could not take the food. She remembered

[241]

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* This is a literal translation of the native term and refers to the clearing of weeds with a field knife.

how I had gnawed through the cord and run away, and she said the crop was hers. She told me I could not cut her gardens any more, and if I wanted to cut gardens I had better go to my father's. She herself got the corn. 150x

All this time I was living with Alurkoma. Alurkoma's wife, Tilaman, said I had better go work at Rualang, where my father's garden was. So I went there to cut the garden. The first year I got a hundred bundles of maize and sold them in Likuwatang and bought a knife. The next year I got only *forty* bundles, the year after only thirty, the year after only twenty. Then I stopped working there. [Question.] Mother and father lived together all this time. [How many years did you live with your grandparents?] Four years. [Then?] Then I returned to live with my mother and father. At this time I had a *friend* called Fanmale. We used to shoot at a banana trunk target. When Fanmale hit the target [524] many times, I would beat him over the head with a bow. When I hit the target many times, he would hit me over the head with a bow. We were always quarreling. Then we said we had better stop target shooting. We stopped being *friends*, and I made friends with Malemani. I threw out Fanmale. I was maybe twelve or thirteen at this time.

Malemani made a house in the fields. His mother was dead. Young 155x men and women gathered there. Girls and boys planned whom they 882 would marry. They slept together in this house. The house was near the Limbur ravine. We played there for three years. I stayed there and didn't live with my mother and father. There were many gardens there and enough to eat.

After we had been there awhile I said, "We play only with women 157x and do not think of anything else. Let us think of collecting a bride-price. We had better cut a new rice field and sell the rice for mokos and thus accumulate a bride-price." We planted a rice field but got only four baskets full. Matingma came down and asked how much we had and we said twenty gallons [i.e., *four* baskets holding about five gallons each]. I left my rice there and mother and father ate it. I left for Awani to cut fields. The first year I planted beans and we harvested four cans. There were twenty-six cans of rice. Of this I got two cans of beans and twelve of rice. One can of beans I carried back here and gave my mother. For three years I cut a garden in Awani and also here. I traveled back and forth. I sold my rice for a Tamamia [6-rupiah moko]. I brought the Tamamia here and father gave it to other people, giving me a Maningmauk [10-rupiah moko] in exchange for it.

When I had this moko, Kolata's family accused me of sleeping with x159 her. So they said I must buy the girl. They said I was to search for a bride-price and they would search for a dowry, and on a given day we would exchange bride-price for dowry. This is not our custom. This is a Rumbewang custom. I said I had not slept with this girl. One morning I stood under their house and called out, "Come look at my penis. If it is wet, I have slept with your daughter. If it is dry, I have not slept with her." Karmaing said, "My friend, do not open your loincloth and expose yourself." I was just joking. The girl and her mother came down, x159 695 and the girl lied. She said I had slept with her. They said I lied. So the girl said we had better try the millet ordeal. When they had the millet boiling, they dropped a small round stone in it. I reached into the pot, found the stone, and pulled it out. I ran to the dance place and said to Lahatala [God], "Indeed, Lahatala, witness this. If I had slept with the woman, my hand would have been burned. If I had not slept with her, my hand would not have been burned. My hand is not burned. You people have accused me falsely." My hand was a little sore that day and I slept. But the next morning it was all right.

x159 689 At this time chiefs had just been appointed and litigations had begun, but I used the old way, *do hmar kaledok*. [He inserted ethnographic details, which I have deleted. He is recounting a system of forcing high payment through shaming the persons who have insulted him.] So I went to Alomale and asked for his pig, which he was raising in partnership with a woman. It was worth a Hiekbui [4-rupiah moko]. She did not want to give it to me and they quarreled. Alomale wounded it, and then he followed me and ceremonially demanded payment. So I gave him my Maningmauk [10-rupiah moko] for the pig.

x159 584 Then I went to Lampada and Maspada, who had accused me. They didn't want to pay me. They said the girl wanted to marry me and would carry a load of wood to my house next day. Six days went by before the girl came with the wood. She set it down far from the house and came to sit half on and half off the verandah. My mother called to her and told her to come up and cook, but she didn't want to. So I talked to her, and I discovered she did not have a big heart for me. She wanted to marry another man. So my mother gave her a squash and she went back to her own house. In six more days my aunt took the wood and carried it back to the girl's house. Then in six days I went again to x159 684 call for my debt.. This time there was a litigation involving five of us men who had slept in Malemai's house with this woman. Four of us who had not had intercourse had to pay fifty cents each. But Manialurka had tugged at her breasts and slept with her, so he had to pay a pig and a fine.

pig and a fine. Then the girl's family paid me a Kolmale [13-rupiah moko] for the pig I had got from Alomale. 159*

November 26, 1938

When I was still small, I went to live in Dikimpe with Langmani [his father's first cousin]. I stood on the verandah and jumped down. I did it over and over again, shouting, "I am a rooster. I am a rooster."

I was still small and the people of Dikimpe went to make war with Atimelang; then they went to wage war with Alurkowati. The people of Dikimpe shot at Mangio, and an arrow hit his belt. They dragged him to Dikimpe and danced. They said it was as though they had taken his head. They shouted triumph [lahabier]. [Mangma laughed at this episode.]

I stayed in Dikimpe two years. Then I went to Ruatang, where my 159*
father lived. I and my older brother, Malelaka, played at war and threw 592
cornstalks at each other. Once when I was about twelve and Malelaka 858
was about fourteen, I was roasting corn. Malelaka told me to hurry up 865
and take off the pot. I didn't. Malelaka snatched the pot off the fire, set it on my knee, and burned me. I cried. My father scolded Malelaka and said he was bad; when he grew up he would get no wife. Malelaka cried then, "Yeah, yeah, yeah, I am going to Fuimelang to live." He went and fetched some dry grass to burn down the village. I told my father he had better go out and stop him, that my wound was not so bad that he
needed to stay with me. So my father went out and stopped him. The [752
next morning my father got a plant called *fehabeti* and put it on my 278]
knee. All the skin had come off. After a while my wound got better.

I said to Malelaka, "We aren't friends any more. We are enemies." I threw a burning stick at Malelaka's stomach. Then I ran and climbed a tree. Malelaka took a firebrand and threw it at me. It struck my back. I cried and my father began to chase him. Malelaka ran away and went to live in Karieta. After a while, maybe a year, we both forgot our quarrel and Malelaka came back to live with us. Our parents told us to stop fighting. We went together to cut the field at Ruatang.

[Why did you go to live with Langmani in Dikimpe?] Just because [159*
I liked him, because he took good care of me. Langmani had no wife. I
was like his child. I followed him around, ran errands for him, getting [157]
areca, water, fire, tobacco, or whatever he sent me for. Whatever he asked I did. I was there alone with him. Langmani said, "My older brother has many children; you come and stay with me."

I had been with Langmani a year when Rilpada's father, Padakalieta,

x 159 asked me to stay with him. So I went to Padakaliera's house and ran er-
[152] rands for him. In the spring of that year a rat bone lodged in my throat. Alomale and Padakaliera put their hands in my throat and pulled it out. I stayed a year with Padakaliera and then went back to Rualang.

[Question.] My mother and father lived in Old Karieta during the time I stayed in Dikimpe. [Old Karieta was about forty-five minutes to an hour from Dikimpe.]

My father built four houses: one in Dikimpe, one in Karieta, one in Rualang, and one in Kafukkhimi, where our garden was. When we were living in Karieta my father said, "Here we are not happy. Let us go to
[156] Kafukkhimi to make a house and raise chickens and pigs, plant bananas and tubers, and grow things." [Why not happy?] It was all right in Karieta, only it was far from our garden. We were already tired by the time we got to the garden to begin work. So we went there to live; we made a house and raised many pigs and chickens. We lived there until I married. After that my wife and I returned to the village.

My father raised a male pig there with tusks this big. My father sold it to a man from Kelaisi for two Maningmauks [10 rupiahs each] and a pig worth two and a half rupiahs. Father gave me one of these Maningmauks [see preceding day's story]. That was what I used to pay Alomale when I kabakek with him. The pig I got from Alomale I cared for until it was big and then sold it for a Hawataka [10-rupiah moko]. But to the pig I had to add another pig worth two and a half rupiahs and ten baskets of rice. Padalang bought that pig. When I wanted to sell it, Malelaka didn't want me to give it to Padalang. He said it was his pig. I was angry and drew my bow to shoot him, saying, "You have said that I copulated with a dog." As I drew my bow, Malelaka said, "Just take the pig." [Informant laughed heartily at this.] Padalang wanted one more basket of rice, so I went to a man near by who had a daughter. I was collecting a bride-price for her. He gave me a basket of rice. That evening after selling the pig I got out my Kolmale [see preceding day's story] and the Hawataka, and I beat my two mokos. [He smiled at his youthful pride in these two mokos.]

x 159 My grandmother, Fuimau, had been shot by people from Kewai, and
628 so the Five Villages went to war with Kewai. A man from Aburkowati
581 killed a man from Kewai and sold the head to my father. My father paid eighty gongs and mokos for the head. Twenty went to the first killer [*namu fing*] and twenty to the second. [Here there was a confused war narrative, which is irrelevant.] Then father and the first killer, with the people of Dikimpe and Karieta, went to Lawatika and

kalukek. The people of Lawatika didn't pay. So Dikimpe and Karieta 159B were angry and said they would complain to the government. Then 628 Lawatika said, "We have young girls and you have young men who want 581 wives. You pay the bride-prices for our girls and we shall be able to pay your kalukek." My father told me to ask some Lawatika girl if she wanted to marry me. He said I must not marry someone who didn't want to marry me. So I asked a girl and she was willing. Then my father said, "My son has two mokos." So the parents of the girl sent her to Kafakbiesi [informant's residence] carrying a pig. In six days I beat my two mokos and gave them to the girl's father and mother. Then my father went to Lawatika and asked for the return of two mokos to pay the kalukek. But I said, "No, keep the Kolmale moko and give the Hawataka moko back." So they gave back the Hawataka and two broken gongs. Two Kolmale were still due on the kalukek, one to Maima and one to Mauglan.

[What of the other woman, whose father had given a basket of 159A rice?] Oh, I hadn't yet spoken to her. My wife's father gave me one Piki moko and two broken gongs as a dowry. I paid a Maningmauk moko as my bride-price. Senmani gave me a Tamamia moko as a dowry; I returned a Maningmauk. Lanmani gave me a two-and-a-half-rupiah pig as a dowry; I gave him the Tamamia. Maima gave me a broken gong worth three rupiahs as a dowry; I gave him a piece of a Fehawa worth six rupiahs. Atama gave me five small corn bundles, a basket of beans, and a small goat as a dowry; I gave him a Maningmauk. This was the third Maningmauk I had paid in my bride-price. [I tried without success [124] to divert him from the discussion of mokos and bride-prices. He was obviously thoroughly enjoying the account.] Lanmani gave me a small pig as a dowry; I gave a Tawaintama as a bride-price. Senfani gave a Tamamia pig, and I returned a Maningmauk. [This is probably the transaction attributed above to Senmani. Note the inconsistency in an apparently meticulous account.]

[Unable to stop this flow of reckoning, I called the allotted hour to [128] an end. Mangma smiled and said that he had reckoned his bride-price and that he also planned to tell about his familiar spirits. He was obviously very pleased with the morning's account.]

November 28, 1938

When I was young I blackened my teeth. They were blackening teeth in three localities that year. My place was near Ruataug, where there were twelve boys and girls. At Manimal there were thirty. Manimal

X/159 Mauirai

557 and Lakawati had a wealth-reckoning contest [in play]. They used shields of bamboo and hunted rats. They reckoned rats, and Mauirai had a hundred and eighty, while Lakawati had a hundred and ninety. They also killed eight birds and civet cats; there were seven of them. They made bamboo spears and threw them. They shouted defiance at each other. We boys from Rumang took our rat jaws [as adults use pig jaws to record the number slaughtered] and added them to Lakawati's. We reckoned with Lakawati. The older people said, "You have been playing with sacred things, so now you must make a sacrifice to the bamboo spears. Then you must not be cross with each other any more but play together nicely, eat together, and chew areca together. Don't quarrel any more." [Informant smiled broadly at this childish imitation of a serious adult wealth-reckoning contest called *tamak*.]

X/159 Five years later I went again to blacken my teeth, this time below Karieta. There were twelve girls and eight men. We boys hunted rats. We were there seven days. The men paid the leader thirteen arrows, and the girls cooked twelve plates of rice rolls. We ate seven of them and five were used to pay the leader.

When I was about sixteen I was crazy and sick for about a month and a half because two kinds of spirits [*kari* and *loku*] were fighting in me. The loku spirit was called *Manibiki*. One day I went hunting rats and passed by Fuida, where the evil spirit [*kari*] called Fuimau lived. She must have followed me. That night I went home to Rumang and was not sick. But the next day I talked only at random [i.e., irresponsibly]. I didn't eat or drink for three days. I kept saying, "Hail to me. Hail to me. I am Manibiki. I go to my father. I go to my father." [Manibiki was the name of the male loku spirit that possessed him and that was fighting in him with the female kari spirit, Fuimau.] Marimale and Malefani both made loku medicine for me to drink. Father made kari medicine for me to drink, but I did not get better. So after five days they carried me to Alurkowati. This was because Padama of Alurkowati had a loku spirit to whom he sacrificed. They carried me in a scarf like a baby and beat a gong the whole way. I didn't feel sick, but I

[158] talked crazily. In Alurkowati Padama rubbed my body and extracted

X/159 Manibiki, urging him to come out of me to eat [sacrificed] rice and

755 chicken. Padama also pulled a bone [considered a loku arrow] out of my throat. He pulled the crazy words out of my mouth. But again I spoke wildly. Manibiki came back and said [through Mangma's mouth], "I have been extracted, but the evil spirit [*kari*] is still there."

Five different seers worked over me. They built a big fire of eucalyptus and held my eyes over the smoke to chase out the evil spirit

[*kari*]. Manifani came to doctor me and I felt better. He said, "Did I 159
help you or not?" I said he had helped me. I told him about all the 755
spirits I saw sitting around us. Manifani was pleased and said he would get areca for us to chew. But when he came back I was crazy again. Then Manifani pulled the evil spirit [*kari*] out of my windpipe.

All the time I was sick, I didn't remember what I was saying. People 159
wanted to bury me while I was still talking, but father would not let them. He told them to wait until my body started rotting. One night I was sleeping, and father was sleeping beside me to keep watch. I threw out my arm and began rubbing and pulling at my father's stomach. Father woke up. I was groping around for my loincloth. Father said, "Oh, he is already better; he remembers his loincloth." He asked me if I wanted anything to eat, and I said I did, so they gave me some of the [sacrificial] rice that Padama had cooked to feed his loko spirit. After that I wasn't crazy any more.

When I was better but still staying in the house, I saw my guardian 159
spirits [*timang*] for the first time. There were many people [spirits] in 787
the house, but I was the only one who saw them. They were wearing shields and carrying weapons. There were many of them and they were rushing back and forth in the house. These spirits were Lanma-Malema, Tolakang-Tolabiki, and Bikilaning-Kanglaning. [These represent three pairs of brothers.] At that time I stopped eating peas and bananas [a [X 1]
food taboo imposed by his guardian spirits]. These were the spirits I received from my ancestors.

Now I eat peas and some bananas. I don't follow my guardian spirits any more. When they first came they said they would shoot evil spirits [*kari*]. Their place is a tree in Afengberka and one in Old Karieta. I used to feed them [i.e., make sacrifices], but now I don't feed them there or in my house. They used to come often before I was married, but now they don't come any more. I haven't seen them much since I married. Now I have to call them with a gong. But I can still see evil spirits [*kari*] and ghosts [*hanoting*].

[Question.] I have cured five people and have been given a pig each 159
time for it. [Very large payments.] If a person has been shot [supernaturally], I rub the place with areca and pull the thing out. I can't show what I extract. I have to hide it. I can extract pebbles [*bikey*] and poison, but I can't extract [supernatural] arrows.

November 29, 1938

Today I want to talk of my food taboos. When my grandfather died 159
my father kept them, and when my father died I kept them. I cannot eat 262

young corn [maisingata-atoura], sugar cane, mangoes, or cucumbers. This taboo lasts for three months, and in the fourth month I eat them again. Before eating them I feed my keya hearth and place on it leaves of all these foods. After that I may eat. My father and older brother died about eighteen years ago, and ever since then I have kept this taboo. The keya hearth is so called because I keep these food taboos before the Keya feast. In this feast fire is thrown at a tree, and good crops for the coming year are requested. The keya are spirits of all kinds of foods. They come from Peingbai [literally, "hold head" or "top of the world," to the southeast in Bendelang]. These spirits stay in the sky. Mine are Koyowa, Takmabaffi-Nabangraiy, Tingmina-Fanfana, and Karbah-Kamera. When I feed the keya hearth I say, "Koyowa, Takmabaffi-Nabangraiy, Tingmina-Fanfana, Karbah-Kamera, now let me eat my corn, cucumbers, squash, and mangoes and not be sick. May my thighs and my shoulders be strong. May I go running over large level places and long slopes and go straight through without stopping until sweat comes." [The rainy season is considered the season of illness. This sacrifice and supplication is made at the end of the rainy season so that the soreness and stiffness may pass.]

[At this point I tried to get him away from ethnography into personal anecdotes.] When I was still a child, a friend of mine, also called Mangma, asked me to come to his garden and help him build a house. When it was finished I asked him to come to the house I had built in my garden and roast corn. My house was made of slender bamboo. The thatched roof had collapsed, but we hunted rats, roasted corn, and ate there anyhow. At the new corn feast my friend Mangma invited me to come to fetch corn from his garden. The next day his mother cooked it for us. Then we went to my house to eat rats and corn. We said, "Now we can't play for a while, but when the corn work is finished, when it has been gathered and tied into bundles, we can play again." [Question.] This friend is dead now; he died after he married. When we grew up and married we didn't play together any more. We were no longer friends [in the sense of companions]. This friend, Mangma, was also from Karieta.

[How his mother died?] My mother's body swelled up and she died. That was about seventeen years ago. It was the year after my father and brother both died. They all died because we didn't give our Beyorka feast [part of the Tila death feast for ancestors] rapidly enough. We built the altar and didn't feed it. Then the village of Karieta burned down. We built another beyorka altar but didn't feed it. Then these three people died. I was married at the time.

[Residence.] When I first married I lived in a field house near my family in Kafakbeka. At the time the radjah was killed [1918] we moved to Old Karieta. We all moved up and lived together in one house. We stayed two years and then moved to Pelabati, where we lived one year. Many people died in that rainy season. We moved down with many other people to the site of New Karieta. We stayed three years and built a lapurka alone. That year both my father and brother died. At this time the government was building a trail along the coast near Likuwatang. Malelaka ordered Fanseng to come and get me to work. I didn't want to. Fanseng hit me with a rattan switch. So I ran away to Kalabahi for a year and traded among the coast people. I stayed at Bangwara-Bangpalola on the Kabola coast. At this time my wife was sick, and while I was away she went back to Lawatika to stay. She got better there and her body filled out. When I came back to Karieta other people were in my house; my wife wasn't there. I waited for her but she didn't come back. So I went to Lawatika and litigated to get my wife back. We both laid out our tallies to reckon bride-price and dowry, but a big rain came and washed them all away. Then the chief asked my wife why she had not gone back and whether she had quarreled with me. She said, "No, we did not quarrel. My husband was beaten and ran away. I was sick. There was no one in Karieta to help me and give me food, so I came here. Now I am well." The chief asked me and I said, "No, we did not quarrel, and she is still my wife." So the chief said to my wife, "Go pull your husband's hand and return with him." So she did, but I didn't wish to go with her. So the chief told us to stay and we did. There was another big rain and I felt sick. I had a chill. The chief said to me, "Now you have learned your lesson, so you can go." That night we returned to Karieta. But my wife said she had gardens in both places and would work in both places. If she was in Lawatika when night fell she stayed there. [This arrangement still exists. His wife is away frequently.]

[Question.] My wife did not take another man while I was away. After the new year feast [*Kaya*] that year, we went to Kamengwaling for one year. From there we moved to Lommang near Lawatika for three years. Then we had children and moved to Fepadeh, because the people of the Amaubirang lineage had said, "All our family has moved away from our village. Only our female children live here now. So come and make a village here." Then other people came and we made a village at Fepadeh.

x 159 *December 2, 1938*

[What dream?] Day before yesterday I dreamed that someone, I don't know who it was, brought a small pig and I said, "That pig is for Lanmau [a younger brother dead three years]." The next morning Fuimau [a younger sister] went to Lakawati and was given a small pig. I shall save that pig and when it is big and fat use it for Lanmau's death feast.

[What do you want to talk about?] When I was small five of us had a rope, and we swung back and forth on it. There were I, Fanmale, Malemani, Lotlaka, and Atafani [all boys]. All of these are already dead. For six days we played on the rope; then Atafani, father of Padata the Leper, said, "That's bad. You'll fall," and he cut the rope. [Question.] We weren't angry. We just ran off and threw stones at Atafani.

At Rustang when I was about ten or twelve we were flicking sharp sticks at each other. One hit Manialurka in the forehead. He cried and cried. His father chased me with a stick and hit me. My grandfather saw this and said, "Eh, if I were strong I'd hit you back. But I am not, and the child's mother and father are not here, so I'll just order my grandchild not to play with Manialurka any more." My aunt Lonfani was also there and said, "Don't play again with Manialurka." After a month Manialurka came and called me. He wanted to play with me, but I said, "Last time we played together you got hurt and cried and cried. Now we won't play together any more." Then Manialurka's older brother, Manimale, who was fourteen or fifteen, called to me, "He can't play with you, but I can, so let's take our baskets and go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." So we dug sweet potatoes, washed them, and brought them home. Each of us went to his own house to roast and eat them. My mother and father were away, and I was hungry. When we finished eating, we called to each other and played again. For a month we played this same way together, going every day to dig sweet potatoes. His mother was angry because we went to their garden to dig them. So after the first day we always went to my garden. By and by my sweet potatoes were almost gone. One day as we went up to Lemnis to wash them, I was angry and splashed water on Manimale. He was afraid and didn't come any more. I said to him, "You have many sweet potatoes, but we went only once to your garden and your mother was angry. Since you have a great many, you can't come to dig in my garden any more." Then I splashed water on him. Manimale said we couldn't play together any more.

In about two months Manimale came back again, and he said, "We

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can't dig sweet potatoes, but I saw some peas that are ripe. Let's go fetch them." So we went to Dokpe to pick peas; we stole them. The owner of the peas was hidden in a tree keeping watch. He came down and we ran. Manimale ran toward the village, but I just ran down the hill. The owner caught me, hit me, and tore up my basket. [He repeated several times that his basket had been destroyed.] I went along to my garden, dug some sweet potatoes, and ate them raw because I was hungry. Then that evening I went home.

Once, when I was only about six years old, I was playing with my younger brother, Lanmau, near the place where my father was cutting a garden. We were playing at pounding corn between two stones, but we were using earth. A small chicken came near us. I took it and hit it over the head with a stone, killing it. We were afraid to singe it because father would smell it, so we pulled out the feathers, cut it up, and laid it on the hot ashes. We ate it raw with the blood still in it. After a while my father came, and he saw that there were only seven chicks instead of eight. He saw the feathers too. So he asked, "Who killed the chicken?" I said Lanmau had. My father asked Lanmau and he said I had killed it. My father got a club to hit us, so I ran away, saying I had killed it. Then my father said I couldn't stay there, but that I was to come back for the present and that evening he would take us to the village where my mother was staying. So that evening my father carried Lanmau, and I walked, to the village. We couldn't stay in the garden any more.

The next day Fanmale called and said they were hunting rats in their house, and when they shot some we were to come and eat. My uncle [Senmani, a little older] shot five small mice and called to us to come. We went, Fanmale, I, and Lanmau. Senmani said, "Yesterday you ate raw chicken. Now I have to give you roasted meat. Your mother told me that yesterday you ate raw chicken." I said, "Mother lied. Mother lied."

I didn't wear a loincloth yet. In those days there wasn't much cloth here. My mother and father bought a branch of a tapa-cloth tree from my great-uncle for one arrow. This mother made into a loincloth for me. My brother Lanmau wasn't big enough yet to wear one.

December 3, 1938

[Mangma had difficulty beginning, so I reminded him that he had stopped the day before after telling of his first loincloth.]

We went hunting. Others got seven to ten rats, but I didn't get any. Finally one ran and I shot it in the rear. I put it in my basket. Later I x 159 got another. But I shot two only. I was still small and had borrowed the bow. The others had many.

The next day about twenty of us went out again. I got the first one that day, but it was the only one I did get. The others didn't get many either, but we saw a green snake and shot it. The adults frightened the children with it. *Manefani* said we had better return to the village. [Question.] Neither father nor my older brother was along, but *Manefani* was in my Male House II and I called him father. We used our rats for the Kuya feast, and after that we didn't hunt any more.

When I was about fifteen, I built a house. It was just a small one that I had to crawl into. I had a small fireplace and slept there at night. One night someone struck the door. I thought it was an enemy and cried and cried. Then I saw it was just Maugata, who was trying to frighten me. I ran and slept with mother and father. Their house was only about a hundred and fifty yards away. The next morning I broke down my small house and burned it. Where the house had been I planted sweet potatoes. Many grew there. I went to dig and roast them whenever I was hungry. I planted sun corn there and between it the slower growing rain corn. Sweet potatoes too were plentiful. When I cut the sun corn, the rain corn was already in blossom. Then the rain corn ripened.

After a time I left this garden and went to Maletai. I was building a house there. One day while my wife was down in the ravine, I came back and saw that our house had burned down. I built another house there. At this time the people of Mainang were at war. Their enemies, the Kafoi people, came looking for people to kill. They found no one in the gardens, so they burned our house, thinking it belonged to the enemy. After that I said there was no use making houses any more since
[342] people just burned them, and we had better go sleep in a rock shelter.
So we lived there in a rock shelter for two years. We kept pigs there.
x 159 Fanalurka was building a lineage house. He came and shot my pig. My
823 wife, Fungalani, saw it and called me. I was very angry. I said, "My wife
685 is alone here and you come kill my pig. Maybe you want to sleep with
my wife also?" I went to the mandur of File and he gave me a pig. Then the mandur came to litigate against Fanalurka, to make him pay for the pig I had got from him. [This is an attempt to combine the older kalukek system with the new litigation system. Mangma and the mandur both thought they could get a higher price from the killer of the pig in this way.] But when we went to the chief of Karieta, he said he knew nothing about this and that it was my fault. I had to return the pig to the mandur and pay a fine of one rupiah and one small pig. Then

Fanalurka paid me half a Fehawa moko worth five rupiahs for the pig 159x
he had shot. When Fanalurka came and shot my pig we fought, but the 423
old people stopped us, saying it was better to roast the pig first and that 685
Fanalurka would pay me later.

After that I didn't want to raise pigs any more. I didn't stay at Maletai any longer but returned to Kafukhieni [where his family lived]. While we were at Kafukhieni we cultivated a garden up above the site of Old Karieta. We went every day to the garden. [This was a long distance.] 159x

Then I built a house below Fungmia. I planted a great deal that year. Then a disease came [influenza epidemic, 1918]. Everyone was sick. I lived there alone. Fungalani [his wife] was staying in Lawatika with her family. Her father was sick and died. She was sick too. When I was sick I went to stay with my family at Kafukhieni. I sent my older brother with a pig and fifty cents to my father-in-law's burial. This disease was after the radjah was killed. In the summer they killed the radjah, and when the rains started, this disease began too.

[Question.] It was two or three years later that mother and father died. My wife hadn't yet given birth. She did not have children until after my father and older brother died. Fuimau [younger sister] was still small when our parents died. Lanmau and Matingma [younger brother and sister] were adolescent at the time. Tilamau [another sister] died before mother and father did.

When we gathered the crop in the year of the disease, my wife came to help me. There were a hundred bundles of corn. We stored it at Padalehi. When the rains came the troops arrived and made us move down to the floor of the valley. So all of us moved down [1919]. We had been down there two years when father and Malelaka died. Mother died two years later. Everyone died there. Then I went to the coast and Fungalani went to her family in Lawatika. I have already talked of this.

December 5, 1938

In Karieta when we were small we pounded up red earth [pretending it was red corn]. Then we smeared it on our bodies. Our parents said, "Go wash before you eat. You are like dogs and pigs. Go wash your hands before you come up to eat with us."

Momau, my paternal uncle, married Kolang. I went to live with them in Alurkowati. One day Momau went to Paiyope. I followed him. When we reached the Limbur River, I stood on the bank crying; so he turned back in midstream, picked me up in his arms, and carried me across. On the other bank I walked by myself. When we got to Paiyope x 159 I was hungry. Lankokda asked who I was. Momau said I was the son of Manimale. Lankokda said, "Oh, that is my grandchild; I must feed him." So he gave me a coconut. We came back, and Momau again picked me up and carried me across the stream.

x 159 155 [Why did you live so much with others?] My uncle asked me to come and take care of his little boy. [Repeated question.] My father was always hitting me whenever anything disappeared or happened. [Question.] He also hit my brother Malelaka, but Malelaka stayed at home. Whenever my parents hit me my uncles would feel sorry for me and would come and ask me to stay with them. I never stayed long in one place; first one person would ask me to come and then another.
x 159 After I had been a short time with Momau, he built a house at Fuimelang, and we went there to live. Momau and Kolang [his wife] had a fight. Momau said, "Don't quarrel, or our child will surely run away." But Kolang said, "The child doesn't enter into this. The quarrel is between us." Momau used to take me hunting for rats, and we ate them together. For a year we were always together. One day my uncle Langmani shot rats and ordered me to fetch sweet potatoes. He said I should sleep with him in Dikimpe. So I went to Langmani. I ran errands for him. I harvested his corn, dug tubers, fetched wood, and carried water for him. We hunted rats together. Everything he asked I did for him. One day we were hunting rats in a stone wall. My hands were cupped over the runway and Langmani was prodding in it. One large rat ran right into my hands. That night when we went to the house Langmani told how I had caught a big rat. [Question.] In the house was Alurkoma and his two wives and three children, four counting me. Langmani was older than I. He was about fifteen then. I was about ten or twelve.

[Question.] When I went to stay with Langmani, Momau called for me. He asked where I was because I had not come back that evening. Then Langmani answered that we had hunted rats, and it was dark, and I had better stay there that night. [Question.] Momau was sorry for me. He was not angry because I went to stay with Langmani. Langmani was his family too. If I had stayed with other people he would have been angry, but I was staying with his mother and father. When Momau called I wanted to go, but Alurkoma and Langmani said I had better stay with them because it was already dark.

Then I went to live with Padakalieta. He gave me tibah [a sort of
[262] grain, eaten raw] and we hunted rats together. I followed him. When I wanted to go back to Langmani, he said, "No, stay where you have

many brothers and sisters." Mornings I would eat with Langmani and 159x
evenings I ate with Padakalieta and slept there. The houses were side 855
by side. I stayed a year. I planted rice and tibah myself and they ate them. Then I began remembering my father and mother and returned to Karieta. [Question.] My brother Malelaka had been there with my parents all the time. I stayed to cut weeds, and after the planting, when the young weeds came, I pulled them out. Then my grandfather Mangma in Dikimpe called me to help weed, and I went back there again. This was the time that Alurkowati, Dikimpe, and Karieta were at war with Kewai and Lakawati. Ruataug, where my mother and father were staying, was nearer the enemy, and my grandfather called me down so I would be farther away from them.

[Question.] Malelaka, my older brother, was about four years older than I. After I was born my father didn't wait long to sleep with mother again. My father slept with my mother when I first began to laugh. My mother was angry with my father. She took my feces and threw them at my father, saying, "You sleep with me again when I have a child who has only just laughed." [Question.] My mother told me about this afterward. [Does he remember birth of next sibling, Lanmau?] No. [What is his first memory of him?] When I first remember seeing Lanmau, he laughed at me. My mother told me to get leaves to clean up his feces. Maybe he was six months old then. I was at home at that time, when my brother was born, but I don't remember anything before I was sent to get leaves for his feces. I could already walk a little. The leaves were near the house. They were not far.

December 6, 1938

I was young and went to a dance. I was versifying and so was Senmani of Alurkowati. We were singing simultaneously. I finished first and wanted to start the chorus, but people didn't want to. They waited for Senmani to finish his verse. I was angry and wanted to fight Senmani. Six men drew their swords and came to Senmani's help. There were seven against me. I was wounded. [He showed a small scar on his little finger.] I wanted to shoot Senmani. Then Fanlaka of Karieta versified. He said, "Kewai-Lakawati, Hatoberka-Rualkameng, Kafakberka-Fefui, Fevi-Fungatau are all brother villages. So are Dikimpe and Karieta, Alurkowati and Karieta." [Fanlaka was trying to remind Mangma that 578
his enemy Senmani belonged to a brother village, and that he shouldn't 619
attack him.] Then Senmani versified, "If faces were strange, if eyes were strange, I should not have come. But this is a *Maughieta* [lineage name] and *Mothieta* [lineage name] dance. The old men of Senhieta

159 and Lakahieta are afraid of my bow. But I don't listen to this. I help Maughieta and Mothieta dance. I am not afraid of them. They are my family." [Since Mangma was a Maughieta, he construed this verse of Senmani's as an apology.] My older brother, Malelaka, then versified, "You talk well. You two quarreled a little, but you have come to help us dance. We may marry your people and you may marry our people. So don't quarrel." So my heart came down, and I didn't shoot Senmani. I only told the men who surrounded me—seven of them—to come to my village, and I would have an answer for them. [The fact that men of his own village came to the help of a man from another village and lineage was explained by the fact that they had marriage ties with Senmani. It may also be that Mangma was obviously in the wrong and people were bent on stopping him.] My older brother and relatives didn't help me. My older brother just raised his sword once and stopped. At that time I didn't know how to fight with a sword.

Another time there was a dance in Karieta. Fanmale told his wife, Maliema, to go up in the house and sleep while he went to the dance. Maliema didn't want to stay home; she went to the dance anyhow. Fanmale hit her. A lot of her kin came to help her, and I with two others helped Fanmale. We fought with clubs. Maugpada drew his sword to strike Fanmale, and I hit him on the forearm with my club. It almost broke his bracelets. He dropped his sword. Then Fanalurka wanted to hit me with his sword, but I struck his upper arm too, and he dropped his sword. Our women all came and threw their arms around us to make us stop. The women from the other side also tried to stop their men. Then we stopped fighting. Women kept yelling to stop. Fanmale said he wanted to divorce his wife. They reckoned wealth but her family didn't pay. The two lived apart for a couple of months, and then she went back to him. [Question.] Fanmale didn't want her to go to the dance because he had slept with her uncle's wife. He was afraid her uncle [in revenge] would sleep with her, even though she was his niece. When she went to the dance she put her arm around her uncle and danced with him.

Once there was a dance in Karieta on the dance place of Manialurka. Lupalaka of Alurkowati versified. He was saying he was lucky to have come. Before he finished, Malepada began stamping [to set the faster step of the chorus]. Manialurka, the host, was angry, and said, "Is your penis erect, that you do this?" Malepada was angry and drew his sword and fenced with Manialurka. Many people helped Manialurka. Three of us fought the others. The others stopped us with words. The chief of Karieta wanted to litigate. I said if he litigated the quarrel we would fight through until dawn. So he didn't. My comb fell out and I couldn't 159x find it. I was angry because my comb had disappeared. I said if I didn't find my comb I would fight right through until dawn. Then Fanmating came and said, "Here is your comb. I was saving it for you." [The implication is that he had tried to steal it.] Then Maugpada told the young men to go on dancing, to be quiet, and not to fight any more.

December 7, 1938

I want to talk of the time I lived in Awasi. There were two women and a man. The one woman gave birth to a witch and the other to a normal person. [Informant had just been telling a witch story to another person. I stopped this narration and asked him to talk about himself.]

When I went to Awasi I had a friend, Lanmai, there. Thirty of us went to the vicinity to hunt deer and pigs; we stayed there twelve days. [224] We shot a six-prong deer. All in all there were a hundred and eighty deer killed that time. [Highly improbable.] Every night we roasted meat and ate. [He goes on about the magnitude of the hunt, about having to go all the way down to the Limbur River for water, and having to go back to the village for supplies on the fifth day.]

[I asked if he had family in Awasi.] Yes, I have Female House kin there. [Question.] I was old enough to use a bow when I went there, about twenty. [Why did he go?] I met Lanmai at the trading place in Lakfui. I had had bad luck with rice here. When Lanmai asked me to trade with him, I went. Lanmai said, "Next time bring me just pandanus leaves, and my mother will make the raincapes herself." The next market day I took him pandanus leaves. He said not to go back just yet but to go to Awasi with him and pick kanari nuts. There Lanmai said, "I [222] grew fifteen cans of rice here. Now you plant this field too. You can't go back. In good years we have lots of rice. Even rat years we get a little. Use the garden for rice." I went there in December. Corn was already growing, but we planted rice even though it was late. [Was he already married?] No. [Lanmai married?] Yes. [Still friends with Lanmai?] I still go there. I have three coconut and five areca trees there. [245] There were six but one fell. I have already returned six times to Awasi for coconuts. When I was living there a coconut fell from a tree. I wanted to eat it, but an old man, Maikalieta, said, "Do not eat it but plant it. I am only a man and will die, but the coconut will be a tree. You will remember it and come back to it after I am dead. You will always remember a tree." [He continues with accounts of his crops there.]

[Why did he leave Awasi?] Because I had a garden here too, and I x159 was always traveling back and forth between two places. [Did he search for a wife there?] I wanted to marry there but didn't. A woman spoke to me, but I didn't want to marry her. It would have meant staying there, and water was far away. Also there are large forests there and not many weeds. Here there are many weeds. I was afraid a wife from Awasi would not want to come and work in the gardens here. [He returns to details about crops.] At that time I was a seer. I cured a sick person and was given a chicken and some rice. I used them to make a sacrifice to the dead owners of the field. At first Lanmai and I shared a field, but I didn't get any of the beans, so I didn't want to cooperate with him any more. Then Lakamai called me to share a garden. Lakamai and I were Lanmai's "fathers." Twenty of us worked together to [476 244] plant beans that year, and we gave a dance one night.

[He told of the versifying in Awasi about the garden—how they spoke of marrying the garden. Pause, which was rare in this informant. He again quoted some verses sung in Awasi—how the rice had rooted in six days, how one laughed to see it, and how all one's carrying baskets would be used up when one picked the crop. Then he went on to say that they worked a little every day to weed the beans. He discussed garden magic at length. He told how successful the harvest was. After a time I stopped him and asked about his quarrels in Awasi. He smiled at the memory and went on from there.]

Lifunmai was my elder brother [classificatory]. His child died. His father-in-law was very angry. He said the child died because its mother and father didn't take good care of it. He came to the village with his weapons and wanted to kill these two. I put on my weapons to fight him, but Awonmai [an older kinsman] also put on his weapons and told me to stand in back of him and he would meet the enraged father-in-law. However, before blows were exchanged people seized the two contestants, and finally the father-in-law was paid a big pig. Then we heard that the man had gone to the garden and was destroying it. I rushed out with my weapons, but the old man had already run away. He had not hurt the garden.

[I asked if he had dreamed last night and got the three following stories in the order of dreaming.]

I dreamed I went to Senlani's garden [a Lawatika man, also of the Maughieta lineage, so *ipso facto* a relative] and took some of his young corn. Senlani said I could not have it, so I hid it in my shawl and in my [252] basket. I saw a tree house and thought I would go there to roast and eat the corn. Senlani shouted, "Someone has taken my corn." I looked at the corn, and rats had eaten the lower kernels. Senlani told me to leave, so I ran back to my village. Then I woke up and it was only a dream.

I went back to sleep and saw a dark man speak to another man; I don't know whom. The dark man called to the other one, "You are hunting rats, but your penis is swinging back and forth." In my dream I laughed until dawn because I heard this remark.

[The third dream needs this preamble of fact. The mandur of Karieta died, leaving two wives, Tilapada and Maliema. Tilapada had married a kinsman of her dead husband. The other widow also wanted to marry him, but he did not want her. Instead he suggested that Mangma take her, but Mangma also rejected her.] In this dream the dead mandur came to me and said, "You two are brushing away that woman."

December 8, 1938

I dreamed that I went to fetch posts in order to build a house at Lawatika. The chief at Lawatika said, "I want to build a house there. Go home." So I said, "When you have built a house I shall come down here to Lawatika and live with you." My wife said, "Yes, we shall live with you. But use only two of these posts and cut two others. We shall use the remaining two and cut two more. Then we too shall build a house here." [Mangma laughed heartily and said] I spoke badly in my dream. When I said I should come down and live with him, it was like saying I should die. [Why he felt this I could not learn, except that the dead are supposed to go down to an underworld village and Lawatika lies below Karieta.]

Then I slept again and dreamed that Manimale came to me and laid his two hands on my shoulder and said, "Kawaimau is dead in a place near File; we must carry her body here." [Kawaimau was the adolescent daughter of Manimale's brother.] When they carried in the body, it was not Kawaimau but Maugpada [an older man of Karieta who was killed twenty years ago]. The women of Karieta all wept and the gongs were beaten. I didn't see Maugpada, but I just heard the weeping and gongs. I didn't see them bury him. Then I woke up. [Mangma went on to relate that Maugpada was killed by native troops for harboring people from the enemy village during the war over the murder of the radjah. Boiling water was poured on his head. As he tried to escape, soldiers surrounded him and stuck swords in him. In the dream Manimale, uncle of Kawaimau, was still young and strong. Actually Manimale now is a shrunken old man.]

x159 Once Senmale, Srnalurka, Maliseni, and a lot of other young men were hunting rats near my brother's and my garden. I said, "Don't come here and beat down our beans." We quarreled and Lupalaka picked up a stone and threw it. It hit Malelaka [*Mangma's* older brother] in the stomach. Malelaka cried. Senmale shouted to us, "If you are brave, come down and have a stone-throwing fight with us." Finally these boys from Alurkowati ran toward us. Maugkari, who was helping us, caught his leg in a stone wall and fell. Senmale hit him over the head with a stick and drew blood. Maugkari didn't cry; he just went up to Lemia to wash his wound. Maugkari said, "When you come to my village [Karieta] to dance, I shall avenge myself. I shan't forget. I shall take this stick and save it in my house." There were two dances at other villages which we all attended, but Maugkari didn't do anything. Then there was a dance at Karieta. Still Maugkari didn't do anything until the middle of the night. Then he stood back of the dance circle, and as Senmale passed in front of him he brought the stick down on Senmale's head. It sounded as though he had hit a coconut. Then Maugkari ran and hid halfway between Karieta and Lawatika. Maugkari's family fought with the people from Alurkowati who were at the dance. Four were fighting on Maugkari's side. On the side of Senmale four men from Alurkowati and five from Karieta fought. [He named all the contestants.] An old man of Karieta stepped in between the two groups that were fighting with clubs; he drew his sword and hit first toward one side and then toward the other, telling them they must stop. [Question.] I and Malelaka [his older brother] just stood by and watched. We were still small at the time. Then the dance broke up. On their way home Alurkowati people heard some people talking and thought they were from Karieta, so they drew their bows and shot, but they aimed over their heads and didn't hit anyone. From that time on Senmale and Maugkari were enemies. They never were friends again.

Later when there was a dance at Alurkowati, Maliseni brought his weapons, saying they had better avenge Senmale but to wait until dawn so they could dance the whole night through. At dawn Maliseni went to Fanmale of Karieta and stuck an arrow into him. He said he was sticking it into Fanmale because he was so strong and brave. Then they drew their swords and fought. There was a general brawl. Four people from Alurkowati joined the Karieta group because they were relatives. There were twenty fighters from Karieta and eleven from Alurkowati. Four women took clubs and fought too, just like men. Then Manimale fell and his paternal uncle shouted that he had been killed. Everyone from Karieta ran back toward his village. One old man from Karieta 159x stood on a rock and shouted that they should not run away. "We are men and we don't run away when we fight; we just stay and fight through. Don't run. Stand here." So the men of Karieta gathered around the rock on which the old man stood and waited, but the people of Alurkowati did not follow them. Padalang had been lying. Manimale was not dead. He just fell over and lay there, even though he hadn't been hit. His uncle yelled that he was dead, but he was not.

December 12, 1938

Two days ago I dreamed there were many women in the village and they threw stones at me. Then they came to talk to me. They said, "We didn't throw these stones. Here, take this stick and make two holes in one end and smooth it down. You will see a design in it." I saw this stick. It was near the women. I don't know where it came from.

When I was still young, maybe fifteen years old, six men and six [476] women cut weeds together. The men and women quarreled. In the evenings after the older women went to fetch wood, the younger people used peastalk clubs with which to fight. Women pulled the men's legs and the men pulled the women's. Our bodies were sore. The men said, "Another time we shall continue." I was one of the men fighting. Another time there were about forty men and women working together in three fields. Toward evening the men said it was time to continue the fight, but the women ran off to fetch water. We just wanted to continue the earlier fight. [Cause of earlier fight?] The first time we fought it was because the men and women worked separately. The field was divided between them. The men raced the women in clearing weeds and beat them. Then the men said, "Maybe by and by you will eat rice baskets." [This was an obscure reference to the shape of the area that still remained to be weeded.] The women were angry with the men for making them ashamed, so they fought. After this quarrel the men said, "We mustn't work separately any more. We have to work together, men and women, so that we shan't quarrel."

Once forty of us were working together. In one day twenty of us [476] cleared Malemani's field and twenty of us cleared Tilemau's. That night five young men fought with five young women. We pulled each other's legs; we piled wood on each other's heads. A rat started running, and as two of us ran after it Manimale was bumped into by another boy and was knocked over. Manimale's sister was angry and began fighting. After this fight we said, "It is better that men and women work separately." [476] Manimale's sister was angry because as he fell he knocked a pea-

159 stalk against her face and it hurt her. She piled dirt and weeds on his head as he lay there after falling. I joined the fight too. [Why?] I got hit by a peastalk and was hurt. [Why did the fight become general in the first place?] When Manimale had dirt piled on his head, he said to us men, "Those women say they are strong; let's fight with them." So then we all joined in. We were all young married people. After that we decided to work separately. There were seventeen young men in the work group and about ten girls. [Here he drifted into an account of garden work. The informant had a marked preoccupation with gardens. After acting as informant in the morning, he went right off to his fields and weeded steadily, paying no attention to an important feast that was in progress some three hundred yards away, where most of the men of the community had gathered. Since Mangma had been dwelling almost exclusively on quarrels for some time, I asked him to tell about times when he was happy with people.]

When we were not fighting we always played together. I said I was going to marry Fungamani of Alurkowati. Another time I said I was going to marry a girl from Maneng. But these two women married other men. So I said, "Oh, we were just joking." Later my friend Manimale saw Fungamani of Vikika and said she was pretty and he would marry her. I saw Lonmau of Afengberka and said I would marry her. But they married other men, so we said, "Oh, we were just joking. They have married other men, so we shall marry other women. If we see a young, pretty woman elsewhere, we shall have to play with her just to make our hearts happy." I said, "There is a woman, Kolmani, in Rualwati. I am going to marry her." So we played with her. Then I ordered Padata the Leper to speak [as go-between] to her and her brother. Then her brother Mopada came to me with areca. There were six nuts. I thought that meant there must be six gongs and mokos for a bride-price. If they all had to be paid at once, I was not brave enough to marry her. Then Mopada said, "I hear you have a Fehawa moko. Let us look at it." So I took Mopada to the field where it was buried, dug it up, and showed it to him. He said, "Let us go." As we were leaving, Alurkaseni called me back and said, "I saw you go there with Manifani." It wasn't Manifani, it was Mopada, but I let him think it was Manifani. He said that he also had a wife for me. I went on with Mopada to our house. I gave Padata, the go-between, one areca nut, and five I gave to my father. Father said, "Is this a sign? If you give the Fehawa moko I don't want to help you. But if you give some other moko I shall add a Maningmauk." [At this point it developed that the

Fehawa belonged to Mangma's father. His own mokos were a Hawataka and a Kolmale. Mangma hoped his father would use the Fehawa as the initial payment.] I said I wanted to use the Fehawa, so my father gave back the areca nuts. Then Mopada and I went to Rualwati. We gave areca to the girl's grandfather, and then we went up into the house where the girl and her mother were. Her mother came up to me and put her arms around me, saying I was just like Senma, the girl's first husband. The mother said she could give me a wife. The girl laughed too. The mother then offered me, not Kolmani, but her older sister. So I said, "All right, they are both women." So the older sister said, "Let us go down." But she was talking with her mouth and not with her heart. She ran away to another house, so we didn't sleep together. She probably didn't want to marry me. Her mother was cooking and saw that I didn't eat takoij beans, so she cooked luong beans for me instead. I took a small spoon but her mother said, "Here is a large spoon. This small spoon won't fill your mouth." Then the girl's father said, "In three days bring a chicken and a loincloth." In three days I returned with them and with a necklace too. On the way home I gave the brother, Mopada, a bow and arrows. When we came to the ravine I said, "You'd better take these. Perhaps a spate will wash me away." When I got home I told father what had happened, and he said, "It is the same whether women are old or young." When I went back the mother of the girl was sick. I stayed to help watch her. The father of the girl told her to take water up to her mother, but she said, "There is someone up there, and I don't want to go up." Her father said, "Don't talk like that. You must be sought after or you will be poor." He said to me, "I have another woman for you if this one does not want to marry. She will never be rich; she will be poor." After that I went home. Later I heard that her mother had died, so I didn't go back for a while. Meanwhile the father of Fungalani [his present wife] said he had a woman for me. He sent Fungalani to me. Meanwhile the father of the girls in Rualwati sent a man down to me to say that the younger sister, Kolmani, would come to me since I had two mokos. But I said, "Those women were afraid of me." I told the man that their father could keep the presents I had given. I said I already had a wife in my house. [Question.] The father of the girls was not angry, because my wife, Fungalani, was also a distant female relative of his.

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[262]

December 14, 1938

Last night I dreamed that my sister Fuimau [who was living with him at the time] was making a fire in her garden. I asked her what she

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x159 was doing, and she said she was just burning weeds. Then I went back
787 to the village.

Night before last I dreamed I went to Manimau's garden to hunt rats. No one had yet dug there for them and the runways were fine. I hunted along the runways for burrows and dug them out. Then Manimau came and said, "Why do you come here spoiling my garden and digging it up? You can't do that." So I said, "I didn't do it. Someone else was here and dug these holes." I lied to him. Then I woke up. [Informant laughed.]

[What is the meaning of Fuimau's fire?] It means that if I go all the
[753] time to the fields to work I will get a headache. That was a sickness dream. [It is true that he is one of the most indefatigable gardeners among the older men.]

[753] [Rat-runs?] That means that if I had shot those rats, I should have had a stomach-ache.

x159 I dreamed also that Malikalieta said Fungata was to come and live in Alurkowati. [Malikalieta's son had recently paid the token or engagement price on Fungata, but no bride-price had been paid yet.] Manikari, her brother, said that she could not go to Alurkowati because the bride-price had not yet been paid. Fungata went to Alurkowati but came right back.

[At this point I had to break off because death wailing began next door and conversation was impossible. In this last episode Mangma was probably using a dream form to tell a bit of current gossip.]

December 16, 1938

[On the preceding day Mangma went to Awasi.]

Day before yesterday I dreamed that my grandmother, Tilamale, planted squash inside of a fence. Then I secretly entered the fenced-off place. The squash were all ripe. One was as big as my thigh. I took it and ran, but Lonali [his mother's younger sister] yelled that I had stolen a squash. Then I woke up. [I had the only fenced garden in the Five Villages at that time. Later in the hour Mangma said that Lonali was the person who prevented his staying to sleep with a Lakawati woman on one occasion.]

[787 This means that I shall have a sick stomach. That is what it means
763] when I dream of a squash. [Meaning of thieving?] If we take something from dead people and they are not angry with us, that is a sign that we will get sick and die. But if they are angry with us and chase us away, it is a sign that even if we get sick we won't die. We die if people are fond of us.

Now I want to talk about Fuimakani of Awasi, the woman I almost 159
married. When I was staying in Awasi as a young man, she came to me and said, "My husband does not give me any of the good things he gets; he does not take care of me. If he digs up a tuber, he goes up in his tree house to eat it and gives me nothing. I don't want to be married to him any more. Let us run away to your village." At that time there were six of my kin and five others, eleven in all, harvesting rice together. This woman wore anklets, so we could always hear her coming. She came during the day, looked at me, and smiled. In the evening she came again and smiled at me. She said I had better stop work and return with her to the village now. In the morning she came again and smiled at me. My kin all mentioned this and said that she wanted me. I thought too that she wanted me. We went to sit under her house and she brought me areca and betel. As she gave them to me she said, "You and your kin eat this." Then she cooked rice and gave it to me and my kin. I ordered Lanmau to take back the serving basket but he wouldn't. No one would take back the basket, so I took it back myself. She said, "Tomorrow you cannot leave. In two days we shall leave together to go to your village." That night my father had dreamed and he said to me, "Last night I dreamed you had a shaved head. This means that if you stay here you will die. Today we must return or you will die." The woman didn't want us to go. We started to go, and her family came and gave us areca and said, "You cannot go until tomorrow." But my father said we had to return right away. So the woman stayed behind. I liked her and she liked me, but because of the dream we had to go back. When I reached my village I was sick anyhow.

The night before I left I was threshing rice, and the woman came to me and asked me not to return. I said I had to leave the next day. She said, "You had better go day after tomorrow. Tomorrow we shall hunt rice and then we can leave together the day after tomorrow. I can't go now because I must wait for the rice and moko my father will give me for my dowry. My father has gone to get areca and betel. I must wait for him to return and fill my basket."

I came back here to Atimelang and in seven days I returned to Awasi. Someone must have told her husband, because the man and woman had fought and exchanged blows. She was sick and was staying in her house sleeping, so I didn't go up to see her. I just came back home. Now this woman is dead. Before she was pregnant, my wife and I used to go to trade at Ayakingliking, where she would come with her husband. We used to go off and sit together. Every market day she [831]
would give me presents of kanari nuts. She used to say to me, "Oh, my

X157 husband has thick swollen lips and he is very black. I don't want to be married to him." [Mangma was thin-lipped and light in color.] After she was pregnant, she didn't give me anything any more.

I was back here for maybe five years before I married. After I came back here, that woman from Awasi would run to her mother's and father's house whenever her husband wanted to sleep with her. If her husband was along when we met to trade, she would look at me sideways out of her eyes and show me where we should meet. Then we would slip off and sit together. She would have kanari nuts hidden for me in the bottom section of her areca basket. [Question.] My wife didn't know. I never told her. If she had known we should have fought.

Later when my wife was with me at the market place, I called my wife and gave her the present this woman had given me. Then this woman knew I now had a wife, and she thought it better not to give me anything any more. Her husband was as black as Malelaka.

X159 584 After I had come back from Awasi, I went to gather betel from a vine that grew on a big tree near Lawatika. As I was getting it, Fungalani, a tall woman from Lawatika [not his wife, who was also named Fungalani], called to me and said to bring her the betel basket. I said I had to get back to my village, but she said, "No, come to me first." So I went, and she took all the areca she had in the bottom of her basket, a lot of it, and gave it to me. I asked why she gave it to me. She answered that they had much areca. So I said, "Let us chew if there is [276] lime." She said there was a lot of it, so we chewed together. When we finished chewing she said, "Alurkowani has four mokos, and he has sent word that he wants to marry me, but I do not want to." I said, "You had better marry him. He is a good man and he has four mokos. That is lucky." She said, "If I marry that man, where will you run? I had better marry you." I said, "Oh, you are older than I. Your father is a great-uncle of mine. You are my mother." But she said, "Oh, it is bad to follow one penis and vagina [i.e., for brothers and sisters to marry], but when parents are siblings, that is good [not true ethnologically]. We must marry. It may not be otherwise. I don't want to go to a distant village." I said, "You had better go and get wood and save it here. [When a women fetches wood, it is a sign of her willingness to marry a man.] I have only one moko. But you had better bring wood to my house." She said, "Yes, but first we must finish harvesting the corn." That night I was slow to sleep with her, and she said to me, "Are you afraid of my high ladder and large door [i.e., of the wealth represented by the lineage house in which she lived]?" I said, "Oh, I have a tall ladder too, and I go up and down it in two steps." That woman was 159x long in harvesting corn and didn't come. She said that evening, "We 584 have talked until nightfall. We had better sleep together and be happy together before you return." But my mother sent her younger sister, my aunt Lonali, to fetch me. My mother knew where I was, and she said, "Those people from Lawatika are such that if you sleep one night with [136] their girls they arrive with an expensive dowry consisting of a valuable moko [i.e., force a marriage with a high bride-price]." When I married my wife, Fungalani, the other Fungalani heard about it and said she had spoken first to me and that she too was coming to my house. But I said, "That is all right too, but you spoke to me first. If I had spoken to you first, it would have been all right. If you wish to come that is satisfactory, but I have only two mokos. Your bride-price will be only a Kolmale [worth 13 rupiahs]. Fungalani's bride-price will be the Hawataka [worth 20 rupiahs]." She didn't come.

December 17, 1938

Last night I dreamed twice. People had cut some papayas in the field of 159x Fuipeni [wife of the chief of Alurkowati] and in Lanmau's field [Mangma's dead younger brother]. They had cut off the whole crown and just the trunk was left. The fruit had fallen around the base of the trees. We felt them and only two were ripe. Matingkalieta [Mangma's aunt], Lonfani [her daughter], and Padata of Hatoberka ate the papayas with me. There were only two ripe ones. The others lay there on the ground. The rain came and a large spate descended. We ran, but my younger brother, Lanmau, was washed away. We went to look for him. He came back and joined us, but he was a dead person and said nothing. The spate had split into two branches; one had cut through the field of the mandur of Dikimpe and one had cut through my garden. It had dried up. We followed its course down to the foot of the slope. There was a bubbling spring there. We went back up the slope a short way and then I woke up.

[Meaning of the cut papaya tree?] I don't know what that means 159x but I think of a human head cut off. Eating and peeling ripe papayas 787 means I will get a rash. [Spate?] That means a big rain will fall, a very big one, and there will be many spates but they will stop soon. The spring at the foot of the hill means that if I wash my hands in it I will get many gongs. [Split spate bad?] When the big rains come, they will come from two directions, and it will dry in the middle. [Afraid of spate?] I was very afraid when the spate carried off Lanmau, because I was afraid it would carry us off too. I was afraid for myself.

x159 787 In another dream I went to cut weeds. Mailang [a Lobe man] brought four new pieces of cloth and gave them to me, saying, "Later you can give me five cents for these." [This was a ludicrously low price.] This means that the weeds will be very thick in my garden. I dreamed this because yesterday I was weeding. If the cloth had been for shrouds, the dream would have meant that my rice would die. Now I will have a good crop, because heavy weeds mean the rice too is growing profusely. If the weeds grow fast I shall pull them out.

x159 582 [What do you want to talk about?] I want to talk about a woman I almost married. I was still a young man when my father gave Berkalani a Tamamia moko. My father and I went together to dun for its payment. They wanted to give me a woman instead. I said, "Oh, it is my father's moko. I am here only to help him dun." In two or three days the uncle of a woman came to talk to me, saying, "If Berkalani gives you a moko, leave it here as a bride-price." This girl's family was being dunned for a moko by other people, so they wanted to make a deal. But I said, "This does not belong to me. I shall have to take it back to my father." My father had already left, and I stayed on to get the moko. In two or three more days the uncle came to me again and said the girl was very fond of me and did not want any other man. He said I had better leave the moko and go back with the woman. In another two or three days the same thing happened. [He was relating this with much relish.] The girl's uncle gave a dance for his corn harvest. That night the woman came to me and without saying anything put six areca nuts in my basket. In the morning the woman said to me, "I have sent my elders to ask you and now I come myself." She spoke to me in my dialect, and I spoke to her in hers. We joked together in this way. I talked so much with her my mouth was tired. I was sitting on my host's verandah resting, when I heard the woman say to her mother, "Mother, I have talked to this man; he does not want to marry me." After that her family got a Kolmale moko from Ruakmelang, and she married there. She is still there.

x159 [When did you first sleep with a woman?] I first slept with a girl from Karieta. We hid ourselves in the fields. Then I made a house for her and she lived there with her mother and father. They started raising chickens and pigs there. I slept there too. Then Fanalurka came and spoke crookedly to that woman, saying she should marry him. He talked crookedly to me, saying the woman wanted to marry someone else. So I went to sleep in another house. She sent word to me, saying, "Perhaps we don't cook good food in this house?" So I went back to

sleep there. After we had been living together for some time, I put a 159
Fehawa moko in the loft [as a bride-price]. When we slept under it that night, the woman heard the moko make a noise and she said, "Ts!" [an implosive whose meaning was that she was not willing to continue the relationship]. We had lived together for two years. When we changed our minds, Manialurka said I should get back my property; so I went and took away the moko.

[This first sex experience, about which he had been reticent to date, was before he asked for the Rualwati girl, but after he had returned from Awati; it was also before he was approached by Fungalani of Lakawati.]

I litigated against this woman. I gave the radjah and the kapitan eight chickens to eat. They threatened the woman with jail. She cried, so they let her go. The other man, Fanalurka, was afraid and would not go down to the coast to litigate. She married Fanalurka afterward. She cried and promised to pay when she got back to the village. [Here the hour was over but Mangma could not be stopped.] Kapitan Jacob helped the girl. He was still in school at Kalabahi. Two school children
from Aila helped me. [Only school children had learned Malay and [648
could serve as interpreters between natives and government officials.] 157]
Jacob wanted to punish me because I had already slept with her. The two Aila boys said it was true that I had slept with her, but I had given a moko, built a house for her and her parents to live in, and started raising pigs and chickens there; so we were husband and wife. They said, "If he has already slept with her many times, then she is his wife." Jacob wanted to have me beaten. He still said I was wrong. One white gentleman there was angry with Jacob for this and boxed his ears. Then he said the woman should marry a coast man, and the coast man would pay me back the moko. The woman cried. She said she wanted to go back to her village and that she would pay when she got there. The official said, "There is a small market to be held here in three days. You must go through the water ordeal at that time to see who is right."
[This is improbable, since the government tried to eradicate ordeals as [649]
a system of judgment.] Then Jacob's father came to ask what was wrong. Jacob said there was trouble over a woman. All the coast people sided with me. Jacob's father said, "If we stay and the girl is wrong, we shall have to repudiate her, so go tell her and her parents to run away." She and her parents did run away. The next morning people said they had left to fetch food. The water ordeal wasn't held. When the woman returned to Atimelang, she shouted as she came down the slope that it was my fault. But it wasn't.

December 19, 1938

x 159 I didn't dream.

I want to talk about a dance in Afengberka. During the day Fanburka and Matingpada went on ahead. That night I went alone. I versified, "Other young men I called. I awoke them but they did not want to come, so I lighted my torch and came alone. The torch died, but I went on in the dark and have come to stand near you." Then they answered me in verse, "You speak the truth. The hands and feet of the Maughieta lineage have come. This lineage is related to Alohieta [people who were giving a dance for their lineage house]." I answered, "Though there is a war, I am not afraid. [Kuyemasang, a village near Afengberka, was at war with Mangma's village of Karieta at this time.] The old men of the village are afraid of my bow and my weapons." They answered, "Don't think of that when there is a dance here in our village. People must not think of war." I answered, "True, we shall dance through the night. Tomorrow I shall sleep and awake and eat much." At dawn we danced a challenge dance [*kak*] and I joined in it. [He went into much more detail than is given here. He seemed concerned that I was not writing at greater length all these purely formal verse forms and their answers.]

I went to a dance at Kamangwati. I versified, "I was just wandering and heard your dance and came." Someone asked who versified. I answered, "If I were just anyone, I would now be asleep. Manialurka and Padaalurka, my grandparents, fought over eggs and erected Manikameng." [He went on at length about ancestral history that showed why he was there and that he was related to the dancers. I tried with little success to divert him from quoting dance verses.]

Fanpada called me to go with him to Rualkameng to dance. There was a woman there all wrapped up in a shawl. She kept coming up to dance with me all night. Finally as the circle swung around into the shadow of a bamboo thicket, she pressed herself against me and placed my hand on her breast. I pulled it. I would have had intercourse with her if there had not been a bright moon. Toward dawn Lonmai went off to sleep with another man. I had pulled her breasts and she had to sleep with someone. [He laughed at this episode.] When I was young all the women were crazy about me. Everyone was afraid of my bow. Now that I am old, it is different.

One morning I went to Hatoberka to help the chief of Lewatika den Atamai. I had given the chief something, so I was helping him collect his debt so he would be able to repay me. We waited and waited, but

they did not pay us. The chief said we ought to seize Atamai's pig, 159x
but Atamai said, "No, wait until I use the pig for my mother's death feast. Then I shall pay you." When he gave the feast, he paid only for his mother's shroud. He settled no other debts. The chief was angry and said he was going to litigate. Then Atamai went to Fungatau, received a Tamemia moko, and gave it to my father and the chief, who brought it here. As they came down the slope, my father said he would take the moko in return for a pig. The chief was not willing. Father asked him to come to the village and talk it over. The chief didn't want to do this either. He took the moko and went home. Father carried a pig of Malefani's to the chief, who then gave him the moko. Father promised to pay Malefani for the pig with a dowry payment. When the rice was ripe, Malefani came to father for the payment and father gave him two cans of rice. [Pause.]

[I asked about dreams. He said he had not dreamed in several days. He seemed to have nothing he wished to talk about, so I suggested that he tell me about his siblings.]

Once at Kafukhieni my older brother, Malelaka, and I fought with clubs. Malelaka had a big corn bundle which father had used up. Malelaka accused me of stealing it, so I was angry. I said we would fight it out. I looked around for a sword but could not find one. I took a club and a short stick to hold in my left hand with which to parry. Malelaka hit the short stick, broke it, and the end struck my forearm. I ran for a large bow to substitute for the parrying stick. Malelaka hit me in the calf of the leg. As we fought I noticed that Malelaka was swinging wildly, so I stepped in and hit him on the forehead with the bow. Then I landed a blow with my club on his chest. At this point Malemani came to separate us; he stumbled and fell between us. Malelaka's breast was hurting, so he ran away. [Age?] We were already grown up. I was about sixteen. Although Malelaka was older, we were about the same size. My father came and grabbed Malelaka, and Malemani grabbed me. They said to Malelaka, "You are the elder, yet you run away; we had better stop you." Malelaka cried because he was hurt and because the people told him to go away and not stay here any more. Father also said he should go away because he had accused me of stealing the corn. Father said he had used it himself. So Malelaka caught his chickens, put them in a basket, and started off. He met mother coming down the slope with a load of corn. Father called to mother, saying that we had fought and that she was to give Malelaka a bundle of corn to replace the one he had used. Mother said, "You are the eldest. The younger x 159 ones may eat food. Why do you act like this?" Malelaka cried and his tears fell on mother's hands. Mother was sorry for him and gave him the corn. Malelaka came back and wanted to take his pig too, but father said he had better leave it, because in Karieta, where he was going, it would get into people's gardens and they would shoot it. So Malelaka left with his chickens and went to Karieta. Later he sent his wife for his corn.

Once Lanmau [his younger brother] and I fought over an arrow. One of mine disappeared. I accused Lanmau. He had shot birds and lost it. I told him not to deny losing it because Manimale had seen him go off with it. He denied that he had taken it and told me to die [very insulting]. Then I took a sword and bow and we fought. My bow struck his eye and wounded him. My uncle Fanmale was in the next house and he told of Lanmau's cursing me. I was angry and said if anyone came in the house I would shoot him. No one dared come near the house, not even the older men. After I had wounded Lanmau, I was afraid and ran off to sleep in the fields. I went to stay with Atafani. I was about twelve or thirteen at that time. Atafani told me he had many such arrows, and since I had wounded Lanmau we had better not quarrel any more. He gave me an arrow and in three days I went home.

[What of his sister?] Once I weeded a field. A Makangfokung woman came to Melangkai [Mangma's father's cousin] and asked who had cleared her field. When she heard who it was she said I had better marry her, but Melangkai said, "Maybe you can marry him, but he is still small and your breasts are already swelling." Then Melangkai told me about this and I said, "I am only small and remember [i.e., think of] only food, not women." This woman saw that I had weeded where she had not. She thought I was industrious and that she had better marry me.

[I asked him again for stories of his biologic sisters.] When I was
[857] small I didn't play with my sisters; I didn't work in the fields with
them. I played only with boys. Melangkai and Lonkari came to tell me
[581] of many women who wanted me because I worked fast in the garden
and was industrious. These women thought, "We would only have to cook in his wake; he could do all the garden work himself." [He continues to repeat general statements of how women wanted to marry him.]

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

In studying this autobiographical account of Mangma two factors must be taken into account: first, his reaction to the ethnographer, and

second, the presence of the interpreter. As we have seen, Mangma is an 159x
extremely insecure, sensitive, and easily hurt person, who has deep unconscious cravings to be loved, together with a conviction that these
desires will not be fulfilled. It is not unlikely that such an attitude 159x
dominates his relationship to the ethnographer, whom he undoubtedly 114
regards as a very rich and powerful individual. The presence of the in- 124
terpreter is a factor that undoubtedly distorts Mangma's story. Mangma will not tell anything about himself that will be disparaging either to his manhood or to his general standing. His account is therefore a rather stultified and unspontaneous affair until after he has got somewhat better accustomed to the situation. He eases up in his account toward the end.

That he was eager to make a good impression on the ethnographer 159x
and sought to express his affection for her is well illustrated by a dream that he narrates toward the end of his story (December 16), in which he is stealing a squash from the enclosed garden of his grandmother. It so happens that the ethnographer was the only person in the whole community who had an enclosed garden. The dream of stealing from her is therefore his characteristic way of expressing the wish to be fed by her, and also the conviction that this will not happen; hence the stealing.

Because of these two factors, Mangma's story is full of great gaps, and, judging from the general makeup of the man, we may assume that what he tells is actually the least objectionable part of his life story. The material of his biography takes us up to approximately eighteen years before the narration. The story he tells deals almost entirely with his past; nothing pertaining to his current life is mentioned in any way. We can therefore guess that his representation of himself is something of a bluff to hide his inadequacies, of which he is, in his inarticulate way, quite well aware.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies in the narrative, Mangma's life history is of great value. It is difficult to decide how typical Mangma is. I would venture to say that if he were typical the society could not continue to exist. We are dealing, therefore, with an extreme type of character formation under the influence of certain institutional situations. The façade of this character is misleading, for he is a person in good standing and is considered a strong, active man, and yet he does not participate much in the society. The reasons for this are all too clear. One of his claims to distinction is that he is a genealogist, but his recitations of genealogies were rapid and obscure. Careful checking by the ethnographer revealed that he was frequently inconsistent and in-x/159 accurate. He apparently failed in this occupation as he had failed previously in his attempts to become a seer.

Mangma is the second child of a family of nine. This means in effect that he received the minimum advantages of parental care and was in turn expected to assist his mother materially, both in her gardening and in the care of the younger siblings. He evidently did not adjust very well to this situation, because the story of his late childhood and early adolescence is one of continual quarrels with his parents and siblings, as a consequence of which he ran away repeatedly. He did not settle down until late in adolescence, and at this time he was already a beaten man. He submitted to many of the new hardships that he was subjected to at that time, perhaps because the things he was then striving for were related to his legitimate claims for recognition as a member of the society.

For instance, he had great trouble with his father about getting married and collecting the appropriate bride-price. The development of his relations with women is not altogether clear, but it is quite evident that he was decidedly backward and inhibited. He married only once and in his own peculiar way he is faithful to his wife. With her he leads an extremely troubled and difficult life, which is repeatedly broken up by her leaving to live elsewhere. He has developed several skills—as seer and as genealogist—but the one for which he is most noted and in which he takes great pride is gardening. This is not a prestige occupation for a man, but it is a skill that was appreciated by the women, who thought they could use Mangma to lighten their own tasks.

What interests us most in Mangma is his character. He is a man whose wishes, desires, and ambitions are far in excess of his capacities to satisfy them. This has been true from his earliest childhood. He is an extremely vain person, a trait he shows sometimes by boasting about trivialities, but most frequently by exaggerating the injuries and wrongs he has suffered at the hands of others. This emphasis on his sufferings, this excessive vulnerability and touchiness, is the expression of a very deeply frustrated feeling, covered up by pretentiousness. Coincident with this he has a strong tendency to minimize pleasant things. He never has the courage to acknowledge his wrongdoings, always imputes evil motives to others, and unscrupulously blames other people for his own misdeeds.

The violence of Mangma's feelings far outstrips his capacities. As a young man he attempted to express this violence in open aggression, either by force of arms or through finance. He made use of the former frequently in causes that did not directly concern him. His attempts in the latter were largely unsuccessful, whereupon he reverted to an earlier pattern, that of running away. He knows only one way of solving his difficulty, and that is to run away from the situation entirely, a technique he continued to use until very late in life. These escapes were utterly ineffectual and did not contribute in any constructive way toward solving the difficulties in which he was engrossed.

His distrust of others is profound, but at the same time there runs through his story a persistent current of an underlying longing for the good, kind protector. His life is one endless series of quests to find the good friend, the good parent — longings that are always frustrated. This frustration is due not so much to the injuries that other people do him as to the fact that at no time in his life has he learned to make any kind of strong attachment to anyone. His romance with the woman in Awasi (page 219ff.) is a typical one. Like any individual with paranoid tendencies, he does not know that he is largely responsible for the bad behavior of others to him. To these traits must be added his enviousness, which is boundless, and his greed.

In episodes when Mangma was seven or eight we already see indications of his future character. He and his younger brother decide to kill a chicken and eat it, but they do it in such a way that the father will not detect it. When the father does apprehend them, however, Mangma refuses to take any responsibility for the deed. One day when he is working in the garden with his mother she punishes him by tying his hands, which is probably pretty severe punishment. Whereupon he runs away to a classificatory grandfather and sets to gardening.

The general weakness of Mangma's ego structure is shown particularly in the ease with which he is discouraged, abandons enterprises, and then lapses into a complete black hopelessness. For example, he builds a field house and it burns down. He builds another, which also burns down. Then he gives up entirely and says that from then on he will live in a cave, a most unusual resolution for a man in this culture. On another occasion he raises pigs. Someone kills a pig or two, whereupon Mangma stops raising pigs. As a matter of fact, this killing of the pig by one of his relatives was not a wanton destructive act at all, but merely one of the conventional forms of making a kinsman participate in the giving of a feast. Mangma makes a great to-do about it, exaggerates its significance as a tremendous wrong, and winds up by abandoning the whole enterprise. A *corvée* is levied upon him, which he resents, so he runs away. With this last running away to evade a *corvée*, Mangma's life practically comes to an end. He is thenceforth a beaten man.

It will be interesting to see whether the study of his actual productions in the report can give us some clue to the structure and signifix159 cance of these character traits. We do not have enough data to be able to reconstruct his character historically. It will have to suffice to describe some of the dynamic interconnections. The opening interview with the ethnographer may be taken as typical. The associations run as follows: (1) hunger; (2) stealing; (3) his mother gives him bad food and refuses him good food, hence resentment; (4) he shoots a dog, and the owner breaks his bow and arrows and beats him; (5) his mother wants him to do so-and-so, but he refuses, so she beats him; (6) he runs away; (7) he begins gardening on his own; (8) he won't let his mother get his harvest; (9) he boasts of his gardening exploits; (10) he fights with his friends; (11) he recounts a fantasy about raising a bride-price; (12) he plants a garden and the father and mother eat it; (13) he is falsely accused of sleeping with a girl and starts a financial war with the family.

His first association is that of hunger. However, from our knowledge of this culture we cannot take this at its face value. "I was left hungry" means that he suffered from inadequate care. The association that can be made with this hunger motif is that the wish to be loved by his mother, expressed in terms of being fed, is frustrated. He therefore reacts by stealing what was not given to him. His attitude toward his mother remains one of hatred plus the deep suspicion that she will never do anything for him and merely wishes to exploit him. His vengeance upon her, therefore, is to refuse to obey. This leads to his running away in an attempt to find a better parent and winds up in his learning to excel in gardening, whereby he makes good the deficit in parental care.

Mangma's attitude of expecting nobody to do anything for him and his fear of being exploited lead to extreme touchiness and vindictiveness. His low self-esteem, based on this original constellation, must express itself in compensatory activities that take the form of pride, lying, boasting about trivialities, profound avarice, and envy of what other people have—upon which he unconsciously has persistent designs. Another offshoot of this leads to his feeling constantly injured, which is another way of saying that he expects a great deal from other people; but the tension between these expectations and the conviction that they cannot be realized is so great it ends in an impasse. His low self-esteem leads into another series of constellations, the most constant of which is the expectation of failure and the conviction of his own ineffectuality. This in turn leads to the abandonment of all constructive enterprise and to incapacity for any persistent effort.

The unconscious hatred of his mother leads to a distrust of women in general and this, together with the obstructions to manhood offered by his father's procrastination on the bride-price, creates an insecure feeling about his own sexual value. Hence he has to permit every woman to make the first advance. The number of platonic relationships he carried on with women is also noteworthy. Furthermore, the frustrations suffered through his mother lead him eventually into a feminine role. Toward his father he shows an attitude of limp and helpless passivity by accepting a wife in partial payment for his father's debts. Hatred toward his father and everyone else is only increased by this and so aggravates his distrust of himself.

His constant longing for a protector is beautifully illustrated by his dream of the ethnographer, toward whom he shows his longing by robbing her garden. His marriage shows no evidence of actual disturbances in potency, since he produced seven children, but he is wary of approaching women other than his wife in any but a platonic way and winds up his life by a kind of marriage to his sister, which is probably the most satisfactory relationship in his life. This relationship is probably consummated on the basis of identification; that is, he gets along with her so well because they are two of a kind.

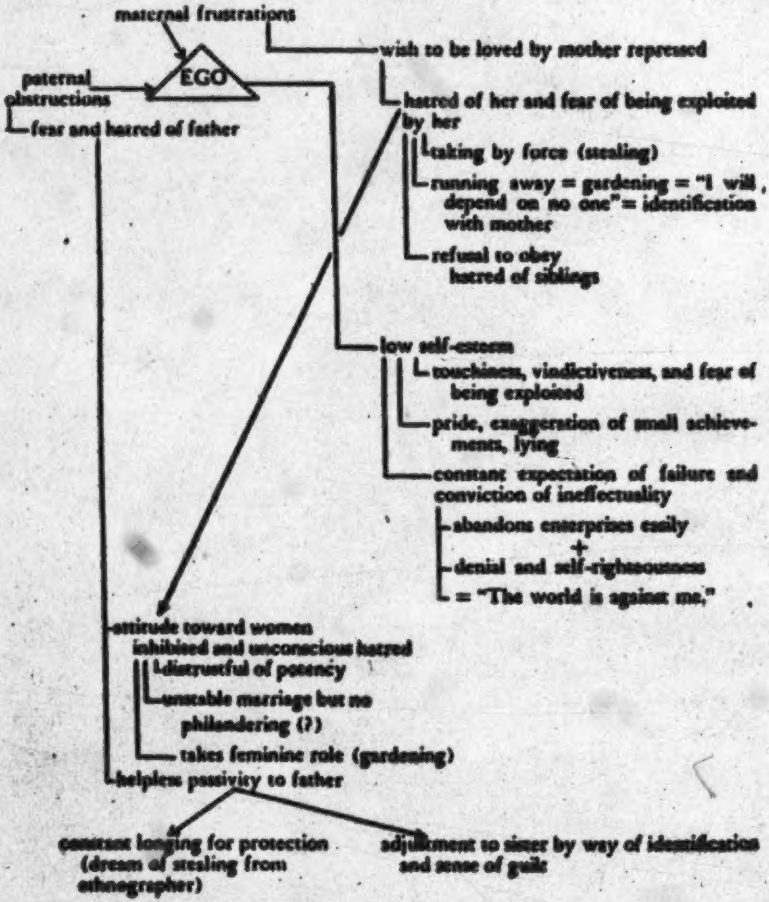
These conclusions are borne out by some of the dreams reported. On December 8 he dreams of asking the chief for house posts. The chief replies that he plans to build a house with the posts and then invites Mangma to visit him when the new house is finished. This offer is apparently unacceptable because Mangma wants the whole house for himself. A compromise is suggested by which Mangma takes two of the posts and cuts two others. This dream strongly suggests persistent demands upon a paternal figure, perhaps even to the extent of robbing him. His associations with the dream are those of death. This would suggest that when his demands are refused his whole ego collapses.

The next dream (December 12) is of being attacked by women, who give him a stick. From this dream I should be inclined to question his confidence in his own virility. It confirms the idea of his very divided feelings about women. All his associations following this dream are about fights between women and men. He feels compelled to be masculine according to the pattern of the culture but feels strong misgivings about being able to vindicate himself in this respect. And he resolves this dilemma, as he has usually resolved those in the past, by going away from women altogether and working alone. It is interesting to note that he blocks decidedly at this point and begins to speak about gardening and about how his father obstructed his opportunities for being a man.

This is followed by a dream (December 14) about his sister, who is

X159 burning weeds in her garden. Then follows another dream of destroying a man's garden, of which he denies the guilt. This is an abstract dream, and without more information we can only venture a few guesses. It suggests that his relationship to his sister is an erotic one based upon an old attachment, which was repressed because of its forbidden character. Mangma ends this series with the dream about the ethnographer, leaving the story on the note of his continuing his quest for the affectionate parent.

Mangma's Character Structure


maternal frustrations
EGO
paternal obstructions
fear and hatred of father
wish to be loved by mother repressed
hatred of her and fear of being exploited by her
taking by force (stealing)
running away = gardening = "I will depend on no one" = identification with mother
refusal to obey
hatred of siblings
low self-esteem
touchiness, vindictiveness, and fear of being exploited
pride, exaggeration of small achievements, lying
constant expectation of failure and conviction of ineffectuality
abandons enterprises easily
+
denial and self-righteousness
= "The world is against me."
attitude toward women
inhibited and unconscious hatred
distrustful of potency
unstable marriage but no philandering (?)
takes feminine role (gardening)
helpless passivity to father
constant longing for protection (dream of stealing from ethnographer)
adjustment to sister by way of identification and sense of guilt

Chapter 11

Rilpada the Seer

AUTOBIOGRAPHY *

February 1, 1939

When I was about eight years old, my mother and father quarreled. 159x Then my father went to live with his second wife, Kolkalieta. My mother cried because just then her older sister [classificatory] died in Atimelang. She cried very hard. I asked, "Why is this? I am still small, and my father goes to stay with his other wife, and you are crying for a dead kin? What shall we roast for her death feast?" I took my bow and arrow and went to Lenmasang. Lonmale's pig was in the pen and I shot it. His son Simon threw stones at me and wounded my knee. Alomale said, "Now you have wounded my uncle, so he must take the pig and roast it." The pig was worth a Piki [5-rupiah moko]. So I took it to Old Dikimpe and Fanleti carried it to Atimelang to roast. That night Fanleti brought home the ham, neck, and back. Before we had eaten it, Lonmale came to complain. So we paid twenty cents, a broken gong worth a rupiah, and ten corn bundles of forty ears each. Then Lonmale said, "The corn is for me to eat, but I shall count the money and the broken gong as a dowry payment. Next time ask me before you shoot and I will give you a pig."

When I was about six or seven, I went to sleep in Alofe's house. We slept close to each other. His mother was cooking. She upset the pot and hot water spilled on my knee. It swelled and the skin peeled off. Father thought I would die if he didn't doctor me, so mother carried [752 me down to the ravine and father put algae on my wound. I urinated 278] in father's hand as he held me. Father then carried me in his scarf up to Puorkaivi, where he hunted rats. He shot two and gave them to me. He dug tubers, roasted them with the rats, and we ate. Then father carried me up to Old Atimelang. The people there were buying a Fehawa moko and were giving a dance for it that night. Father went to the dance, and I cried hard for him.

When my leg was well and I was twelve or thirteen, I went to Dikimpe. There I joined the people who were having their teeth blackened. We all went to hunt rats. One day I alone shot fifteen, the next day I got ten, and on the third day fifteen again. I got so many I lost [25] track of them. I smoked them dry and saved them. There were three

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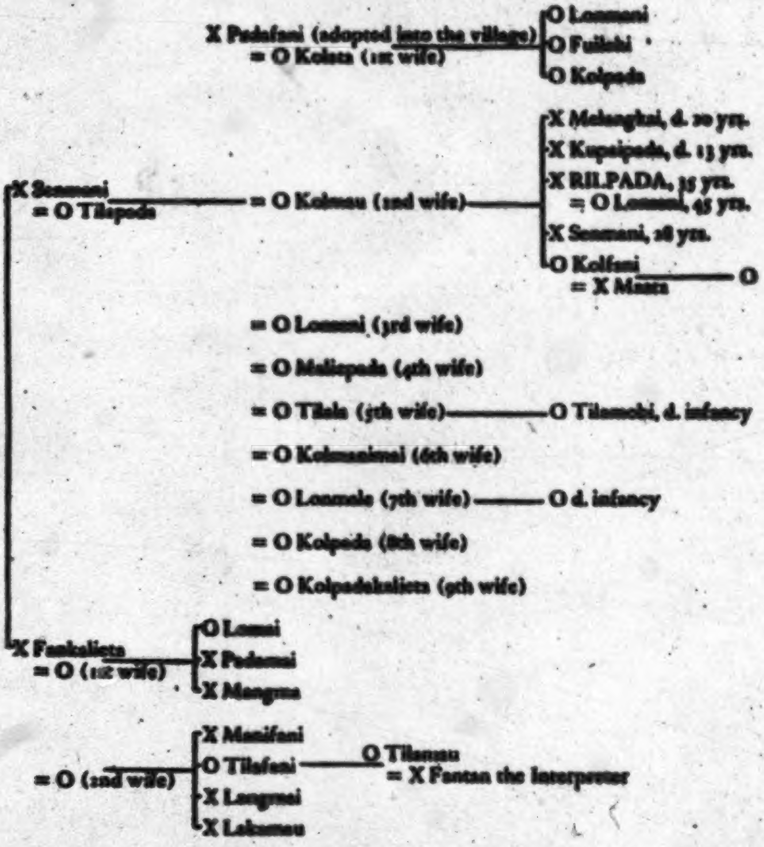
* Rilpada's dreams were collected separately and are given in a separate section.

x 159
115
601

Genealogy of Rilpada


X Padafani (adopted into the village)
= O Kolata (1st wife)
O Lonmani
O Fuilehi
O Kolpada
X Senmani
= O Tilapada
= O Kolmau (2nd wife)
X Melanghai, d. 20 yrs.
X Kupaipada, d. 13 yrs.
X RILPADA, 35 yrs.
= O Lonmani, 45 yrs.
X Senmani, 28 yrs.
O Kolfani
= X Maata
O
= O Lonmani (3rd wife)
= O Malipada (4th wife)
= O Tilala (5th wife)
O Tilamobi, d. infancy
= O Kolmanimai (6th wife)
= O Lonmale (7th wife)
O d. infancy
= O Kolpada (8th wife)
= O Kolpadakalieta (9th wife)
X Fankalieta
= O (1st wife)
O Lonmai
X Padamai
X Mangma
= O (2nd wife)
X Manifani
O Tilafani
O Tilamau
= X Fantan the Interpreter
X Langmai
X Lakamau

x 159 bamboo tubes full [twenty to thirty rats to a tube]. When we finished
blackening our teeth, we told the girls, twenty-two of them, to pound
and cook corn. We had a feast. Each girl was given seven rats. We
[252 boiled the rest of the rats and drank the soup to set the dye in our
309 teeth. There were thirty boys. When we returned to the village, Pada-
386] male, who had blackened our teeth, collected all of us together and we
x paid him. He got fifty-two arrows. Our elders had helped us collect
159 them and there were some left over, so the next day our elders sug-
526 gested that we shoot at targets for them. They set ten banana stalks at

one end of a space and ten at the other. We each had one arrow to 159x start with and we got all those we shot into the targets. I hit them all [526] and got twenty arrows. Then I stopped and went back to the village. The others kept on trying until all the arrows were given away. There were ten contestants.

When I was about sixteen, my younger brother, Senmani, and Fantan were outside the house. Padalani came along with his younger brother, Atama, and one other person. We were playing a circle game. [524] Padalani said he had tagged Fantan as Fantan tried to escape from the circle. Fantan said he hadn't. We began fighting. Padalani and I were very angry. We fought with cassava stalks and he hit me on the head. Then I took a peastalk and hit his head. Padalani picked up a stone and threw it at me. It hit my head and blood streamed down, so I went to Manikalieta, the former chief of Dikimpe. We all sat down on the ground in front of him [as is customary in litigation]. He fined Padalani twenty-five cents. He paid for his fault. Then the chief said, "Another time are you going to fight or not?" I said we wouldn't fight any more. The chief asked, "Are you going to act like father and child?" and I said we were. Then he asked Padalani the same things. We promised not to exchange blows any more and if we fought to fight only with words. The chief then told us to go.

When we went away, Padalani called me and said, "I've made you bleed, so we had better be friends." He gave me a chicken and fifteen cents. Later when Padalani fed his Rui Nai [a form of sacred hearth], I gave him a pig to sacrifice. Then he set food out for me. He didn't speak but just looked at the food, and I knew it was for me. I took it and ate it. When the Yetok feast was given [customary time for ex- [431] changing food gifts], he gave me young corn, fish, coconuts, and rats. I gave him meat my father had, and rats and coconuts too.

Once Padalani called me to go hunt rats on a level place. Padalani got seven. We went to make a playhouse and built a fire. We set out flat stones and fed them, calling on our ancestors to come eat. There [752] was a scorpion in the stones and it bit my thumb. I cried. Padalani told me to hold out my thumb and he would urinate on it. He opened his loincloth and urinated on my finger to cure it. [Interpreter and informant giggle a bit at this point.]

The next day Padalani called me again to come to the field house. We got a rat and I cut a banana stalk to eat. While we were cooking, three men—Lakafani, Fankalieta, and Maleta—came into the house. The house was weak and collapsed when the three men entered. I fell

*159 and cut my eyebrow on a stone. Padalani carried me back to my village. Father doctored my eye. My wound healed, but father said, "You two are always playing together and getting hurt. You had better not play together any more." After that Padalani went to Kalabahi. He would stay there two or three weeks and then he would come back here. At the end of three trips back here he had five rupiahs, which he hid in the thatch. He was very sick because he stole people's bananas in Kalabahi, and he died. [Question.] The bananas were protected by a curse. [Question.] He wasn't sick long. [Question.] I was the older of the two. I was maybe sixteen or so. He was about fourteen.

February 2, 1939

When I was about twelve or thirteen, I and Alofe slept together in the field house where Lanwala's mother was living. I and Alofe said, "In the village there are many squash. Let's take them." So that night we went to the village and took some. I took three and Alofe took three. As we went home with them, one fell and rolled down the slope. We didn't go after it but just brought back the remaining five. We split [252] one open and boiled it that night. The next morning we cooked another one. We hadn't eaten it yet and we put it in a dish covered with a coconut shell. These squash belonged to Senlaka. He discovered that six of his squash were gone. He followed our footsteps and on the way found the squash we had dropped. He picked it up and followed our trail. He came to our field house, parted the thatch, and looked in on me and Alofe. We were playing at gong beating with split bamboo and didn't hear him. Then Senlaka came in and sat down, saying, "Children, when you have cooked, we shall eat." But Alofe said, "I'm no wife of yours to cook for you." [A very impudent reply to an older man.] Senlaka looked in the pot and saw cooked and raw squash. He asked, "Where did you get this squash?" We said, "We got them yesterday when we were hunting rats." Senlaka said, "No, you took mine last night. I found your trail and the squash you dropped. You took mine." Then he drew his knife and stuck it in Alofe's chest. He wanted to stab me too, but I cried, so he didn't. Then Senlaka ordered us to come up to the village with the squash. He made us sit under a bench around which he built a fence. He put a pig in the pen with us. We stayed there together from early morning until late at night. Then Senlaka said we could come up and sleep on the verandah. He said he would judge our case the next morning. The next morning Senlaka wanted to give Alofe five lashes. But Alofe was still small, so his older brother, Atapada, stood up in his place because he didn't want his younger

brother to get hit. Atapada got five lashes. Then Senlaka wanted to hit 159x
me, but Alurkomau came and stood up for me. [Question revealed that he did not know the exact relationship of Alurkomau, only that he was of the same lineage and that he called him younger uncle. Rilpada was very vague about all his kinship ties because his father had been adopted into the Maughiets lineage.] So Senlaka struck Alurkomau five times. Then Senlaka said, "Next time you can steal from other people but not from me. I am your grandfather [classificatory]. You can take my greens, but if you are hungry and want anything else, ask me first and I'll give it to you. To come at night and take things is stealing. For this I punished you."

Once when I was about sixteen or seventeen, many of the young girls from Dikimpe had a field house in which they were sleeping together. They spoke to the young men, saying, "You men go hunt rats and we will cook bean cones. We will play tanat [the name for children's [883]
mock feasts]." So we went to hunt rats and the girls cooked bean cones.
We were hunting below Old Dikimpe when a green snake bit the back of [136]
my neck. I felt dizzy and fell down. Blood came out of my nose. Lakamau carried me to the village. The others all ate the rats and bean cones while I slept in the house. The girls brought me three coconut dishes of raw beans.

When I was still small, maybe ten years old, many girls were danc- 159x
ing and playing at Fuhieng. The boys all went there to join them. The 857
girls said, "Make a dance place." So we all leveled off the ground to make a dance place. The girls said, "Now we must dance for a human head and today we shall pay for it." So we took a dry banana stalk, made a bundle of it, and said it was a human head. We switched it back and forth and the boys and girls all danced challenge and beat it with sticks. Then the girls said, "That is taboo, so go throw it away." So we shouted defiance [*maboima*] and threw the [mock] head away into the ravine. When we came back the girls said, "Now we shall feed the sellers." They cooked and used banana leaves as serving plates. We ate and then we gave a dance. We danced almost all night. Manifani, who was chief, came with a switch and drove us away because we were making so much noise he could not hear the case he was judging. He tried to hit us but we all ran away. He set fire to our playhouse. We all went to our own houses to sleep.

I was about six or seven when Manikalieta fed his wealth-bringing 159x
spirit [*nera*]. I wanted to go to my garden, which adjoined his. Manikalieta asked me to come eat with him. He said his guests were near.

x 159 I and Fanmani went to eat there. Manikalieta smeared [i.e., sacrificed to] his nera carving. Then he went back to the village. Fanmani said to me, "Elder brother, let us go fetch the rice that Manikalieta left on his nera altar and go feed a stone so we shall be lucky in hunting rats." Fanmani went up first. I said, "This isn't right; we have already eaten rice and goat for the feast." But Fanmani said, "No, come on." We went to Fuhieng with the rice and smeared it on a big stone there, saying, "If you are really a person, give us luck in hunting rats." After that we went to hunt for them. But we didn't do it right. We only knocked down a small stone pile and shot lizards. We made believe they were rats. Just then Fankalieta came along. He was angry with us for what we had done. He said, "You are like witches who eat snakes." [Lizards and snakes are one category.] He chased us and hit us. I ran up and Fanmani ran down the hill. He caught Fanmani and hit him, but he did not catch me. [Fankalieta was Fanmani's paternal grandfather.] When I went home father had already heard what we had done. He asked why we had taken that rice and smeared a stone that didn't have a name [i.e., was not sacred]. He hit me with a rattan switch.

February 3, 1939

Once when I was about sixteen or seventeen, I went to Puorkaivi to get some areca. I took Fanlaka's, so he chased me and hit me. I wasn't wounded but I cried and cried all the way back to Dikimpe, where I went to call my friends. I said the people at Atimelang had hit me, and we had getter go wage war on the Atimelang boys. So all the Dikimpe [883] boys gathered. We met the Atimelang boys at the ravine. They all had shields made of bamboo. We met and fought. There were a lot of Atimelang people, so we all went back to Dikimpe to get four more supporters. Then we came back and fought some more. We chased the Atimelang people to Haminberka. I came and saw Fanlaka, who had struck me. I grabbed him and we tumbled together down into the ravine. Fanlaka's face was wounded by a stone on which he fell, and I hit my elbow on one too. Then my father came along and said we must not fight, because we were related; we were father and son to each other. Father hit me and Fanlaka for fighting. That evening Fanlaka called to me and said, "Since we have fought we had better make up, so come to my garden and hunt rats." We went to his garden and each of us caught a rat. We broke off young corn and roasted it and the rats. We said we had better exchange rats as a token of friendship. We were in the field house of Padakalieta of Atimelang and he sat between us. He said, "No, I sit between the two of you; you pass things to me /59x and I will be your dog. I will share your food and after that you won't fight any more." He sat between us and got both the hindquarters. We ate only the forequarters.

Once all the children gathered together to hunt mice in Alurkaseni's house. We got twelve of them. We tied their legs together like those of pigs and said we had twelve wild pigs. We went to Fuhieng and shouted challenge [*mahoina*]. There we built a hunting camp. We put our "pigs" on a bench and dug sweet potatoes. We made believe the potatoes were rice baskets. We roasted the mice and divided them up [224] as men do when hunting wild pigs; each killer got the haunches. We ate and started home. On the edge of camp we shouted challenge twelve times [once for each mouse, as men do for pigs]. Manikalieta, former chief of Dikimpe, came running with a club and chased us. [Why?] Because we had made so much noise he thought we were real hunters returning.

[For the first time Rilpada seemed at a loss. What was his first memory of his younger brother, Senmani?]

Once when I was still small, Senmani got twelve boils, one after the other, on his buttocks. Seven were still unhealed. His buttocks were one large sore. Mother gave him the breast but he wouldn't drink. He wouldn't eat any other food either. Mother cried and said we had better feed her Male House's sacred hearth [*maniera*] in Atimelang. I carried all the things and mother carried Senmani. We fed the hearth but Senmani did not get well. So father divined, and this time he discovered that the cause was a pair of carabao horns that had been stolen from him at the time the village burned. Father bought another pair in Kewai and made a sacred hearth for them. We fed it a pig and a chicken. The rice and meat we brought back from the feast we gave Senmani, and he ate them. It was the first he had eaten in a long time. Then in a little while his boils began to discharge and he got well. Father said, "If we had remembered those horns the first time, he would have been well long ago. If we had forgotten them altogether, he would have died."

When Senmani's boils were better, I was a little less than twelve and staying in Atimelang [where the family had gone to make sacrifices for Senmani]. There I got a headache. Senmani's boils were already well. Mother and father took me back to Dikimpe. My head was a little better. Mother said, "I am going down to the river to fetch water and wild beans. I'll give Senmani to Marailani to mind." Mother didn't return

159 and I was alone in the house when I heard a noise in the thatch. I looked and there was a bird flying down in front of the privy doorway. In a [825] little while it flew up in front of the entrance doorway. It was either a siak or a tintopa [both birds favored by seers as familiars]. I thought, "What is this? Maybe people are surrounding the house and want to kill me or steal me. What shall I hit them with?" I saw father's sword and fetched it. I went to the privy doorway and stuck my head out through the thatch. I thought I would escape that way, but I saw a large stone under the house. I was afraid I would hit my head on it if I went out that way. So I pulled my head back in and went down by the house ladder onto the verandah. Then I noticed a sheep father had just bought, running up and down. I saw that many flies were coming out of its anus. These flies collected and all swarmed up my anus. Other people could not have seen them, but I did. Then in a little while I saw a large cluster of spiders coming out of the sheep's mouth. They all came and entered my mouth. I cried and cried. I said, "I am dead. Flies entered my anus and spiders my mouth." Then Kolkari came down from her house and sat with me. She said I was sick. She asked why I was holding my father's sword. I just grunted. Then I thought, "Whom do I want to kill? Kolkari or Falanata [an old woman]?" I took the sword and went to Falanata where she was beating bark cloth. Falanata asked what was the matter with me. I said there were many enemies who wanted to kill me. Falanata asked where, and she hit the walls with her rice pestle. She said I had better give her the sword so she could kill them. I gave her the sword and she hid it. Falanata had hung up her bark loincloth on the wall. I looked at it and it was a snake. I saw the snake come down the house ladder onto the verandah. It came near me, crawled up my leg, and bit my penis. I yelled, "Oh, the snake has bitten my penis." I cried hard. Many people came to see me. Fankalieta said, "Did this boy stick his hand in a hole or climb up on a stone pile, that a snake bit him?" He didn't know that I was sick. I sat in Falanata's house crying. Then Fankalieta carried me to his house. People called my mother and father. While I was in Fankalieta's house, I saw all the mountains sway as though there were an earthquake. I sat swaying too. Then father came with two chickens, saying it was Manikalieta's sacred [753] hearth [*wa ara*] that was making me sick. He swept off my whole body with the chickens and gave them to Manikalieta to feed to his hearth. When it was fed, I was cured. I wasn't really sick. I was just crazy and seeing things wrong. When one hallucinates like this, it is a sign that the sacred-hearth spirits are after you.

February 4, 1939

I was still small and could only walk a little. I was trying to climb 159x
the ladder up into the house. I was standing on the second step when I fell and hit my head on the corn-pounding stone and got a large wound. It didn't heal but got bigger and bigger. [He had just been watching me dress scalp wounds on children.] Then father divined, and the divination revealed that the areca altar and a dead person would have to be placated. A dead person had grabbed me as I was trying to go up the [778]
ladder and that is why I fell. Father fed the dead person two chickens and fed the areca altar a chicken and a pig. Father put the rice and blood in my hand and held my hand to help me smear the altar myself. That night when I went to sleep, I defecated in my loincloth. [It is not customary for toddlers to wear loincloths. I asked about it and he changed the story, saying he was about twelve. I suspected this anecdote was a fantasy in which he assumed the role of the children he had just seen doctored. This was the sort of thing he did often in his dream accounts.] So they divined again. [When a person who has learned [753
toilet habits soils himself, it is considered a sign that he is ill and that 827]
his soul has left him.] This time they discovered they hadn't yet made the Bayorka feast for my paternal grandmother. Father then gave one of her death feasts, but he died before he made her Bayorka feast. I got well.

[He asked if I wanted the story of how he lost his eye.] People were working in Likuwatang making the new trail. We were moving stones when a soldier came and hit me across the neck with a thorny branch. Mauglani, Padamani, Djetlang, and I ran away, following the Limbur ravine. On the way we looked for kanari nuts. At Kelawat-Lanmakani were two sacred pools and a large stone under which it was dry. We [252]
leveled the sand under the stone, made a fire, and roasted cassava to eat [225]
with the nuts. Then we tied bamboo twigs into a torch and with them hunted eels. I shot a large one and we came back, cooked it, and ate it with five or six ears of corn we had. I was just going to sleep that night when I heard a loud noise of bells. My soul vanished. I saw an old man coming down. He said, "Who told you to sleep here?" I said, "Grandfather, we were working on the new trail and the soldiers hit me, so we ran away and came here to sleep on the edge of your housesite." I saw him take out his lime but I didn't see him sprinkle it on my eye. When we woke we found that water was pouring down into our sleeping place, so we moved farther up the bank and sat there until dawn. I said to the three men, "My three friends, last night I dreamed

x 159 and now I see double." I told them my dream and said we had better go straight back to the village. We had been back five days when I was sick. My eye protruded and I couldn't see any more with it. I said, "I had better shove this eye out completely and be rid of it." But I couldn't get it out. So I tied a strip of cloth over it. Then one evening about sunset I lost consciousness and was dead until dawn. I revived to hear Manifani, the former chief of Dikimpe, say, "Have you got his shroud yet?" Then I reached down and found they had taken off my loincloth [customary when preparing a body for burial]. I scratched Mangma, who was sitting next to me, and asked what had become of my loincloth. He said I had died and they had taken it off. I said to give it back. He did and I put it on. Mangma told the people I had revived. When I was dead, they told Malelaka, who was expecting a Good Being [*mala kang*] at that time [1929]. But Malelaka said to bury me, not to bring me near his place. While I was dead, Manifani had flexed my legs for burial and had broken one at the knee. After I revived, mother cooked rice gruel for me three times a day. I ate until [252] my body became fat, and I began to remember pounded corn. Then she cooked me corn and my body became strong. One night I dreamed that Malelaka came to me and called, "Rilpada, come to see me before I go to jail." I said, "Manifani broke my leg and I can't walk." I crawled to the doorway. I said to Malelaka, "Come up on my verandah." He came and said, "Come down." I answered that I couldn't. So Malelaka took a shawl, threw an end over either shoulder, and held the center across his extended arms. He told me to come down, to lower my head, and fall into his arms. I did. Malelaka put me down on the verandah and said, "I see your body is strong." He said it three times, and then I asked, "Why is my body strong? Why do you say this?" Then Malelaka said, "Now I am going to jail. You are not yet married, but you will be rich and give many feasts." Malelaka said in the dream, "You will buy a young woman with a Makassar moko, but that Makassar moko will go like the wind." Later I did indeed have a young woman and a Makassar moko, but her brothers gave me a pig for which I couldn't pay. My male children [male kin of descending generation] paid for it, and my moko went to them. Then in the dream Malelaka said, "The young wife will stay with you, but an older woman will come and disparage her. She will enter your heart and turn it. You will divorce your younger wife and marry the older one. After a long time, when you are older, you will buy another young woman."

Then in truth after that dream Malelaka went to jail; my father died and people gave me many pigs, gongs, and mokos. I had to ask only 159x once for them. I was not married, but still I gave the death feasts. Then I bought a young woman [Fungalani]. We separated before long. Lonseni [his present wife, much older than he]came and turned me from her. Fungalani's brothers gave me a pig as a dowry payment and Langmani paid for it, so that he got the Makassar moko I had for a brideprice. I married Lonseni.

[Age when he lost his eye and broke his leg?] I was about twenty-six. [How long was he married to Fungalani?] About two months only. [Question.] I had not yet had intercourse with her when I divorced her. [How long between illness and marriage?] One year. [So he was about twenty-seven when he married for the first time. Immediately after separating from his first wife, he married Lonseni. He has had no children.]

February 5, 1939

[Note his avoidance of sibling relationships. Also note his emphasis on catastrophes and difficulties.]

Once I, Manikari, and Fanlaka went to hunt rats. We found a good hole. Manikari dug. I stood guard at the other outlet. Manikari didn't follow the hole. He stopped up one end and started digging in the middle. We found another runway and he closed up one outlet and began digging at the other end. I asked why he didn't dig right straight along, since I was guarding the outlet. I said it looked as though he were hunting rats alone and expected to get them all himself. Then I put my hand down right where he was digging and he drove his digging stick down on it; it went right through my hand. I took a cassava stalk and hit him. I was angry. Just then my father came along and dragged Manikari to the mandur of Dikimpe. We sat litigating until almost dawn, but Manikari wouldn't pay his debt. So we went to Kapitan Jacob, who was only a chief then. He punished all three of us by pouring [681] water on us. Kapitan Jacob's family-in-law from Fungwati were there on a visit, and they chewed up kanari nuts and spat them on us so the ants would come and bite us, but Jacob told them not to spit on me because my fault was less. Still Manikari wouldn't pay a fine, so Jacob hit Fanlaka and Manikari with a rattan switch, two strokes each. He ordered us not to play together any more. He said if he saw us three together again he would beat all three of us. Then we all went home.

Two days later Manikari, Fanlaka, Maniseni, and I went together to Alurkomale's garden. There were many beans and we stole some. Just

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157 as we were going, Alurkomale came and chased us with a stick. I fell in the ravine and Alurkomale caught me by the hair. Then he let me go and said, "Go eat your beans. Tomorrow I'll come and settle this." That night we didn't go back to the village. We went to a field house, made a fire, and slept there. We didn't eat the beans. We had thrown them away. Early the next morning we heard people coming down from Padalehi beating gongs [the procedure when people are very indignant over a big theft]. We four ran and hid at Tungpe. The people went on to our village. Our parents called us to come, so we went. Our parents talked strongly. They said they would pay Alurkomale with beans, but he demanded four pigs. Our elders were angry and said we hadn't stolen pigs, we had taken beans. They would pay only in beans. Alurkomale said if they could put the beans back on the vine he would accept beans. So our parents decided to pay. I had to pay a red cloth and three cents, Manikari paid one cent and five arrows, Maniemi paid five cents and one arrow, and Fanmeni paid six cents and a red headcloth.

[Earliest memories?] The first thing I can remember, before I could walk, was that father hung out his gongs, made his areca altar, and fed it a pig and a goat. Mother made a very small rice cone and put it on a serving dish. I grabbed it and spoiled it. I don't remember their dividing up the food with people. [What did mother do when he spoiled the rice cone?] She told me not to do that and gave me a coconut-shell dish with rice that was left in the pot.

[What is the second thing he remembered?] People were making a garden near Ayakingliking. I was still crawling at this time. When the time came to harvest the rice, mother carried me there. Mother cut
[illegible] and split bamboo to weave a basket. She put the bamboo to one side. I wound a strip of it around my neck, wounding my hand and cutting my neck in two places. [People were very afraid of bamboo cuts.] An old woman from Bakudatang, called Kawangmai, came. She had a knife in her hand. She saw I had cut my hand and said, "Oh, you have cut your hand; I guess I had better cut it off." She acted as though she were going to cut off my hands. I still remember that. [This sort of threat play was common with children.]

When I was just beginning to walk, my grandmother Tilapada died. I sat next to her body, which was already covered with a shroud. I lifted up the shroud and looked at her. My mother was angry and took me away and hit my head. [Question.] Maybe I was afraid. I thought she was still alive. I didn't know she was dead. At that time my father

hang gongs to beat. I hit them with a stick, not a regular drumstick. 159
I hit them hard and father was angry. He struck me with the end of a rope. Then when father roasted a goat he gave me its heart. I still remember that.

When I was about six or seven, Fanlani and I went to a ravine. We said, "Let's go up and down this ravine by jumps." We were going down in jumps when Lakamau came and said, "Just go on jumping." I gave three more jumps and was near Lakamau [a man]. As I crouched to jump again, he shoved me in the back and I fell, wounding my head. He picked me up and carried me home. He lied to mother, saying that I had been jumping and had fallen and hurt my head, so he brought me home. Then mother heated some water and bathed my head. [Did you tell your mother the truth?] No, because when Lakamau was carrying me home he said, "Now, I'm taking you home. If you tell your mother that I pushed you, I'll beat you the next time I find you alone in the gardens." I was afraid to tell and didn't.

When I was about twelve or thirteen, we had a swing. We played [552]
there every day. One day we went but didn't notice that someone had cut the rope almost in two. We swung once and it didn't break. I climbed on with Fanlaka and Ataleti. Lanwala gave us a long swing. On the second swing the rope broke and we fell. I fell on Fanlaka and was not very much hurt. Fanlaka, though, just lay there dead. Lanwala ran toward the village, yelling that we were both dead, and everyone came running. *Maleta* rubbed red pepper on Fanlaka's teeth and he came to slowly. They carried us to the village. Tilamau cooked rice and fed us. That evening I was well and could play. I just had the wind knocked out of me. But Fanlaka slept two days and his body was all swollen. [Who cut the rope?] I don't know. But after we had fallen, the older people saw it had been cut part-way through. [Who would want to do that to children?] We played there all the time and the older people scolded us. They told us to go away, but we would run off and then come right back again. I don't think the older people did it; maybe it was our older siblings or our friends. [Why did older people chase you away?] They were discussing gongs and mokos, and we made so much noise they couldn't hear. They used to chase us and we would run, but come right back again.

February 7, 1939

When I was about sixteen or seventeen, Lakafani and his older brother, Langmani, were sleeping at Fuhieng in a field house. Alofe, I, x 159 Alofe deceased, Kafolamau, all of us, slept there too. One night Lakamau stole Manimale's pig. He brought it back and said, "Let's roast it." But Lakafani and Langmani said, "No, let's raise it." So Langmani made a pen off in a stone pile and put the pig in it. The next day Manimale followed Lakamau's tracks, and when he came he said they had stolen it. He went to Kapitan Jacob to litigate. All seven of us were called to the kapitan. He didn't say anything to us but put us all in a pigpen with a pig. Then after a while he began questioning us. All the older ones denied knowing anything about it, but Alofe and I said, "Perhaps an older person took it, but we don't know." Then it came out who had stolen it. Langmani paid his younger brother's fault with a pig and a sword. He had to give back the stolen pig too.

x 159 584 [Pleasant memories?] When I was about sixteen or seventeen, I was working in my garden at Fuhieng next to Falanata's. She had collected cassava stalks and wanted to build a house. I asked what she was doing. She told me and I said they were not good for a house. So Falanata said I should come and make it for her. I said, "Today I am working but tomorrow I'll come and build you a house." Then Falanata said, "If you don't come and help me, the evil spirit of Fuhieng will carry you off." [This conversation represented an invitation to marriage, the curse a protestation of fondness.] So the next day I began building the house for her, using six posts. She picked corn and cooked it for me. I finished the house that day and then she said I had to build the verandah. So I did. Falanata and a younger kinswoman lived there together. I wanted to go back home. I said, "Our gardens have one boundary and you must chase birds away from both." She said, "Yes, we have one garden above the wall and one below, and I shall guard both." [All this represented very romantic behavior on the part of both.] Then she said, "Since you have made my house, we had better marry. My mother and father said you are good friends with my brother Manimau, and that you have already exchanged gifts with him. You two had better go on being friends [and brothers-in-law, is the implication]. My father said that when your father gets gongs, he should bring them to our house [i.e., pay a bride-price]." About this time father went to Kafe and got a Tamamis moko. I went to our house after everyone was asleep and scattered ashes on their legs so they would not awake [a common device, supposed to be used by thieves]. I took the moko but I went to the house I had built for Falanata, not to her father's. When I got there, Falanata was sitting up watching our two fields. She said, "Do you remember our words and

are you bringing a moko for my father?" I said, "I am going to hide 159x
this moko for your bride-price, but say nothing to anyone about it. 584
My father always gives the mokos he gets to other people." I buried the moko in my garden. The next day father asked who had stolen his moko. I said that I had. "I am grown, but you don't think of buying a wife for me, so I took it and hid it." Then father said, "Manetati people are going to give me a Yekasing [25-rupiah moko] and a Hawataka [20-rupiah moko] if I pay them one Tamamia more. So go get the Tamamia and when I get the two large mokos, I'll give them to you." I said, "I'd better keep that Tamamia. When you get the Yekasing and Hawataka, then I'll give you the Tamamia." So father went to Manetati and got the two large mokos. When he brought them home, I got the Tamamia for him. But at this time another man gave Falanata's father a Yekasing. Our promise to each other did not come true. [He stopped. Why did you not protest?] She, her mother, and her brother wanted me to marry her, but her father wanted her to marry this other man, Karseni. [He had difficulty remembering the name.] Her father kept insisting, so she married Karseni. [Question.] She later divorced 159x
him, married another man, and divorced him. Now she is married to Simon. [Had he slept with her? He denied that he had.]

My father gave a dance for a dead man. Tilaseni attended it. She hadn't yet spoken to me. That night we danced, but not near each other. The next morning I was sleeping on the verandah and she came and looked through my areca basket, took areca, and spat the juice on both my cheeks. I still slept. Then she went home and slept on her verandah. I awoke and saw that my face was all red. I asked the children playing there what had happened, and they said they had seen Tilaseni come and search my areca basket, but they had not seen her spit areca juice on me. Then I set out to hunt rats. I passed her house and saw her sleeping, so I chewed some areca and spat juice on both her ears. Then Manikari and I went hunting. On our way home we met Tilaseni going for water. She called, "Who put areca juice on my ears? I have brushed it off and tomorrow I am going to burn it with a leprosy curse." I said, "I too was asleep and someone put red on my mouth and cheeks. Tomorrow I am going to old Falanata and have her make a kanari nut curse." Then she said, "Oh, I was the one who spat on you and you were the one who spat on me. That makes us even. We had better not bring down curses on each other." Then I went on home. That evening I wanted to go to a field house where Fungata, Kolmani, and Maliemai [three slightly older kinswomen]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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x 159 were living. I wanted to go there to sleep. There were four of us men: Manikari, Fanmani, Maniseni, and I. We all played at dancing there. Tilaseni came to join us. She spoke to Maliemai and said, "Tell your younger brother that if he wants to marry me he can." Then Maliemai called me to come into the house. Maniseni said they had better all come in, but Maliemai said, "No, just Rilpada. The rest of you wait until I am through cooking." So Maliemai told me what Tilaseni had said. I answered, "Oh, this morning she spat areca juice on my face. We had better marry. I am willing." Then one night there was a dance for the village guardian spirit [*ulenai*] given by Manikalieta. We all went. Tilaseni brought areca and betel to give me. I remembered that [753] if a young man eats the areca a girl gives him, he breaks out with a rash, so I just put it in the bottom of my basket to give my father. [Exceedingly proper and conventional behavior.] At dawn I gave father the areca she had given me. [Question.] We didn't dance together. I told father that Tilaseni had given me the areca and if he was x 159 584 836 willing we could marry. Father said, "If you are happy with her, so am I. She is a good woman." At that time father wanted to feed his areca altar. He sent a child to tell Tilaseni's older brother to give him a pig. So they sent Tilaseni with a small pig, half a can of rice, and a bundle of corn. Father promised he would pay the bride-price in seven days and Tilaseni stayed in our house. In five days she came to sleep at my place, but just that night her uncle Fankalieta had called me to bring betel and areca, and we sat talking until the middle of the night. I went home to my place and saw that someone was sleeping on my mat. I felt the legs and felt two anklets. I thought, "This can't be my sister because she has only one anklet." I felt her calf. I ran my hand up her thighs, up her waist, to her breasts. I sat then and worried. I wanted to. It is customary here to wait seven days, but she came and wanted to sleep with me. I was ashamed. I crawled out, let down the ladder, and went out on the verandah, leaving her sleeping there. I slipped the ladder back up into the hallway and went to the chief's house to sleep. The next day when I came home father was angry with me. He said, "You are afraid of women. You didn't sleep with her. You aren't your age. By and by you will die. You will be poisoned." I said, "All right, I could have slept with her, but you older people are always saying that one has to wait seven days until the bride-price is paid, and I was just remembering your words." In two days we paid x 159 her bride-price. I didn't sleep with her the night we paid the bride-price. I ran away and slept in another house. So the next day she went to Kalabahi for two days. On the way back she met her older sister,

159x

who had married a man from another village and was living there. Her older sister, Marailani, said, "I am your older sister, yet I haven't been told of your marriage. I must be consulted when you marry. Now you can't return to your village. You must visit me." So Tilaseni stayed with Marailani for seven days. When she came back I was angry and hit her. I told her we weren't married and she could not stay at my house. So she walked right on and stayed with her older brothers. They said she would have to come sleep with me that night because they had no mokos to pay back the bride-price they had given. They gave her two bundles of corn to carry to us. But I didn't want her and told her not to stay. Then Maniseni, her older brother, spoke nicely to me and said, "I know your house is empty but we are one village and my eyes are watching you." [This means that the brother would not dun him for the rest of the bride-price.] But I went off to stay in another house. Then Tilaseni got sick. Her nose kept bleeding and blood came from her mouth. People said she had been poisoned in the village where her sister lived. Father fed her rice and gruel but she would eat nothing. Her head was limp on her neck. She couldn't hold it up. Maniseni came and carried her to his house. There she died. Then Senfani asked who had bought her and I said I had, but that I was to get my money back because I hadn't yet slept with her. They buried her that day and I took back my mokos. Manikalieta said I had to cut the rattan [to sever the soul of the dead from the living spouse]. He said, "I see this woman was not afraid of men and you have surely slept with her." I said we had not slept together, that I would not cut the rattan, and that I would even eat of the feast food [which no person close to the dead should do]. So I didn't cut the rattan, and that night when they distributed the food for the death feast they brought me some, but I was a little ashamed to eat it. [All this was told very unemotionally. I asked if he felt bad at her death, and he grunted in a way that may have meant yes.]

February 8, 1939

[I asked yesterday that today he tell events connected with his younger brother, Senmani.]

At the time I wanted to marry Tilaseni I went with her older brother, Maniseni, to the garden and we roasted cassava. Before mine were fully done, Maniseni took them. When his were done he wanted to give me part of them. He put a very hot one in my hand and then held my hand closed over it, so it burned me. I tried to get away but couldn't, so I bit his arm. His arm hurt, so he bent over with his head x 159 between my legs and brought it up sharply into my crotch, knocking me over. Then I grabbed his penis through his loincloth and pulled it. He yelled and yelled. I took a club and hit his head. He took one too and beat my head and shoulders. I got an arrow and aimed at his ear, but it only grazed the back of his neck. Then Simon came along and said, "You are only fighting in fun. Let's play horse." He got a bamboo and sat astride it, and Maniseni and I carried it on our shoulders. We ran back and forth with him. Finally Simon fell off and I fell too. Simon's face was wounded. Alurkoma came and said, "Simon doesn't know how. I'd better ride." So he rode the bamboo. Maniseni took withes and tied his legs together under the bamboo. Meanwhile Simon went back, and the old chief, Manifani, heard what we were doing. He came running with a rattan switch. We dropped Alurkoma and ran. Alurkoma lay there yelling. He was tied to the bamboo and couldn't move. [This tale was told dryly by Rilpada, but it kept the interpreter doubled up with laughter.]

We ran to Fuhieng, where we always played. Maugfani, the elder brother of Kapitan Jacob, came down there yelling, because his familiar spirit had risen in him. He came talking and yelling as though he were a woman. He said, "Eh, you are all my husbands, all my men." We saw him take a piece of banana bark, hollow it out like a woman's genitals, and then stick it on his penis. He came toward us, saying, "This is my vagina, this is my vagina. Come sleep with me, come sleep with me." He ran after all of us. Lakafani was working in the field at this time. He fought with Maugfani. The people from the upper end of the village came to Maugfani's support and those from the lower end came to Lakafani's support. There were about five on each side. Then Andereas and Alofe fought together and the side of Alofe's face was wounded. Everyone fought together. That night there was a dance in the village. The next morning Senpada and Lakaseni still remembered the fight of the preceding day. When the dance was over and the men were doing the challenge dance [*kak*], Senpada slashed at Lakaseni with his sword and struck his wrist. The older people all lectured us about fighting. They said that when we fought we involved them, and that it was as though we were waging war on them.

[I reminded him of stories about his younger brother.] Once I was fighting over an arrow with Senmani of Alurkowati [not his brother]. We wrestled and Senmani, who was stronger, threw me down and lay on me. Then my younger brother came and grabbed the penis of Senmani of Alurkowati and pulled it hard. Senmani of Alurkowati yelled and got off me. Then my brother ran away. I jumped up too and ran. I was afraid that Senmani of Alurkowati 159x would beat me for what my brother had done. My brother was about twelve then and I was eighteen or nineteen. At that time Fanleti of Folafeng and I were friends. We were born the same day. [Always considered cause for a special bond.] If I hadn't been sick and got a [572] bad eye and leg, my body would have grown big and strong. [Note this preoccupation with his physique. Actually this quarrel that led up to the remark occurred before he was crippled.]

[I asked whether he took care of his younger brother when he was small.] Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani in the house and laid him down on a mat and ran off to Folafeng. From there I shouted, "Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good; if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play." I went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atimelang. I don't know what mother did. Mother called, "All right, you have thrown away your younger brother. Tomorrow you will die." That evening mother came to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back. She said, "You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loincloth." She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother, "You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't want to stay with you." Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't want to go back. My grandfather said, "You hit him and opened his loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your water tubes in back." I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for my younger brother.

February 9, 1939

Once Andereas' mother had a child. His mother ordered him to care for the child. He didn't want to; he just ran away to play. So she called me and asked me to care for it. I went up and minded it. Early one morning Alurkoma said that he would mind the baby, and that [262] I had better go fetch caterpillars for him [to eat]. I said, "I can get x 159 them, but when the caterpillars shake their heads I am afraid and can't catch them." Alurkoma said, "If you don't fetch them and come to me with them, I'll beat you with my cane." So I went but didn't get any. I came back to the village. I told Alurkoma that I had hunted for them but couldn't get any. Alurkoma said, "Go steal someone's chicken and bring it here so I can eat it." I went off as though I were going to hunt for one but I just went on to Old Atimelang. I didn't come back for two days. [How old?] About sixteen or seventeen. [This seemed to be a pattern answer, not to be taken too seriously.] When I came back Alurkoma asked why I hadn't brought the chicken. I said that I was still young, and if people caught me stealing a chicken, they would beat me or cut my throat.

When I was at Atimelang my grandfather told me to go fetch my mother and father because he wanted to feed his ancestral hearth. As I went back I met Fanmale, who was looking at the rattraps in his garden. He called me and told me to wait. I saw him take his knife, which was hanging behind him, and pull it around within reach. I was afraid and ran away. He said that if I ran he would chase me and kill me. So I waited near Maikalieta's house for him to catch up with me. When Fanmale came he asked, "Who are you?" I said, "Rilpada."

"Who is your father?"

"Padafani."

"Your mother?"

"Kolmau."

"Have you a younger brother?"

"Yes."

"His name?"

"Senmani."

"Have you an older brother?"

"Yes."

"His name?"

"Melangkai. He often came here, but now he is dead. Perhaps you know him?"

"No, I don't. Who is your grandmother?"

"Tilapada."

"From what village did your father buy a wife?"

"Atimelang."

"Whose child did he buy?"

"Tilapada's."

"But I know Tilapada's child. You are not one from here. You are one from Karieta or Alurkowati. Maybe I know your grandmother, |159x but I don't know you. You are probably a Karieta boy, so I'll cut your throat." Then I cried and ran. He followed me. I looked back and saw he was still following me. I got as far as Hamintuku when I fell down and urinated in my loincloth. I looked at Fanmale. One of his eyes was blind. He came near me and said, "Oh, I was just joking with you." Then he picked me up and we went on toward Atimelang together. On the way Makalaka joined us. There in Atimelang I ran to my grandfather's house, went up the ladder, and pulled it up after me. Thereafter whenever I saw Fanmale on the trail, I used to hide until he had gone past me. [At this point he was blocked, which was unusual in the informant.]

[I asked about his father.] Before my father was married, he gave a moko to the tumukun of Bakudatang. Then when I was about twelve, father and I and three other men went there to take the tumukun another big moko. When we got there the people were not roasting animals or making a feast. They just cooked some rice and old meat they had in the house and asked us to come up to eat. Father looked [578] at his dish of rice and saw there was a hair in it [a sign of poison]. He was angry. He broke the pots and tore up the serving dishes. He went outside and seized his weapons. He stood on the dance place, shouting, "I've brought a big dowry to you and now you try to poison me, but I shan't return empty-handed." They brought out a pig. I was afraid and took father's hand. Father said he wanted a moko. So they gave him a Piki moko as a fine for their fault. They also brought out a pig to roast and told the women to cook other rice so that we could eat before we left. They served us on the verandah this time. When we finished eating, they added a pig to our moko and we brought them both back. [Did they really want to poison his father?] No. The women had used a bamboo tube that had some hair stuffed in it. Some had fallen into the rice.

When we went back home, Atakalieta of Folafeng and Letfani were giving a death feast [*Ato*]. Father took a Djawa moko to Atakalieta and a Maningmauk moko to Letfani, and a large pig to roast and a Piki moko as a free gift [*pangbe*]. We roasted the pig we had brought, and father gave me part of the leg and a lot of other pieces to broil over the fire. As I was broiling the meat I called my friends to come and join me. I took a sliver of bamboo to cut the meat. I cut my finger with it, so that it bled; blood fell on the meat. Father picked me up and set me on a verandah. When the feast was over, Atakalieta gave x 159 father a Kabali moko as a dowry payment, and Fanleti gave a Fatafa moko as a dowry payment.

When I was about sixteen or seventeen, father wanted to buy a Luba woman called Kolmanimai. She already had a husband but he hadn't yet paid her bride-price. Father went to Luba and just took her away. Then her brothers wanted to give a feast, so they came and asked father and Kolmanimai to come to Luba. Father said, "Kolmanimai's first husband said he would shoot me if I went to Luba, so I had better not." But her brothers answered, "Maybe if we weren't there he might, but with us there he would not be brave enough to try." So father took a pig, a Kabali moko, and a Fatafa moko and we went with the two brothers. The woman's husband was there with all his weapons. People were saying that he was going to hide on the village boundary as we left and shoot father. People killed a sheep and a goat for the feast. We were at one end of the village. Father sat down and began to sharpen his sword. He said, "Now lay the goat and sheep down, one on top of the other. If I don't slash through both their necks at one stroke, perhaps someone will kill me. But if I cut them through with one blow, no one will." Then people laid the sheep and goat on top of each other. Father jumped up and down off the dance-place altar so his enemy would see him and be afraid. Then he slashed through the necks of both animals at one blow and his sword stuck in the cutting block. All the people of Luba were surprised. They said, "You who are his enemies, look out. He could cut two or three men through at one stroke." When we went home his enemy did not ambush him at the village boundary. The Luba people gave us a small goat, a pig, and a Fatafa moko to take home. We came home without meeting any enemy.

February 10, 1939

One day I and the chief of Dikimpe and many people hunted rats. Then we dug cassava in Manimau's garden, and we roasted them there in the field house. Jacobis and I went to smoke rats from a hole while the others were roasting cassava. I stood guard and Jacobis fanned the fire. I put some small sticks in the mouth of the hole so I'd know when the rats were trying to get out. I heard the sticks rattle. I covered the hole with my shawl and sat ready. In one hand I had a roasted cassava I was eating and with the other I was guarding the hole. Something wriggled and I grabbed it. It was a snake. [Interpreter here let out a cry and shivered.] I threw it away and ran. As I ran I fell. I cried and cried.

[I asked about his sister Kolfani. His response to all these requests came immediataly and without apparent thought. He was seldom at a loss for an anecdote.]

One day when Kolfani was still so small she hadn't yet laughed, I was sick with fever. Mother said, "You care for your young sibling until the fever starts and then give her to Maraima to care for." While I cared for her she cried all the time. At noon my fever began. About that time Kolfani went off to sleep. I heard her laughing in her sleep. I was afraid. I laid her down on a mat, covered her with a shawl and another mat, and went out to play. After a while I went back up to look at her, and she had disappeared. Then I saw she had rolled over to the ancestral hearth and her head was resting against it. I said, "Oh, this younger sister isn't big enough to laugh, so how did she get there?" My fever was high, so I called Fuimani. I asked her to call mother. Mother came back and I told her all that had happened. Then mother picked up the baby and cried because she was afraid of what had happened. She thought maybe enemies had been there and might have stolen my younger sister.

[More about Kolfani?] When Kolfani was about eight or ten, mother went to work in the garden. When she returned she asked if Kolfani had already cooked for her. Mother looked in the pot and there was some cooked corn there. She reached in and took it to eat. Kolfani was angry and hit mother's hand. Mother said, "Why do you hit my hand? I took good care of you and fed you when you were small. I worked in the gardens for you. You aren't working yet in the gardens and I am still getting your food. Why do you hit me?" Then mother struck Kolfani. Kolfani was angry. She took a knife and hit mother's face. Mother got a big wound. I saw this, and so I tied Kolfani's hands behind her. Father was staying with his other wife at this time. Kolfani went off with her hands tied behind her. I said, "If you go up to your father and he is angry, tell him to come down here and we can fight." Kolfani went and Langmani Besar untied her hands. She stayed there for three days and then mother called her back.

When Kolfani was grown and father was dead, Manifani said, "If you wish, Alomale of Kalmaabui can marry her." Mother said, "All right." So when we made father's Hevelaberka and Hevelakang feasts, Alomale brought a pig to roast. [The suggestion for her marriage and her father's death must have been almost simultaneous.] He paid two Kolmale mokos and a Hawataka moko as a bride-price at the time we gave the Rolik feast. Alomale's siblings sent Kolfani an areca basket, which she carried. They were married but hadn't yet slept together.

x159 Then Kolfani went to Kalabahi, where she met Maata, who wanted to marry her. Thomas also spoke for Maata. When she came back from Kalabahi we were making the Rolik feast, and Alomale came with the bride-price. I gave her meat to give her husband, but she was unwilling. She said she didn't want to marry him. Then Manifani said we had to pay back all Alomale had given us, "even if you have to sell your wife [Fuilani] and yourself to do it." Kolfani said, "We don't have to sell human beings to get mokos. I can fetch them myself." There were twenty tallies for her husband. She went up into the house to fetch her areca basket and left. It was already late afternoon. I thought I had better follow her and see where she was going. I went behind her as far as the government camp and I wondered whether she would go up the ridge or to Atimelang. She went on up the ridge and I followed. When we got to the top, I asked her where she was going and she said she was going to Kewai, so I followed her. She went and sat on Mauglehi's verandah. That was where Maata kept his mokos, although he was still in Kalabahi. Kolfani stayed there all night, but I came back home. Early the next morning I went back to Kewai with Langmani Besar. They gave us a Makassar, a Hawataka, and a Kabali moko. We brought them back here. Manifani said, "Oh, you have already given your child to another man, so now you will have to pay two extra mokos. We will sit down again and reckon everything, the large and small gifts." So we reckoned again and it came to four mokos. Thomas came and said, "Manifani shot a large pig of mine. That is worth one of those mokos. You have already paid back two large mokos, so only one remains. You have to find only one more." That night Manifani cursed me, saying, "If you don't get that moko tonight, may you die and join your father." Then the chief of Rualkameng cursed me too, saying, "Tonight we can sleep, but if you sleep [i.e., don't fetch a moko] may you die." That night I went to Karieta and Alurkowati to look for a moko. Then I went to Luba, where Langmo gave me a Kolmale. I brought it back and beat it when I reached the village. The older men who cursed me were all asleep. I said, "I am a child. You are big, rich men, but you are asleep. I, the child, went out and got a moko. You will die soon." Then the next day I paid them the moko. We reckoned again and there was nothing left. We were clear. Then I killed a pig to "wash Kolfani's hands."

February 11, 1939

Once I, Lakamau, Mangma, and Fankalieta went to a field to demolish a cairn and hunt rats. There were many rats making a noise

in the stone pile. We stopped all the holes with weeds, but we got only 159x
two small mice. Then we came to a large hole under a stone. We cleared away around the place and Lakamau stood guard at the exit. We heard a noise inside like rats, "Ki, ki, ki." Then we shook the stones again and we heard a noise, "Tss, tss, tss." We shook it again and heard a noise like pigs, "Krr, krr, krr." We were afraid. Fankalieta said, "That's nothing. Rats also are smart and imitate those noises." Then suddenly a snake came out of the hole. It had a red neck. When it came out its breath struck Lakamau in the face. He felt dizzy and fell over. Fankalieta got a club and killed the snake. We opened its belly and there were twelve rats in it. We roasted cassava in the field and ate before coming home.

[I asked for personal memories.] When I was about twelve, I, Alofe,
Manikari, Lanwal, Fanalo, and Fanmani went to play at Fuhieng. We [857
made believe we were going on a wild-pig hunt. Fanmani and I dug 524]
two tubers and put them in our baskets. We made a pig rack at our hunting camp. Then we went to hunt deer, pigs, and carabao. We went to a banana clump and if we found a grasshopper we called it wild pig. We all came and shouted challenge and then put it on the rack. If we got a kind of beetle, we called it a carabao. We surrounded it and made believe we were shooting it. We called the praying mantis a deer. At midday we ate our tubers. In the afternoon we hunted again. [He spent a great deal of time going over these details.] In the evening we roasted our catch and went home. We shouted challenge [*maboina*] for each of the insects we had caught.

Once, when the red corn was ripe, Alofe's mother ordered me and Fanalo to go hunt rats in her garden, because they were eating up all her corn. We looked in all the stone piles. There were no rats. Then we saw a runway near a big stone. We caught a grown rat and her nine babies there. I said, "Now let us take these to our mother [i.e., Alofe's mother, classificatory]." But Fanalo said, "No, we shall roast them here and eat them." I didn't want to, but Fanalo went on collecting wood for a fire. He ordered me to go fetch fire. I didn't want to. I said, "We ought to take these to our mother. I won't get fire." So Fanalo hit me. I cried and went off saying I would tell our mother. Then Fanalo clubbed me on the head, making a wound from which blood flowed. I went to Fanalo's mother and told her. Fanalo's mother was angry with him. That night he did not dare come home but went to sleep in another house.

Once, two days before the Yetok feast, Alurkoma, who was about x 159 five or six, helped me [about twelve] as we went to hunt rats with the other people. He carried my basket. We followed the adults, who were all hunting rats for the feast. But the adults didn't divide them with us. At Falinfaking there were many rats and many people were beating the brush. I saw one rat get by Alurkoma and follow a good runway. I sat there guarding it. Then Lakamau called, "One rat just got by me." I caught it. I got all that passed him. There were ten of them. I gave Fankalieta two, Kafelmai one, and Lakakalieta one, and kept six for myself. Then everyone moved on toward the ravine. I saw grass waving and shot at it. I went and saw that I had hit not a rat, but a bird. Fankalieta said he wanted it for his ancestral hearth feast. Alurkoma cried because he wanted the bird. I said Fankalieta should give him a rat for the bird he took, and he did. We went to Karmasang. A stone rolled down the slope and hit Alurkoma's head. He was wounded, so we stopped hunting.

[I asked whether he had any memory of having done his father an injury. This question was based on hostility dreams he had reported earlier.] When I was about five, father went to Liengwati to see Mokolo. He didn't give father a moko because he said he had none, but he gave father a mouth organ as a payment and to amuse father on the way home. [This was a token gift, *makiling*, so that a creditor would not have to return empty-handed.] Then later Mokolo came to our house near Atimelang, and for the first time father brought out the mouth organ. I hadn't yet seen it. Mokolo played on it. Father was sitting there talking to people. I went to stand next to him and said, "Oh, that is a supernatural being. He sings with that thing in his mouth." Father went on talking. I stood close to him and whispered in his ear, "Father, that man is a supernatural being." Then father asked Mokolo for the mouth organ and blew on it. I snatched it from father's mouth and he struck my fingers with a stick. I cried and cried all afternoon until nightfall. Then I saw Mokolo had taken the mouth organ apart and was cleaning it. I went up into the house and told mother and father that the supernatural being had destroyed his music. Father said, "You are a poor child [an insult]. Don't go near a rich man and his property. Don't touch it. Don't speak of it. That is why I hit you." Then I saw father was chewing areca. I went to him and held out my hand for part of his quid. So father gave me part of it and I chewed. Then father's guests left, and right after they left, mother and father fought. [Pause.]

[Question.] When the guests came, father said to shoot a hen that belonged to my maternal grandmother, but my mother didn't want to.

She said it was a chicken to raise, not to eat. Then mother cooked 159x
rice and added coconut meat and milk to it for the guests. After Mo- 252
kolo left, father was angry and hit mother, cutting the side of her face. 593
Mother got a big wound. Then father gave mother a leaf as memo- 586
randum [*doli*] and said, "In seven days you pay back my bride-price. We are going to separate." Then father went away and stayed in Dikimpe. In seven days mother went to fetch water and I followed her, crying. I heard people coming from Dikimpe beating gongs. Father came up and said, "This is my child." He had brought a Kafoi chief with him. Father took my hand. I told him I was following mother, who had gone to fetch water. Father picked me up and carried me with him as far as Kokovi. There we met mother carrying water. Father said, "Kolmau, go call your family so we can reckon our debts. If there is a surplus I shall pay it. But in any case I take my child." So mother called her kin in Dikimpe and Atimelang. They all came and reckoned. Father only owed a Maningmauk moko. So the chief of Kafoi said, "Oh, you don't have much of a debt. If you wanted to divorce you could pay it, but the fault is a little yours too; so get a moko and pay a fine for your fault [and don't divorce, was the implication]." So father got a Kabali moko and paid his fine. He shot a chicken to pay the judges. The judges said mother had better go live in Dikimpe with my father. So mother and I moved to Dikimpe to live there with father.

February 12, 1939

Once mother planted rain corn and two patches of taro down in 241
the ravine. People kept stealing the corn. We didn't know who they were. So I and Mangma went down there to guard it. Many rats ate it. We slept in a field house up on the ridge above the gardens and all day watched for rats. A bird came; we both shot at it but missed it. In the evening we cut wood and went back up to the field house. We were dozing off when Mangma dreamed that two old men were sitting near by, one on the slope above the house and one below the house. One was a little like his father, Fankalieta. One had a long beard all the way down to his waist. The one who was below said, "Shall we take the house down to the garden below?" Mangma woke up, rubbed my stomach to wake me, and told me about it. Then that night we didn't sleep there. We went to the village. Early in the morning father looked down and saw us on the verandah. He asked why we had come back, so we told him. Father said we were to go back to the garden, make a spirit altar, and feed it. In the afternoon father came with rice and a small chicken to feed the altar. After that we slept again in the

x 159 field house and did not dream. [How old?] We were already grown but not yet married.

Once I, Lakamau, and Mangma went down to the ravine. We came to a large stone and saw a good rat-run. We smoked it out and got two rats. Lakamau and Mangma each took one, and then Lakamau suggested that we dig tubers. I saw a large tuber, dug it out, and left a sprout. I found another on the slope and dug that out too. Lakamau and Mangma found only small ones. When we roasted them, we found that the large tuber was no good because it was watery. So we roasted the others and ate them with the rats. That night I went home and dreamed that a female spirit came to me and said, "How does it happen you are brave enough to steal my food near my village? I don't come to steal from your gardens. If you come to dig in my gardens, you must leave the top and the bottom of the tubers and take only the middle part." The next day I told this dream to the older people. I said the spirit told me that the next time this happened the person would not return to the village.

Once Lakamau called me to go bathe. We went down into the ravine. When we finished bathing, Lakamau said, "If we burn off this area people will see us do it and we shall be punished. So you go and start a fire with your strike-a-light; put it in a coconut shell and set the shell in the weeds. By and by the fire will catch but no one will know [214] we did it." [Premature burning, before weeds have been cut, is injurious to proper cultivation. The extent of this social misdeed was indicated by subsequent guilt dreams.] I did as he said and we returned to the village. After a while we saw the brush burning. So Lakamau, I, and many people went with our dogs to hunt rats. I didn't get any and came home. The next day early I went again. I saw a hole and thrust a piece of wood into it. It hit something soft. I looked and saw it was a dead snake with a half-swallowed rat in its mouth. I was afraid and ran back. Langmani was standing under the big mango. I told him what I had seen and went on. Then I came to a civet cat that had been burned. I called to Langmani and he told me to bring it along. The older people said, "Let's cook it and tell the women to cook their food. We'll eat here." That night I dreamed that a man came to me and said, "Why did my wife, who was carrying her child, encounter fire that killed her? You burned this area. You burned my wife and child. The fire also destroyed my dog, and you took it to the village and ate it. If you don't pay a fine, you will receive three months' punishment." The next morning I told mother, father, and Manifani. Then Manifani

said, "That must be our spirit, Mopada-Lonpada. We had better feed |159x
it." So next morning they made a mock moko string, Manifani shot a hen, and we went to the altar [of Mopada-Lonpada, in the ravine] and fed it. That night I dreamed that the same man came to me and said, "You are good. True, you burned my wife, child, and dog, but you paid a fine and you cleaned off the fields about my house. You are good." When I told the dream, Manifani said, "It is lucky we fed him, [753]
or he might have stolen your soul for two or three months and kept it until your body wasted away."

Once Padalani, a friend, called me and said he had shot a rat but it was still up in the pandanus tree. He said we had better take our dogs [224-
to fetch it. We did not find the wounded rat but we did get a live one. 231]
The dog chased it as far as Afalberka [dwelling place of an evil spirit]. We followed. The rat ran into a bamboo thicket. There was a large hole and we filled it in. It ran out, went up a liana into a large tree, came down again, and went into a patch of weeds. The dog chased it. It went in among the tree roots and from there up a liana back into the tree. We saw it sitting there. We shot at it until all our arrows were used up, but we didn't hit it. Then Padalani climbed up the tree to the first fork. I climbed the liana. When I was halfway up it was as though a person had cut it, and I fell. I was dizzy and my soul disappeared. I didn't remember anything more. It was as though I were dreaming. An old man stood near me and said, "Just now my child went to your garden for food; you too come to my garden when you are hungry. You have chased my child here. You may hunt him as far as the tree. But once he has gone up the tree you may not follow him. You see a tree but it is really a house, and my child has entered his house. You wanted to enter the house to hunt him, so I pulled up the ladder and you fell. Another time when a rat enters a tree do not pursue it. This liana is his ladder and this tree is his house." Then I returned to life and Padalani was sitting near me. He said, "I pinched your ear. I am small and if you had not come back to life I could not have carried you home."

Two days before the Yetok feast, Riemau called me to go with him [824]
to hunt bats. So I, Riemau, and his brother Lanmau went to a cave below Lawatika. Riemau and Lanmau went down below. I stood guard up above at the entrance. I saw bats hanging to the roof of the cave and prodded them with a stick. Two fell and were shot by Riemau. One flew off. Lanmau also shot one. As I was standing there, a large bat flew out of the hole, bit my breast between the two nipples, and

x159 tore off the flesh so you could see the bone. [The interpreter shivered at this point.] I cried. I brushed it off. Riemau came to see and I told him that I had brushed the bat off and it must still be near. Riemau saw it in some weeds and shot it. In all we got five bats. Then Riemau helped me up to Lawatika and I stayed there overnight while the others went home. [Question.] No, I didn't dream of this afterward.

February 13, 1939

When I was about six or seven, I cried because mother said we should go to the garden and I didn't want to. So I stayed home and played with my friends in the village. In the afternoon mother brought me some corn, which I roasted and ate. Then I cried again. I cried a lot. I cried because I wanted to eat with father's guests. Mother and
x159 father said I couldn't. The guests, they said, had to eat alone. I kept
574 crying until everyone was through eating. I cried until everyone was
865 asleep. Father woke up and heard me still crying. So father put a
867 basket over my head that reached down to my stomach. Father held me while mother poured water on my head through the basket. I was still crying hard. So mother and father talked nicely to me. They said, "When guests come, you can't eat with them. If you ate with them they wouldn't say anything here, but they would go home and say we didn't bring you up well because we let you eat with guests. We were angry with you for this reason, and for this reason we put a basket over your head and poured water on you." Then father said, "Will you act like this another time?" I was still crying under the basket and did not answer. Then father said, "Answer before I take off the basket." Then I said I wouldn't act like that again. Father said, "Next time guests come you mustn't stay near us but go with your mother." After that I stopped crying.

x159 When I was about twelve or thirteen, father and mother went to cut weeds in Puorkaivi. A big rain came. We were all there with my friends. [It is customary to have a group of children help in communal
[676 field work.], My friends went on working. I sat under a raincape be-
857] hind the line of workers. Father was working at the end of the line. He came toward me but I did not see him. He snatched off my cape and asked why I was just sitting. He said, "When you grow up you won't be accustomed to work and you will be lazy." He took my hands and rubbed them in the dirt, saying, "Your nails are long. You are lazy." All my nails were ripped and they bled. So I cried and ran away to Alurkowati, to Kolata [his father's first wife]. She said, "Maybe your mother and father have many male children, that they rub your

hands in the earth." Then she said, "Why does your mother give you a bark loincloth like a woman's? You are the first child and a male. Why do you wear a woman's loincloth? I shall ask your older kinsmen to carry corn to Likuwatang and trade it for a loincloth." They did. I stayed with Kolata until she died a year later. I was half grown. Then I came back to stay with my mother.

[Here I interrupted for a list of his father's wives and children. There were nine wives, of whom his mother was the second. She was the only one who bore male children. For the first time the informant mentioned that he had had two older brothers, Melangkai and Kupaipada. I asked about them.] Melangkai was already married and had a wife. Melangkai's wife was only six or seven years old but she came to stay with us. Then Melangkai died—just about the time she had breasts, but he hadn't slept with her yet. Father wanted to send her back to Maikalieta, who was her father, and get his expenses back, but Maikalieta said no, that she was to go to his younger brother [Rilpada, since Kupaipada was already dead]. But mother said Mangma [his mother's younger brother, who lived with them at the time] should get the girl. Mother said I wasn't old enough yet and that the girl had better go to her brother. So Mangma married her and she gave birth to Maieta.

[Question.] Kupaipada died of yaws before Melangkai died. [The following was what Rilpada had begun to tell when I interrupted with a question about his father's wives.] One day Kupaipada and I sat side by side drawing pictures on the earth. We said we were building our houses. Then Kupaipada rubbed mine out. I cried and rubbed his out. Then he hit me. Melangkai asked why I was crying, and Kupaipada said I had rubbed out his drawing, so he had hit me. Melangkai was angry with him. He said, "What do you mean by hitting your younger brother just when the sun is hot?" Then he hit Kupaipada, who ran off crying to mother. [Pause. I asked for more information about his two older brothers.] Kupaipada had yaws and had a big sore in his ear-opening. Blood and pus came out all the time. Mother warmed water and washed it. It didn't get well. Father then divined and it was his spirit carving [*kari bilemi*]. So we all went to Atimelang to feed it. Kupaipada, although he had yaws, carried me there. On the way back it rained, so Melangkai carried me. When we were almost at the village Kupaipada fell, and father carried him the rest of the way home. After that he wandered about a bit, but when his ear hurt he just stayed in the house or on the verandah. Two or three months later he died.

x 159 After a month or two *Melangkai* died. [He stopped. I asked how.] They both died from an evil spirit. When father was a young man he hunted wild pigs. He found a tuber that had only one leaf but was as [271] thick as his thigh. He went back to his friends. They split it and divided it to quench their thirst. That evening they came home. Father didn't think of it any more until he was grown and had children. When he divined for the sick children, he forgot to include Lonmani-Silaka [name of the spirit in the place where he had found the tuber]. If he had remembered it those two children would not have died. They both died before he remembered it. Fankalieta and *Manifani* said to father that he had probably seen something bad [potent] and had forgotten it, since two of his children died. So father thought hard until he remembered the tuber. Fankalieta and *Manifani* divined with a chicken, and sure enough the chicken's head hit Lonmani-Silaka's stone.

February 14, 1939

[What about the two older siblings in relation to you?] When I was six or seven, my brother *Melangkai* was sick. Mother cooked rice for him, put a little on the end of the spoon, and fed it to him. He didn't eat the rice; he just bit the end of the spoon. I said, "Mother, you are feeding my brother rice but he is not eating it; he is biting the end of the spoon." *Melangkai* said, "No, I am eating the rice, not the spoon." Fankalieta brought three rats for *Melangkai* to eat. *Melangkai* just wanted to eat their bellies, but that day his words had disappeared. He just said, "Mother, rats. Mother, rats." Mother didn't hear or understand. So he pointed to mother's belly and said, "Mother, belly, rats. Mother, belly, rats." Then Fankalieta understood and said to give him the bellies of the rats. Mother told him I had already eaten them, so Fankalieta sent Endirini to get some others in his house. Then mother roasted rat bellies and gave them to him, but he didn't eat them properly. He just put them between his upper teeth and lip. Then his neck went limp and he fell back. He was about to die. He lay on the floor. Then he came to and said, "Mother, mother, people are pulling me and I want to return, but you take good care of my younger brothers." Then he died and didn't revive.

x 159 Fankalieta said, "Your two sons are dead in successive months. Your
751 eldest said to guard the two young ones well. So now we must remember all and divine. They divined and hit the tuber [see end of preceding day's story]. Then father bought medicine against that evil spirit. He smeared it on the joints at both ends of a length of bamboo and burned the bamboo. Some he placed on small sticks and set the sticks

one in each corner of the room and one in the center. He did this for 159x six days and we didn't get sick any more. The evil spirit didn't come. [751]

[What did he remember first about Melangkai?] It was before Senmani was born. I was about three. Melangkai was about twelve and Kupaipada was about six or seven. We were living in Puorkajvi at the time. Melangkai made a spirit boat carving and stood it in a tree. He [778] said he was going to hunt meat to feed it. He got one small mouse and roasted it. The heart he fed to the carving and the haunches [the best part] he gave me. That is what I remember.

When Kupaipada had a bad ear, he didn't want to eat corn or tubers. [262] He just wanted bananas [infant's food]. Then he said, "Father, there is much food, but this is all I want." So father went to Bakudatang and cut a bunch of bananas. When I saw them, I cried because I wanted some too. Kupaipada was angry and said, "Why do you want my bananas? I don't eat other foods." He was angry and hit me. I cried hard. Mother came and I told her that because I wanted just one banana, her child had hit me. Then mother was angry and said, "Why do you hit your younger sibling? You are all my children. He is still small. You are the elder. You can eat these." She took two fruits and put them on top of the corn to cook and gave them to me.

Kupaipada did not finish the bananas. He had finished one bunch but had eaten only two or three from another when he was very sick and didn't talk any more. He said, "Mother, I am cold." So mother [with whom Rilpada was still sleeping at the age of six or seven] put me in back of her and took Kupaipada in her arms. They didn't sleep until almost dawn. Then Kupaipada began to groan [literally, "make a noise in his heart"]. After a while he stopped. Mother thought he was sleeping soundly and went off to sleep herself. When we awoke in the early morning, she put her hand on Kupaipada. He was already cold, dead. Mother cried. Manifani heard her, came, and for Kupaipada's death feast killed a large pig that mother was raising. He continued to stand there in the pen until father came down and gave him a small pig that we had in the house. Then mother came down and said, "It is also your child who died [i.e., his nephew]. Because he is under your jurisdiction [Manifani was chief at that time] and because you are his Male House, we shall have to pay you something if you stand there. Let us divine to discover whether the paternal or maternal ancestors are responsible for his death. If my kin are guilty we shall pay a fine to his father's kin. If his father's kin are guilty, we shall receive a fine." But they forgot to divine until after Melangkai died.

After my two brothers died there were just I and Senmani. Then

1 [157] Then came the time of the big cough [influenza epidemic of 1918]. Mother
[751] said that since I could climb trees I should go with her and help her
[764] pick mangoes. On our way home mother carried the mangoes. She went up first into the house and came right back down. I followed her up and sat down next to Padaalo's feet. Nobody told me he had died while we were away; I thought he was just lying there sleeping. I sat next to the dead man's feet eating a mango, which I hadn't peeled but was just biting into. Father came up and tugged my hand. I asked why and he said, "Didn't you see? Padaalo is dead and you are sitting at a dead man's feet." I was afraid and went out with father. I sat on the verandah but father said, "Don't sit there. Go elsewhere. People are coming to bury Padaalo." So I got down off the verandah and told people Padaalo was dead. They all knew it. I told what had happened to me. Then I went and sat on Fankalieta's verandah, and people came to bury the dead man. When they were burying him, the dead man's wife, Tilamau, didn't look at the rattan as she was severing it [to free her soul from the dead spouse], so she missed it. Fankalieta said, "That woman's husband must want to follow her. She will soon be dead because she didn't cut the rope."

That night a great many people came to stay with Tilamau because her husband had just died. They were all crowded together, sleeping side by side. Tilamau suddenly went crazy. She looked around, saw an arrow, and began jabbing it into each sleeping mat. [The interpreter shivered at this point.] She drove the point into one mat and it went into Kawaimau's chest about half an inch. She also struck Maugliang's forehead and made a long wound. Everybody sat up and shouted; they thought an enemy had entered the house and was killing them. Then father and Alurkoami threw thatch on the fire. When it was light they saw that Tilamau's place was empty, but the door was still shut. They searched the house and saw Tilamau crouched under the eaves with the arrow. Alurkoami spoke nicely to her and coaxed her to come outside with him. When she started up the house ladder again, he snatched the ladder from under her, pulled it up, and shut the door. Then he called to all the village to shut their doors tightly and to guard them, that Tilamau was crazy and was loose outside. So she stayed out all night. In the morning Alurkoami called all the strong men of the village to come and tie up Tilamau. People said, "Let us make sure she is dead before we bury her." So they divined, and the banana midrib sections fell so that the answer was "dead." They asked if she would be dead soon or not, and it fell on "soon." While they were divining she went up into the house. Alurkoami told Manifani and Padamai to fetch her.

They went up and she was in the loft. She dropped a knife on Manifani, and he dodged just in time to miss it. He yelled and said they had better smoke her out. So they made a lot of smoke with the sleeping mats, all there were in the house. In a little while she dropped her legs through the loft opening to come down. Manifani struck her knees and she fell. She was half dead. Then they cut the floor away from around her where she lay and let her fall through to the verandah below. She was a little alive and they were afraid of her. On the verandah she revived again. So Padamai rushed up and seized her by the throat. People hurriedly dug a grave and they dragged her by the neck to it. They didn't cover her or bind her body, they just dumped her in the grave and buried her. She was dead, but an evil spirit was animating her.

February 15, 1939

It was during the big illness [influenza epidemic of 1918] that Fanlaka got sick. His wife had just died and he was living alone in a large house. People came to tell father [a seer] that Fanlaka was sick and wouldn't eat anything. Mangma hunted rats for him and got three. They roasted and ate two and brought one home for Fanlaka. Mother pounded a little rice for gruel, which I took to him. Father was standing outside watching for evil spirits or ghosts. I went up into the house and said to Fanlaka, "Mother has sent rice and a rat. If I cook it will you eat?" He said, "No, let us wait for your father to come up and I can tell him all my debts." [It is customary for a dying man to list all his outstanding financial obligations.] I was a little afraid because Tilamau had just died [see preceding day's story]. I said, "I'd better go fetch my bow and arrows outside so that I can shoot rats here in the house. There are many of them." So I went out and told father what we had said, and that he had better go up. Father said, "No, you go up first." I said I was afraid, and so we went up together. I cooked for Fanlaka, but he didn't eat; he just put the food in his mouth without swallowing it. He said, "Younger brother, my heart is no longer clear. It is dark." Father said, "Perhaps you are grieving for the dead and want to go with them to their village. You are my grown child. If you leave and all the rest die, who will make my death feasts? These other younger brothers [classificatory] of yours are still children. But if you go they will grow up to make my death feasts, so if you want to follow the dead, go." That night father and I slept on a small raised platform and Fanlaka slept on the floor. In the middle of the night father woke, put out his hand, and felt Fanlaka. He had changed to a bark loincloth and his body was cold. We used half of the cloth he had

×159 got previously for his father's shroud and covered him. In the morning Manifani came to bury him.

[I asked for personal tales, for the strongest feelings, good or bad, he remembered having.] When I was about twelve, I and Maniseni played the bean game. Mother called me to fetch water. I didn't want to go, so mother picked up a stick and beat my back. I saw Maniseni's bow and his two-pronged bird arrow lying at my feet. After mother turned away from hitting me, I picked it up and aimed it. Maniseni shouted to mother that I was shooting her. As she turned, the arrow grazed the back of her head, wounding her. Mother screamed and began crying. I threw the bow and arrow away and ran down toward Afalbarka. Lakamau and many men ran to hunt for me. I saw a rock crevice and hid in it until the men left. Then I went up the opposite slope and saw that many people had gathered around to look at mother's wound. I went up to my grandmother's house in Atimelang. I heard people yelling that I had probably gone to Atimelang and that father was on his way there, carrying a sword and club. He said he was going to cut off my fingers. I told my grandmother what had happened and that father was coming to cut off my fingers. So grandmother took me up in the loft, put me in a large storage basket, covered it, and then laid heavy food tubes over it. Father arrived just as grandmother came down. Father asked where I was and grandmother said I had not come there, or if I had she hadn't seen me. Father said I had gone in that direction and probably she was hiding me. Grandmother said, "If I am hiding him you had better look for him." So father came up into the house with his sword and hunted everywhere in the room. Then he came up to the loft and hunted everywhere. [Interpreter shivers.] He looked up in the second loft too, but he didn't look in the basket where I was hiding because there were big heavy tubes on it. He left without finding me. If he had lifted the heavy food tubes and that basket cover he would have found me and cut off my fingers. After father left I hid there for three days. I hid in the basket, only coming out to eat and sleep. Then we heard that mother was a little better and was able to work in the garden, so I came out of the house but I didn't go home. I stayed with my grandparents for two months before father asked me to come home. He said mother was better and that she wanted to go out and fetch greens, so I had better come home to care for my younger brother. But grandfather didn't want me to go. He and all the old men there said that if I went home they would hit me. I also said, "No, I don't want to go home; you will tie me up." So father went home alone. Then father had guests who brought him a loincloth. Father brought me the loincloth, saying we had better go home. I could wear the loincloth and mind the baby. So I put on the loincloth and followed him home. [Were your parents good to you when you got back?] That evening mother talked to me, saying, "When our parents hit us, it is so that we can learn what our work is; it is only to teach us so we can learn. Before I gave birth to you, my familiar spirit spoke to me, saying that I would give birth to two boys who would make many mistakes and that I would have to pay for their faults, but that they wouldn't die. Another time don't act that way. There are only two boys, you and your younger brother. Your elder mother [father's first wife] has only girls."

Once father built the verandah for a death feast [*Ato*]. He intended to feed it, but instead he just went off to Kolpada [another wife] and from there he went on to the ravine to fish for eels. Mother was angry and went to quarrel with him and his other wife, Kolpada. She asked why he went off and didn't feed his verandah. When she left, father followed her home and hit her. Mother was crying as I sat by the fire eating. I became angry, took a stick, and hit father on the forehead. Much blood flowed. There was blood on his face, breasts, hands—everywhere. [He kept repeating how much blood there was.] Then I was afraid and ran and hid with Fankalieta, my grandfather. I told him what had happened and he said, "We Senhieta lineage people are used to fighting with Maughieta lineage people. There aren't many Maughieta, but there are many Senhieta. Don't be afraid. If he comes, I am standing here. We know how to use both swords and clubs. I know how. Don't hide. Just sit here." [Rilpada was Maughieta but sought protection from a Senhieta. Personal considerations outweighed lineage allegiance.] Then father came. I sat wondering if he would hit me or not, but he went on by to Lemmasang, saying he was going to call the chief. He said, "Kolmau and her child have wounded me. Reckon expenses so they can pay me back. We shall be divorced." So the chief called mother. She came and said, "This isn't my verandah feast. He makes a verandah and then won't feed it; he just runs off to hunt eels. So I was angry." Then the chief asked father why he had hit his wife. He said it was father's fault, but because I had struck him, my mother's siblings must pay pigs with which father could give his feast. Mother agreed but father wouldn't accept the judgment. He collected his weapons and valuables at our house and went to Kolpada's x 159 house. After two days mother went to her brother Manifani, and he promised a large pig. Her other brother, Langmani, promised a Maningmauk moko as a dowry. Then mother told me to go out and raise money and arrows to pay the carriers bringing the dowry. I set out to raise money. I passed by father and he asked what I was doing. I said I was raising money to pay my uncles, who were bringing me my mother's dowry. Father said, "You are a child; it isn't as though I were not here to do this. I will raise the arrows and money. Before this happens I must die, and then you may hunt money for my death feast." I went home and told mother. She said, "We were only following the chief's words." As we spoke, father came with a pig and a chicken, but mother quarreled with him, saying, "You are staying with Kolpada. Go there. Let her cook your feast. We are making our own feast." Father just stood there. He didn't speak. Then Manifani and Langmani came and said they were giving the dowry to reconcile them. So mother and father made peace. We fed the verandah, but in two months father died and we never gave the main part of the feast.

February 16, 1939

I was grown. Manikari called to say that he had found a good ratrun, so we went to his garden to smoke out the rats. We got all the little ones but the female died in the hole. Manikari thrust a stick in and could feel its fur, so he told me to get his knife in order to cut it out of the hole. Then Manikari said we had better dig tubers to eat with the rats. As Manikari was digging, his mother, Kolkari, came and was angry with him for digging the tubers in her garden. She wanted to know why we always came to her garden to dig tubers. She said if we wanted them, we ought to go to the woods for wild ones. She took a stick and beat Manikari across the shoulders. Manikari was angry and hit the side of her head with a piece of bamboo he had in his hand, and blood flowed. Then his mother cried and went to complain to the chief. The chief called us, saying, "Now I am going to give you three cooked bananas [meaning blows]." Manikari refused to pay a fine. I cried, but Manikari said, "Go ahead, hit me." Then Thomas said, "I had better take Rilpada's place." So Thomas stepped forward to get the blows. As he did, he said, "Now the chief hits me, but by and by Rilpada will pay me something." I said, "I didn't ask you to take my place. When you offered to take my place, I had a clear heart. But now you are asking to be paid and my heart is dark. I had better pay the fine." So I got six cents and paid them to Kolkari. Manikari was given three blows. Now still Manikari and Kolkari do not come near each other.

[I asked why he was involved.] The chief said, "If Manikari had been alone, he alone would have to pay; but you two are together and have one heart, so both of you have to pay."

Senmani and Padalani were fighting about an arrow near Lenmasang. Kolmau's corn was still young. [Kolmau was the wife of Rilpada's maternal uncle.] Senmani tugged at the arrow shaft and split it, so Padalani took it and hit him with it. Senmani and Padalani wrestled and Senmani fell and hit his head on a stone. He cried. I grabbed Padalani and asked why they were fighting. Then Atama, Padalani's younger brother, came up and fought with me. Padalani and I fought; Senmani and Atama fought. We broke off all Kolmau's corn. Kolmau was angry. She picked up some of her broken corn and went to Manifani to litigate. [Manifani was her husband's brother.] Manifani didn't say anything about our fight; he just talked of corn. He said each of us had to pay a large corn bundle for what we had broken. We said we didn't have them, so he said we would have to pay a pig. But we said we didn't have pigs, so he said we would each have to pay a small gong. But we said we didn't have any. So he said, "Now you four must sit here on the ground until dawn, and then the four of you can pay one piglet together." So we agreed. We sat on the ground and after a while I said I had to urinate. I ran away to the village boundary, where I sat on a stone in the bamboo thicket. Lakamau built up the fire and called our parents, saying that since I had run off they would have to pay our fine right away. I was up there listening. Then father came bringing a pig. Lonata [mother of the other two] gave father half a rupiah for their share of the pig he was paying. Then Manifani told father to call me so that he might give us orders. They called and I came down. Manifani hit my legs twice and my shoulders twice, and then he took me by the ears and twisted them hard. I was angry and bit his chest. It was very hairy and I got a lot of hair in my mouth. Manifani cried. He said, "Why do you bite me? I passed good judgment and you ran away; for this I hit you." Then he said, "You four can play in empty places or you can fight with words in gardens, but if you want to fight, go to empty places. Don't do this again."

[I referred to the episode when his father threatened to cut off his fingers and asked if people had ever threatened to cut off his penis. He said, "Eh!" as though he were startled and then told the following story.] When I was about twelve, we were living in Puorkaivi. I, father, and Mangma hunted rats. They got a big one and gave him to me to hold. As I held him by his tail, I saw that he was still breathing, so I rubbed up and down on his tail and the rat revived and got away. Father and Mangma were angry and went after it once more. After that we went to roast the rats and eat them. I said, "That big rat whose tail I rubbed is mine; I get its haunches." Father said, "If you knew how to eat rats, you wouldn't let them go. But you don't know how to eat rats, so I get its haunches." I cried and father gave me the haunch of a small rat, so I stopped crying. Father said, "Next time you hunt rats with your father or elders, you mustn't play like that. If you play like that another time, we will cut off your penis, and you can eat that instead of rats. If you do this, even people who are clever won't have any luck in hunting rats. The rats will just hide. People will cut off your penis, put it on a spit [like a rat], and give it to you instead of a rat to eat."

[I asked whether this was the first time such a threat had been made. He said it was, then continued immediately with the following.] Three days later Kolata [his father's first wife] told me to hunt rats. I went near Lakakalieta's house. There were many papaya trees there with ripe fruit. I said, "Grandfather Lakakalieta!" He said, "Who talks out there? A person who brings me firewood may approach, but a person who doesn't bring me wood can't come near or take any papayas." So I said, "If that is so, I shall go fetch wood for my grandfather." Kafelkai had already cut a lot and piled it up. I took small pieces, nothing heavy. Then I thought, "If I go back by the main trail, Kafelkai will see me and beat me. I'd better follow the ravine to Afalberka before I ascend." I reached Lakakalieta's house and threw the wood down hard so it would make a big noise and sound as though I had brought a lot. Really I didn't have much. Lakakalieta said, "Oh, what's that?"

I said, "I've come bringing wood to grandfather."

He said, "Who are you?"

"Rilpada."

"Which Rilpada?"

"The child of Padafani and Kolmau."

"Oh, so you are their child?"

"Yes."

"Oh, then you are my grandchild, so take what you want of the papayas—ripe fruit, green fruit, or leaves."

So I climbed up in the tree, picked fruit, came down, and ate it. When I finished eating, Lakakalieta said, "If you have finished eating, bring up the wood and put it on the fire." I did and he began talking to me. He said, "Grandson, you may take those papayas whenever you want them. But I sit here all day in the house and the sun speaks to me, saying, 'Don't lie to people and take their things. You must pay before you eat their food. If you take pigs, pay for them before you roast them. If you take gongs, pay for them before using them. You may not take things raw [i.e., unpaid for]. Now you sit alone in this house. These papayas are substitutes for your siblings and your wife. If people come to ask you for them and bring you wood, you can give papayas to them. All your kin may come and ask you for them, but see that they carry wood to pay for them. If they don't, they eat raw.' Thus the sun speaks to me. So even when my grandson comes empty-handed and just begs, I don't want to give them to him. Matingpeni brought me pounded corn and it is still in the loft. But I have no meat. My teeth are gone and my mouth is empty. There were two chickens here, but I think Lakamau has taken them to sell for gongs and mokos, so you had better go hunt for rats in the stone pile outside. Then we can eat them with the corn." I said, "I can do it, but I am still small. Who will lift the large stones back on the cairn?" He said, "Just take them off. When grown people come for my papayas, I'll get them to rebuild the cairn." So I hunted and shot two rats. I saw another hole and smoked out five more. I went up and told Lakakalieta there were seven. He said, "Good, now you have come and given me something to drink [i.e., rat soup] for both evening and morning. You are good, therefore you may have my war arrow." I cooked the rats; five I stored for him. I cooked the corn and some peas. I ate only the heads of the rats. The rest I gave to him. When I left he told me to take the arrow, but I said, "I can't take it. I brought you wood and you gave me papayas. Then you told me to hunt rats and I did. People would say you only bought them. Another time when I bring you rats, you can give me the arrow." He said, "Another time you don't have to stand outside and ask, but come right up and sit next to me." [Rilpada stopped. I asked whether he ever went back.] Two days later I went back and he gave me the arrow. Once I killed my maternal grandmother's chicken and took it to Lakakalieta. Then he gave me three other metal-tipped arrows. He took my arm and said, "If you are like this, you will grow to be as old as I am." About a month after that he died.

February 17, 1939

When Alofe and I were having our teeth blackened, there were ten men and ten women. Alofe was pounding the dyestuff for our teeth. The girls didn't give us much food, so Alofe was angry. He said, "Why

159 do I pound tooth dye for you? You stay in the house and eat. We boys outside get what is left over." Kawaimau sided with Alofe and they fought with Lonata. Lonata twisted Kawaimau's mouth. Alofe got a stick and hit both girls. Lonata and Alofe fought and finally bumped into me where I lay asleep, wounding my leg. I was angry and took a knife. I meant to hit with the flat of the blade to frighten them, but somehow I cut Lonata's leg with the edge so the blood flowed. She ran to the chief of Dikimpe. I, Alofe, and Kawaimau were all at fault. I had to pay seven cents, Alofe paid one pig, and Kawaimau paid seven cents. Then the chief said we would have to stop dyeing our teeth and sleep at home that night, although we had been at it only five days [instead of the customary seven or more days]. In two days we paid for the tooth blackening; each one gave a cent. The chief also said that we couldn't eat the rats we had, but must take them home and share them with our families. There were twenty-five of them. We ate them at home, so our elders got the best parts.

Once David scalded his side with hot water. He came to me and asked me to fetch him water because his siblings wouldn't. He said he would give me money for it. At that time we didn't understand money. I went to fetch the water and skimmed off the algae. I returned to the village and David said, "Wash my wound before I pay you." So I washed his wound and put algae on it. The wound hurt and so he cried and cried, saying he would die that day. I said, "You are crying but I have put medicine on you, so you had better pay me." David said, "I am still in pain. Wait until it is less; then I will pay you." That night David slept soundly and his wound didn't hurt him any more, so the next morning I went and asked him again for the money. David said, "Mother is saving money. I saw where she hid it, but you had better hunt rats for me before I give it to you." So I went out with Lakamau and others to hunt rats. I saw a rat go down a hole and dug it out. I got two. I went right back to give them to David. He was sleeping on the verandah. I woke him and said, "Here are your rats." He said, "Mother is busy now; you had better cook them for me." So I cooked them and we ate them together. Then David said, "You had better go out and sit on the verandah while I get the money. If you see where it is, you might take it all and then mother would be angry." [The informant and interpreter were laughing heartily at each new incident in the tale.] I said, "Let me see first what money is like," but David insisted that I should go out. I sat on the verandah and heard David running to and fro, hunting for the money. Suddenly he pulled up the ladder and shut the door, saying, "Come up now and fetch your money 159x if you are brave enough." Then I thought to myself, "I'd better go hide in my house and wait for him to come out, and then grab him." I sat and sat in the house but David did not come out until evening. I wanted to play, so I went out. I thought, "Good. You lied to me, but in the evening your will have to come out and play." When I saw David come down, I hid near his house. As he came down I ran up, but David hurried back in the house and pulled the ladder up again. He said, "Good, come up." Then I called to him and said, "You lied to me, but never mind; those rats were a present, so come and play." David said, "Friend, my mother probably carried that money off in her areca basket. I have looked and can't find it. But you can have my elder brother's war arrow. When mother returns I shall search again for the money." I said, "You can't give me your elder brother's war arrow. It is all right even if you lied. It is all right. Take back the arrow." So David took it back but promised to get his mother's money when she returned. He never did. He said, "My brother has gone to Kupang [generic designation for any place not on the island]. When he returns he will bring shirts, cloth, and many things. I'll give you some." But his brother returned and I got nothing. Then David went to school in Kalabahi. He came back and married. When I reminded him that I had bathed his wound and that he had recovered, he gave me ten cents to buy areca. [Question.] We were both about fourteen at the time.

Thomas also deceived me. He was sick. I went to his house. His father, Atalan, was on the verandah shredding tobacco. He asked me to help because it was all ripe now. Thomas heard us and asked, "Who is there?" His father said, "Rilpada." Then Thomas called me to come up. I went up and he said, "If my younger brother wishes, it would be nice of him to get me three eggs, for which I shall pay him six cents. Father sold tobacco for a rupiah last month and I've hidden a little of it away." So I went out to the verandah and saw there were eggs. I went back to fetch Thomas's shawl and returned, hiding the eggs in it. As I went up, Atalan asked me what I had hidden in the shawl, but I said, "Nothing." Then I gave Thomas the eggs. Thomas said, "Cook them." So I did. I gave them to him. He ate his eggs and corn while I sat watching. Then he said, "Give me water." I did. He said, "Tip the tube for me." I did. [Here the informant and interpreter were laughing to the point of incoherence.] Then Thomas fell back in a faint. I twisted his ear to revive him, but he only groaned. I spoke to him but he didn't answer. So I called his father and Atalan came up. I told him x159 all that had happened. Then Atalan reached down to twist Thomas's ear and Thomas burst out laughing. He didn't give me money; he was just deceiving me. I left.

February 18, 1939

Once father and I made a garden. The corn was beginning to yellow [244] amid the rice. The birds were eating the grain, so we made a field house and slept there to guard the garden. One day father said he was going to the village for tobacco and he would be back that evening. When father reached the village, there were guests, so he told Manimau to stay with me. That evening Manimau came. The next day we decided [226] to hunt for crayfish in the ravine. There is a deep pool there, which we drained first. Manimau dug into some sand and a large eel bit his finger. He yelled that a snake had bitten him. I took a thorny branch and prodded in the hole. An eel as thick as my calf came out. We were afraid and didn't shoot it. We thought it must be sacred [*berka*] because it was so big. We went home with just a few crayfish. We ate them that night and lay down to sleep. Manimau was still sitting up when he saw a person with a wasted body standing near him. Manimau woke me and told me what he had seen. In a little while Manimau said the man held his hand out toward him. I was afraid, jumped up to run, and struck the side of my head against a post. I felt sick and dizzy, lay down, and went to sleep. I dreamed too of the spirit, who said, "Whom shall we take, this one or the one who touched us [i.e., Manimau, who had touched the eel]?" I awoke and was afraid. I made a torch of bamboo and the two of us went back to the village to sleep with Manimau's mother at Lenmasang. In the morning father asked why we had returned, so I told him, "If you grown people want to guard the field, good. If you don't and the pigs eat it all up, we can eat the remnants. That's all right too." [He was indicating that he would not go back to the garden.] Father was angry about this, so I did not go home but stayed on at Manimau's for three days.

On the third night, in the middle of the night, Lakakalieta [Manimau's grandfather, not the Lakakalieta of the preceding story] woke us up and said, "You two children, don't sleep the whole night through. Wake up and think of what you can do. Go fetch something. Near our house Kolkalieta's squash is now large. It would be fine if you went and brought some here. We could cook and eat." So I and Manimau went. I picked a squash first and sat down to wait for Manimau, who was hunting for another one. As I sat watching I saw Langmani Besar [son of Kolkalieta] approaching on all fours. He came near but did not see me. He started back up the slope. I whistled softly to Manimau, 159x who stood up to listen. He saw Langmani Besar coming. He ran. Langmani chased and caught him. Manimau urinated on Langmani's foot. Langmani said, "Your mother's vagina [or 'copulate with your mother,' [195] a common curse]. Why do you urinate on my foot? Go cook your squash. I'll come for you tomorrow." I ran away to Loma and slept in Manikari's father's house there. I told him I had been guarding the garden from rats, was cold, and so came to him to sleep. At dawn Langmani beat gongs in Dikimpe [to announce the theft]. Then I told Manikari's father about what had happened. I said, "If no one mentions my name, don't say anything." He said, "All right, we won't say anything. Hide in the loft." The father of Langmani Besar shouted after they had beaten the gongs and said, "Lakakalieta, my pig came and destroyed your garden but I paid for it. That wasn't theft. It came in daylight. Now your child comes to my garden to steal. Give me back my pig and my squash. Put my squash back on the vine so it will live." They went before the chief to litigate. Manimau said that I had gone with him, so people set out to search for me. Manikari's father said I wasn't there. The people said I had been mentioned in the litigation, so I came down from the loft. Father called that I had better come and talk clearly. I went to the chief and sat on the ground. The chief asked if I had taken a squash and I said, "Yes. But we were sleeping soundly when Lakakalieta woke us and ordered us to go fetch squash that grew near the house." The chief said, "If that is so, the fault is not yours. Lakakalieta must himself pay the fine." Then Lakakalieta's familiar spirit possessed him and he ran up and down, shouting, "I'll pay. That isn't much. I'll pay." The chief hit him because he was acting crazy, and Lakakalieta defecated in his loincloth. Lakakalieta had to pay a pig, a red headcloth [*masala*], and eight arrows.

February 19, 1939

When I was about sixteen or seventeen, Padama of the Maughieta lineage died. The older men assembled all of us Maughieta people to go ask for a shroud. We went to Alurkowati to ask for Makanma's. He gave it to us with a pig, two large corn bundles, and a can of rice. Alofe carried the rice, Fanalo carried the corn, and I carried the pig. I tripped in a tuber hole and the pig fell. Father was angry and said, "If you throw away pigs, by and by you won't know how to get any." So father carried the pig as far as Lanwala's field and then gave it back to me. At the village the older men wrapped the corpse while we younger ones sat on the verandah. They buried Padama that day, and on the x159 next the older men called us all again to go to Muruwating, where the dead man had kin. I said, "Yesterday I fell. Today I had better stay and beat gongs. You can go." I and my friends stayed home; the older men went to Muruwating, where they were given a goat. They were going to save the goat for four days for the Hevelakang feast, but the goat went crazy and butted me in the stomach. Therefore the older people decided to kill it the next day for the Hevelaberka feast. They were afraid it might kill a child. For the Hevelakang they used only a small pig. Father went to Metingfui with a large gong as a dowry, and they gave him a big pig as a bride-price. Four men carried it back. They saved the pig for the Rolik feast three months later. Father gave a big feast at that time; thirty gongs and mokos came in.

In two months Tilapada, my maternal grandmother, died. People came to call mother and told her that her mother had defecated in her loincloth and didn't drink any more. So mother went. Her mother wouldn't swallow food. She died. They carried her to Dikimpe. Her other children [stepchildren], Manifani, Langmani, and Lakamau, said she had to be buried with the Senhieta lineage of her husband. But father said, "She can be buried with either the Senhieta or with her own lineage, the Maughieta, either above or below the village." Then Tilapada came back to life and said, "No, I must return to my fathers; bury me with the Maughieta. I can also be buried with Senhieta, but my Senhieta children have bad voices and talk roughly. Better bury me with the Maughieta." So they carried her to her father's house. That night Manifani spoke to her, "Mother, it is now the hungry season. Think of me if I go to ask people for food for your feasts. People won't give it to me." [He was asking his mother to send her soul with him to give him luck in raising the necessary death feast provisions.] But she didn't speak to him. She just grunted. Then father talked to her, "Mother, at present there is neither corn, nor beans, nor rice. I don't have gongs or mokos either. Think of me." So she said, "Oh, your gongs and mokos are many. You will have no trouble. You will also be given food. Now the people of Sehick [village of the dead] want me to go. But you will have no trouble." Then she died. Father went to get food, gongs, and mokos. He had to speak once only and people gave him what he asked for. But Manifani and his brothers got nothing. They didn't make a feast for their mother. Only father did.

[422
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602] At the time we were making Tilapada's feasts, father told me to go ask our various kin for pigs, and if they didn't give them, just to shoot the pigs in their pen; he would pay for them later on. I saw that Ataka-

lieta of Folafeng had a pig in his pen and I shot at it. Atakalieta was up in his house and said, "Oh, you shot my pig. I shall kill you now to add to the pig." I said, "Grandfather, I come to collect a bride-price. We shall pay you later. Father ordered me to do this." So Atakalieta's wife said, "Oh, our grandson has come to ask for a pig. It is the first time he comes to ask [i.e., he is just a young man], so we had better give him rice too." They gave me rice and helped me carry the pig. Then Atakalieta sat on the dance place, not on the verandah [a sign that he wanted to be paid right away]. Father took a Djawa moko [an expensive one] and set it out near Atakalieta. Then Atakalieta said, "No, you can't get any more dowry from me." [He was implying that their affinal exchange relationship had ended with the death of Tilapada.] In a couple of days he brought back a Kabali moko and a Fatafa moko as dowry return on the Djawa moko.

RILPADA'S DREAMS

For a period of about three months before telling his autobiography, Rilpada gave a series of one hundred and seventy-five dreams. He was noted for his prolificness in this respect. Obviously some of the things he told as dreams were only fantasies and local gossip. A tabulation of the major themes runs as follows:

Theme	*Number of Dreams*
Ceremonies and litigations, which reflect Rilpada's most constant activity, although only in a spectator role. In these accounts he discharged fully and rapidly many transactions. This had no basis in fact. They represent obvious fantasies of being a successful financier	40
Rilpada as the recipient of gifts, tokens of esteem, solicitous care (22), and food (8). Very often his familiar spirits treated him as an honored guest. Frequently these dreams contain bids for compassion with such comments as, "I am lame," "I am blind," "I am only a child," "I can't do this or that."	30
Derogation or punishment of other people	27
Rilpada in the role of dispenser: giving gifts and money, curing illness, or the like	24
Fearing or suffering physical injury (12), or fearing spirits (6)	18
Injury of some person in authority (11), or death of his mother (5)	16

In addition there were a number of significant dreams revealing his relationship to more intimate kin. These were often long and confused, so that in the accounts that follow only digests are given where this is possible without doing violence to the material. Only a few of the dreams are given, and the numbers refer to their position in the total sequence.

Mother-Father

x 159 *September 18, 1938: no. 19*

His mother died and he gave a lavish burial ceremony.

September 20, 1938: no. 41

His mother sold thirty-five cents worth of maize in Kalabahi and gave him the proceeds to buy a shawl. In the course of the purchase a coastal Mohammedan boxed his ears. A kinsman drew a knife in his defense with the intention of killing the aggressor. The police interfered. They were taken to the radjah and the coastal man was put in jail.

September 20, 1938: no. 42

"I dreamed that my father [who had been dead seven years] came back to life. I said, 'Father, formerly you were dead, but now you are wandering about.' Father answered, 'I am not dead. I only disappeared.' Then I said, 'Long ago you died. I asked for a shroud. I returned, wrapped your body, and buried you. I paid for your shroud with thirty pigs and gongs. I divided wealth worth fifty-eight rupiahs among your Male House kin.' He said, 'You are blind in one eye and you are lame, but I believe you are a rich man. Give the rest of my death feasts. Do thus; but in truth, I have only disappeared.' One dream was thus."

September 24, 1938: no. 60

His father urged him to wake up, and then led him to their village, where he gave Rilpada a large gong and a broken one as well. The latter was "medicine" to bring him good fortune in financial enterprises.

September 26, 1938: no. 70

His father killed his mother with a club. Rilpada collected pigs for an elaborate death feast. While it was under way, his mother revived and said, "I am not dead. Use the pigs, gongs, and rice for your father's death feast [since he is really dead]. I am not dead."

September 30, 1938: no. 82

His mother died and he paid off obligations in a rapid and ostentatious fashion, in which the ethnographer assisted.

October 5, 1938: no. 94

He visited the old village site and saw his dead father's soul. His mother and brother Senmani were asleep in the house. He shook them

159^x

awake and said; "This is a dead man's house. Don't sleep here." The dead father replied, "Just last night I brought your mother here to sleep and she is already pregnant. She has already borne a male child." Rilpada replied, "A dead person has begotten a child. Throw it away." But his father answered, "It is my semen, so don't throw it away." Rilpada took a club and fought with his father. His brother Senmani awoke and killed their father, who turned to dry leaves in their hands. Rilpada said, "This is not a person; it is rubbish, so burn it up." They brushed the leaves into a pile and his brother set them alight. They burned to ashes and the soul of the dead man ascended. When the brothers scattered the ashes, there was a snake on the hearth. They were very frightened and ran away.

October 7, 1938: no. 99

Rilpada visited the village of the dead, where he met his father. His father urged him to leave but Rilpada was unwilling, so the father drove him away with a club. The father followed him to a large tree, where they chewed areca together, and the father then urged him to continue the journey home. When Rilpada got home, his brother asked where he had been. Rilpada told him. Then his brother said, "Were you looking for something?" Rilpada answered, "No. I just went to be near our father." His brother suggested that hereafter Rilpada should sit quietly at home. He acquiesced.

October 8, 1938: no. 105

He heard that his mother had died, but when he went to her he found she was not dead, but was ill from spirit possession. He told his mother to eat heartily. "Spirits will not possess a full belly. So eat something that your body may grow strong rapidly." His mother, however, said that her cooking pot was empty. Rilpada's wife prepared food for his mother. She ate and recovered.

October 17, 1938: no. 120

He heard that his mother was dead, bus learned later that she was only possessed of an evil spirit. Rilpada called to his maternal uncle to assist him in casting out the spirit. His mother denied that she was possessed. Rilpada urged the maternal uncle to come up into the house since he feared there would be a struggle with his mother. The uncle entered the house and built up the fire. They held the mother over it to drive out the spirit. She beat her brother's chest until he cried out.

Brother (Senmani)

159 *September 30, 1938: no. 79*

Rilpada dreamed that his brother returned from a successful dunning expedition, but when he awoke Rilpada said the dream meant his brother would have no success in the wealth-raising venture in which he was then engaged.

October 4, 1938: no. 92

His brother had intercourse with a woman from the Kafe area. The chief struck his brother. Their maternal uncle protested. Three male kin, including Rilpada, paid the brother's fine.

October 7, 1938: no. 101

His brother purchased a wife. Rilpada and his brother-in-law helped him, but the girl's father was dissatisfied with the payment. A third kin promised to make further payments for the brother in three days.

October 18, 1938: no. 126

Senmani wounded a playmate in a fight and was beaten for it. When summoned Rilpada refused at first to go to the litigation. A message was sent, saying, "If Senmani is your younger brother, come; if he is not your younger brother, stay." Rilpada then went, protested at paying his brother's fine because he was physically incapacitated, but finally did pay it.

November 5, 1938: no. 131

His brother and a friend received food, tobacco, and areca from him. Senmani cut his hand at Rilpada's house after receiving these gifts. Rilpada put lime in the cut (the customary treatment) and Senmani cried.

Sister (Kolfani)

September 28, 1938: no. 74

His sister's garden was very lush. Their maternal uncle's pig damaged it and there was a quarrel, in which two younger maternal uncles took the sister's side against the older maternal uncle. The older uncle was wounded. Rilpada paid for his sister's fault (the wounding of someone in a quarrel over her). The younger uncle was also wounded in defending Kolfani and so claimed payment from Rilpada too. Thereupon Rilpada married his sister to another man, who paid a large bride-price (which her present husband had failed to do). The dream turned into an account of affinal wealth exchanges.

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September 30, 1938: no. 81

His sister was accused of committing adultery. Her husband's kin blamed Rilpada; they said he insisted on her living in her own village instead of in her husband's. Rilpada denied all knowledge and responsibility in this connection. The chief beat him. He still pleaded innocence and drew attention to his blindness and lameness but said that since he had been beaten, his sister should not be. His brother-in-law threatened a divorce and reckoned wealth. Rilpada derogated the amount of bride-price that had been paid, comparing it unfavorably with that paid by his sister's former husband. The sister was consulted about the truth of the accusation. She said it was true and asked Rilpada to pay the fine, which he did. (Ordinarily the adulterer would pay the fine. Was the unconscious implication that Rilpada was guilty of incest?) He finished the account with the remark, "I awoke and my dream seemed very true."

October 9, 1938: no. 108

He shared a garden with his sister. He told her he was lazy and refused to contribute any labor. She was angry and reminded him that he had done the same thing last year, and that at that time his wife had given only a minimum of assistance, although they had shared in the harvest. She refused to share the present harvest. Rilpada was angry. They litigated. The chief ordered Rilpada to pay his sister some money and the sister to share the harvest.

Brother and Sister

September 29, 1938: no. 76

His brother and sister quarreled. They exchanged blows and the sister ran away to her husband's village. Rilpada made peace and brought her back by making an unfavorable dowry-bride-price exchange with her husband.

Wife (Lonseni)

October 1, 1938: no. 83

He divorced his wife for no stated reason. He quarreled with his brother-in-law over a dowry payment and struck his wife. He finally received a dowry and left.

October 9, 1938: no. 107

His wife stole from a neighbor's garden. There was a public scandal. Rilpada and his wife's brother paid an excessively high fine for her misdeed.

x 159 *October 9, 1938: no. 112*

He went with his wife to Kalabahi. He wanted to buy salt there, but a spate came that prevented them from crossing the river. They camped on the far bank, ate, and returned home.

Miscellaneous

In addition to these dreams of kinsmen, two others deserve brief recapitulation.

September 21, 1938: no. 51

"My familiar spirit and my soul went single file to Lemia, which is the dwelling place of an evil spirit. My familiar took his sword and killed the evil spirit. Then its soul followed us. My familiar has good legs and eyes; he ran. My soul is lame and its eyes are blind; it ran badly. Thereupon my soul hid under a rock. It took a thorny weed and covered up the entrance. My soul sat hidden. The evil spirit did not find me. I was very much afraid."

October 6, 1938: no. 96

"In another dream I saw my soul run. It stepped over a fire and my thighs were scorched. [Actually two children had been badly burned a few days before when they were jumping over a fire, and they had been brought to the ethnographer for treatment.] People carried me to the nonya,* who took medicine and put it on me. She said, 'Another time don't step over the fire.' Then people carried my soul to Dikimpe. Manikalieta said, 'There are several children who have been burned. If the nonya had not come they would have died. Our nonya has a good heart. She puts medicines on both cuts and burns.' Thereupon the chief of Dikimpe said, 'The one who has come up to us has many ways of doctoring. To those with sickness she gives medicine to drink. She also puts things on cuts and wounds.' "

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

This man makes an excellent contrast to Mangma. He lacks the pretentiousness of the latter, but has a vivid fantasy life, which he even embellishes now and then with a bit of confabulation. He is as much of a mystic as one can expect to find in this society. In view of his serious physical handicaps, he seems to make quite a successful ad-

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* This is a Malay word meaning "lady," which was generally applied to the ethnographer.

justment in certain aspects of his life. He comes fairly close to the [illegible]
characteristics of certain neuroses in Western society.

He is about thirty-six, the middle of five siblings, and is married to a woman ten years older, who has two daughters by a previous marriage. He has no children. He is a seer, and has some standing but little wealth. Physically he is blind in one eye, is crippled and emaciated, and has an irritating skin disease. He is a dreamer and an interpreter of dreams.

His father, now dead, was a prominent seer who had risen from the [547
position of a slave child by dint of persistence and enterprise. His father 555]
is the dominant influence in Rilpada's life. The son not only follows his father's vocation of seer, but he is constantly occupied with the latter's finances rather than his own. He takes pride in his father's sexual prowess in having had nine wives. Rilpada is the offspring of his father's second marriage. His mother is still living.

The tone of Rilpada's autobiography differs notably from that of the others. We are dealing here with a contemporary picture that differs strikingly from the childhood picture. Also, Rilpada's story differs from the others in emphasis. Whereas the general cultural picture is the same in his case as in the others, he insists upon giving a picture of good care in childhood. He felt the influence of both maternal care and paternal guidance, and both seem to have been intelligent and directed. The evidence for this is that he is actively partisan, now toward his mother, now toward his father. He recounts plenty of quarrels with both, but always adds a forgiving note, indicating that both his parents made persistent efforts to placate him and understand his feelings. He is always reconciled to them, and his story abounds in episodes of gratitude to them and solicitude for them. His earliest recollection, one of grabbing and spoiling a rice cone that his mother had prepared, is followed by the comment, "She told me not to do that, and gave me a coconut dish with rice that was left in the pot." It is natural, therefore, to find that he behaves the same way toward his friends, with whom there are plenty of fights but always rapid reconciliations.

Only in the case of women are Rilpada's reactions true to the cultural type—and even worse, for he has a decided neurosis on this score. There is some likelihood of his being impotent, though his childlessness cannot be taken as evidence to support this, since he is married to a woman now forty-five. There are indications of shyness toward women; he runs away from them and finally marries one whose chief virtue is that she can work well and be a good caretaker—a replica of the desired mother figure.

x 159 Rilpada seems to have been crushed by his father's greatness. He feels reverence for him and, save for his sexual activities, tries hard to be the shadow of him.

In short, in Rilpada we have a man who insists on giving a picture of better-than-usual care, with the result, however, of enormously inflating the parental ideal, which he seeks to emulate. Consequently he has more than the usual inhibitions. Rilpada needs constantly to justify his inability to be like his father, and this seems to be the significance of his constant emphasis on his physical injuries and handicaps. "How can I be like him when fate doesn't permit me, when it strikes me down again and again!" He is not trying to win sympathy but to justify his mediocre achievements. What he fails to do in deed, however, he makes up for by an eager confabulation, which serves to comfort him.

He begins his narrative (at the age of eight) with the desertion of his father to another wife, his solicitude for his mother, and his efforts to comfort her by shooting a pig for his aunt's death feast. The father's desertion enrages the little boy, and he seeks at once to take his father's place. He follows this anecdote immediately with one of an injury to his knee.

His narrative about being scalded is likewise a commentary on his father's help; but, he continues, he, Rilpada, was a good rat hunter. The next episode, one in which he quarrels with another boy, is likewise significant. He is pugnacious but has plenty of resources. He values the friendship more than the opportunity to be angry. He does not discard the object that displeases him, though he may get angry. His father always stands between him and his misfortunes with advice, which he takes.

Of pertinent significance are Rilpada's references to food. The emphasis is not on nutriment — which confirms the interpretation that food hunger in this culture stands for poor parental care — but is rather on the side of prowess, of being a good *rat* hunter, in which the paternal ideal can easily be identified. The influence of the paternal ideal is shown even more clearly in Rilpada's early leaning toward contacts with spirits — through very exciting and anxious dreams. Yet he is an unusually fearful child, and even until he is twenty-five he is constantly getting hurt, sometimes quite badly. Some clue to the anxious dreams of childhood is contained in his story that he had these dreams when he was staying in the field house, so he had to go home. The dreams were of being pursued by *men*. Though their chronology is not definitely indicated, these terror dreams must have come after the father's desertion.

Up to his seventeenth year Rilpada steals a good deal, often using as his justification the claim that others put him up to it. But for an Alorese he is quite honest. He deceives an old man for a while, then decides to be honest and compensates for his earlier deception by doing several things not expected of him. He refuses, despite a friend's suggestion, to eat rats while on a rat-hunting expedition for a woman, and then proceeds to tell her what a good boy he is. This is a child who appreciates approval and who has some incentive to accept parental ideals. Whether or not his autobiography is accurate, it shows the picture of himself that he wishes to give.

He is not malicious, except in one episode when he set fire to some fields, a decidedly pernicious act. But then he goes home and dreams anxiously of being reproved by the spirit of the field. He wakes up in distress, confesses to his parents and brother, and feeds the spirit, who reappears in a dream the next night to tell Rilpada, "You are good. You transgressed but you paid a fine." In short, for the reasons already indicated, Rilpada has a conscience and is consequently educable. He is repeatedly losing consciousness and having long moralizing visions. Three are reported on February 12, 1939. One vision is quite remarkable. He goes rat hunting and injures the rat, which runs up a tree. Rilpada follows, falls, and in the ensuing "vision" develops a "conscience" about killing rats.

But it is also quite apparent that his paternal ideal is too much for him. He hasn't the resources to live up to it. He is too much the good boy, is decidedly passive, is never a leader, and is never a financial success. He is living on his father's glory. Note the story (February 9) of his father's being ambushed by an enemy and challenging his adversary to bring out a pig and sheep, which he will kill with one stroke. This threat and its validation constitute the kind of episode that would impress a child with his father's fearlessness and strength. On another occasion, when Rilpada was twelve, his father was a guest at a feast and when served saw a hair in his food, a sign of poison. He flew into a rage, broke the pots and serving dishes, seized his weapons, and shouted defiance. Rilpada says, "I was afraid and I took father's hand." The old man compelled his hosts to pay a fine, kill a fresh pig, and cook a new meal — and give him a live pig to boot! Here again the father's vigor and overassertiveness was enough to impress anyone.

In other words, Rilpada grew up under the influence of an overweening, self-assertive father. But he used his father as someone whose strength was for his own use; he sought to be protected by this strength rather than to emulate it. His father is always mentioned as the center of his life. If he got into trouble his father got him out. However, his father did not condone Rilpada's lack of skill; the boy got many scoldings and on one occasion a concussion threat, not for a sexual misdemeanor, but for lack of skill in rat hunting.

Rilpada's relations to his mother are less distinct. He slept with her until he was six or seven. He often disobeyed her, and once shot a bird arrow at her and injured her. This was the occasion of his running away, but his father coaxed him back after two months' absence, and he found both parents forgiving and understanding. He once attacked his father when his sympathies were aroused by unjust treatment of his mother.

His father died when Rilpada was about twenty-seven, and only on this single occasion does Rilpada present himself as an important person.

The account of his attitude toward his brothers is devoid of details, but in the *few* episodes he does narrate, hostility is obvious. He does not mention his two older brothers until he is asked about them. He refused to take care of the younger brother, but he does tell of one episode in which he was getting the worst of a fight when his younger brother, six years his junior, came to his aid. He likewise neglects his younger sister. On one occasion when the younger sister was creating a great to-do by refusing to marry the man to whom she was contracted, Rilpada (age thirty) attempted the role of paterfamilias but failed badly. He was totally ineffectual.

His relations with women are likewise bad. In fact, they hardly count at all. Four times he mentions playing with girls, and in connection with three of them he recounts some untoward incident. He enters into relationship with a girl for the first time at seventeen. He offers to build her a house and she proposes to him. He accepts and steals a moko from his father. His father detects the theft but nevertheless offers to help Rilpada collect his bride-price.* But he loses the girl anyhow to another suitor. He denies having had intercourse with her, and we can well believe him.

His next relationship is one in which he and a girl exchange areca. She sends a go-between and again he is willing. His father helps him with bride-price arrangements. Five days later the girl comes to sleep with him. He is away on an errand and when he returns he finds her in his house. He is overcome with scruples because it is only five days after 159 the bride-price was given instead of the customary seven, and he runs away to the chief's house to sleep. Despite reproaches by his father, Rilpada is willing to break up the projected marriage if he can get the bride-price back, but he cannot. He nevertheless refuses the girl. His father recognizes Rilpada's abnormality and says, "You are afraid of women. You didn't sleep with her. You aren't your age." His father was right.

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* In several of the biographies very inhibited men make an early effort to get a bride-price well in preparation for marriage. These efforts usually occur immediately after adolescence and represent impatience to acquire status rather than a need for a sexual mate. Several of these premature efforts are followed by a long history of troubled relations with women owing largely to deep anxiety provoked by them.

He has one other episode with a girl; he has no intercourse with her but sends her away too. He finally succumbs for a small bride-price to the advances of a widow with two grown daughters. Rilpada justifies his marriage by saying that it is better to have an older woman who knows how to take care of the garden. This choice is quite telling. He fears forward women and finally marries one who is a maternal figure, so that after marriage his general life-situation changes scarcely at all. Nominally he is head of the family; actually he is again one of three siblings.

What are the operating constellations in this personality? What information do his voluminous dreams give us? Most of them deal with litigations and ceremonies, in which he is in reality only a spectator. He represents himself as discharging all financial obligations. In his dreams he is a great and generous person, feeds the needy, fixes everything, acts as judge, and sees to it that wrongs are punished. He also cures people and receives gifts in token of his good deeds. These are all compensatory fantasies in pursuit of his parental ideal.

His father and mother both die in his dreams. (His mother is still alive.) His dream relations to familiars are quite revealing. These beings take his side in fights and they are injured in his stead. They therefore replace the dead and powerful father. In one dream his father denies he is dead and promises him that he, Rilpada, will become rich. Similarly it is with the aid of his familiar spirits that he is able to be important and to overcome his physical handicaps. "My familiar has good eyes and legs; my soul is lame, its eyes are blind." But even so the fantasy of protection by these supernatural creatures is often of no avail, and often Rilpada is threatened by an evil spirit.

He evidently cannot tolerate guilt feelings. Many of his dreams deal with litigations, in which he is always judged right by some superior judge. Another version of the same situation occurs in dreams in which he is made to pay damages for other people's wrongdoings. For example, his wife commits theft, and Rilpada is humiliated and made to pay a x 159 fine. He pays the fine for his sister's adultery. Since this is probably in response to some sexual temptation of his own, it supplies us with a valuable bit of insight. Even in a dream he cannot formulate his own sexual wishes. He must accuse someone else of the deed, though he pays the fine. His martyrdom is really a sense of guilt and inadequacy. This is followed by a dream of his mother's death, which means great expenditure for him, and he accordingly pays all the death obligations.

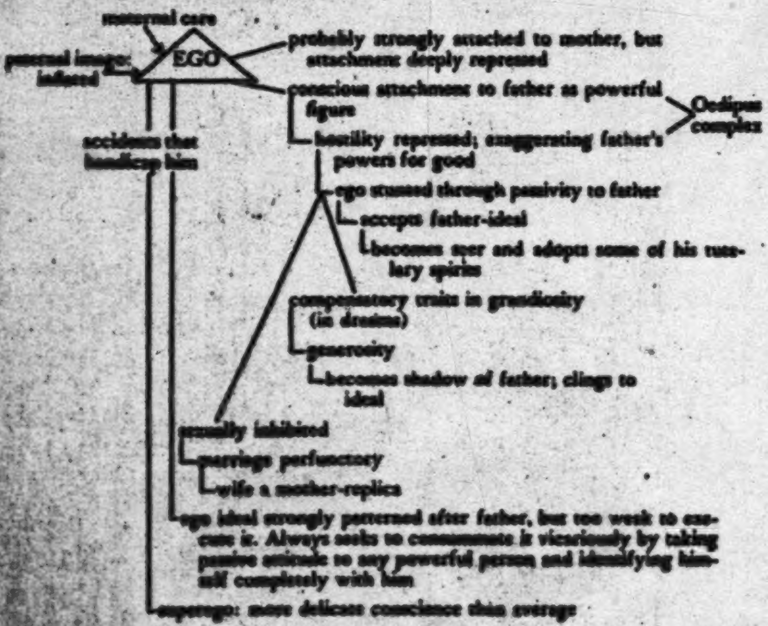
One dream in particular gives us a clue to his sex life. In this dream his dead father has intercourse with his living mother and has a child. Rilpada wants to throw the child away but his father says, "This is my semen, so don't throw it away." It was pointed out before that Rilpada admired his father's power over people and also his sexual prowess in having had nine wives. The father's sexual power is clearly seen in this dream when he impregnates Rilpada's mother after he dies. This causes great anger in Rilpada, and he and his brother (he confesses to be too weak to do it alone) kill the father. This is a typical Oedipus dream. But he cannot have done with his father; after he kills him a snake (penis) rises out of the ashes. His brother and he are frightened and he wakes up. (In another dream he sets traps to catch rats. But instead of rats he catches a snake, which speaks to him. Rilpada promises to build an altar for the snake and they become friends. But when he tries to catch it, it runs away and then bites him. The father as snake is again discernible.)

In other words, just as his father's influence on Rilpada stunted his growth, since he could not emulate him, likewise in his sex life he cannot do what his father has done. Despite his jealousy he succumbs to fear of his father. The result is complete passivity, consequent fear of women, and sexual inhibitions.

That power and importance always fascinate Rilpada is very clearly shown in a little episode bearing on the ethnographer. Two children in the village who were jumping over a fire and got badly burned were brought to the ethnographer for treatment. Rilpada dreams, "People carried me to you [the ethnographer]. You took medicine and put it on me and you said, 'Another time don't step over the fire.'" Then follows more flattery of the ethnographer's kind and wonderful deeds, and then a report of another dream of the same night. A girl (Fuipeni) dies and Rilpada diagnoses that an evil spirit had entered her mouth. With a knife he cuts off the skin of the evil spirit possessing her. His wife boils rice and feeds the girl. Next come a dream of the ethnographer's giving a feast, and another in which Rilpada visits his dead father, much to the latter's annoyance.

This remarkable sequence confirms our original conclusions about Rilpada's relations to his father. He now repeats the same pattern with the ethnographer. He is injured in order to be the recipient of her bounty; he flatters and idealizes her in the same way. He takes over her role as a healer and performs a miracle too. Then he is feasted by the ethnographer and visits his father. It is clearly no accident that Rilpada always mentions his father in connection with his injuries. In this instance he walks right into an accident in order to satisfy his passive longings. In another dream at this time he has a large boil on his thigh. The ethnographer lances and treats it, but it recurs. She lances it again and a stone falls out, and so on. The motive is the same. It is a solicitation for love and an extenuation of his own weakness.

Rilpada's Character Structure


maternal care
EGO
parental images: inflated
probably strongly attached to mother, but attachment deeply repressed
conscious attachment to father as powerful figure
hostility repressed; exaggerating father's powers for good
Oedipus complex
accidents that handicap him
ego stunted through passivity to father
accepts father-ideal
becomes seer and adopts some of his tutelary spirits
compensatory traits in grandiosity (in dreams)
generosity
becomes shadow of father; clings to ideal
sexually inhibited
marriage perfunctory
wife a mother-replica
ego ideal strongly patterned after father, but too weak to execute it. Always seeks to consummate it vicariously by taking passive attitude to any powerful person and identifying himself completely with him
superego: more delicate conscience than average

Chapter 12

Malelaka the Prophet

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

x 159 Malelaka's claim to fame rested on his supernatural relationships to
787 Good Beings. In 1929 he had predicted the imminent arrival of these Beings, whose presence in the village would put an end to death and illness. The people were very much excited by his prophecies and were willing to build special houses in which to lodge the supernatural guests. The government was suspicious of these activities and sent troops to demolish the houses and arrest Malelaka.

y 154 At the time that Malelaka gave his autobiography he was once more
124 cautiously predicting the arrival of Good Beings, but the people were far more skeptical this time. In the first hour I made no mention of these activities, but instead stressed his life history and early memories, saying that I did not want descriptions of ceremonies and other comparable ethnographic data.

He launched into a long imaginary conversation he had had recently with "my friend, the Good Being."

April 30, 1939

x 159 When I was still small, perhaps twelve or thirteen, the sun spoke to me, saying, "I come now to tell you that you won't get sick. You may have boils and wounds, but other sicknesses will not afflict you. The first time you have a child I shall come and speak to you and you must make a house." When the people heard these words, they said, "We must make a house," but I said, "No, we should wait till they [the Good Beings] come down from above." They said, "No, we must make the house first." [With utter disregard for the time element he was now off on his Good Being exploit of 1929.] Then Mobikaliets's familiar spirit said I should use a bow and arrows. When the five Good Beings came, they saw the bows and arrows in the house we had built for them. They were afraid and went away again. I was asleep and woke up to see that the Good Beings' mountain was hanging in mid-air. They held up their hands with their five fingers spread. This meant they would return in five years.

When I got out of jail, I waited two years, and in the third year I made a house again. [This was about August 1938.] Seven days ago I heard them tell me that in one month they would come, and that

Genealogy of Maleiaka

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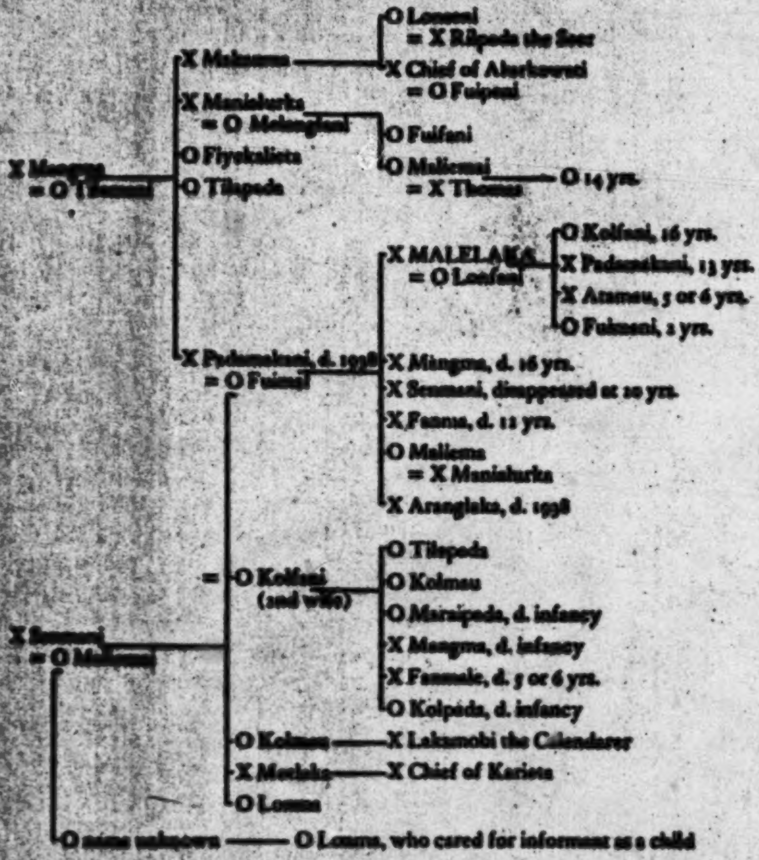
X Mangma
= O Tilasmani
X Maknama
O Loasani
= X Rilpada the Seer
X Chief of Aberkawati
= O Fuipani
X Manialurka
= O Malangiani
O Fulfani
O Fiyakalieta
O Maliemai
= X Thomas
O 14 yrs.
O Tilapada
X MALELAKA
= O Loafani
O Kolfani, 16 yrs.
X Padamalani, 13 yrs.
X Atamau, 5 or 6 yrs.
O Fuimani, 2 yrs.
X Padamalani, d. 1938
= O Fuimai
X Mangma, d. 16 yrs.
X Senmani, disappeared at 20 yrs.
X Fanma, d. 12 yrs.
O Maliema
= X Manialurka
X Aranglaka, d. 1938
=
O Kolfani
(2nd wife)
O Tilapada
O Kolmau
O Maraipada, d. infancy
X Mangma, d. infancy
X Fanmale, d. 5 or 6 yrs.
O Kolpada, d. infancy
X Senmani
= O Malemai
O Kolmau
X Lakamobi the Calendarer
X Maelaka
X Chief of Karieta
O Loama
O name unknown
O Loama, who cared for informant as a child

then I was to beat gongs just once so the people of the Five Villages could come bringing wood. I do not know exactly whether their promise was for one month or one year. When they spoke to me they asked, "Shall we bring an arrow or not?" I said, "If you bring an arrow, this world will turn over. If it does, who will be your subjects?" [The idea is that they would overturn the world with their arrow and the world would end.] So the Good Beings went back. In two days they came again and said, "Seers are the pupils of the eyes of the dead. They treat sick people and make them well. So when we come, call them just once. 159x x159 Then the kin of the seers must make food baskets, hang them on the seers' sacred carvings, and throw the carvings into the ravine. Then all the familiar spirits will run away. We have already given the arrow to our elders." I said, "If there were no seers, all the sick would die." But the Good Being said, "Oh, when my time comes, all seers must go. I alone will be here." [One seer, Rilpada, who was the most influential in the community, was skeptical of Malelaka's prophecies. The implication of these remarks was that after the Good Beings came there would be no more sickness and death.]

I asked, "Does someone from above want to come down, or is it an ordinary person who will come here?" The Good Beings said, "Oh, Malielehi's mother and father want to come down and search for their child." [Malielehi was a woman who was believed to have been a Good Being and who was the cause of the uprising in 1918. She was arrested and sent to Timor. No one knew what had become of her.] I asked how they would find Malielehi, and my friend the Good Being said that they would send a letter for her. I asked whether the letter would come from above, or would the government send it. Then my friend said, "I too have letters." So I said, "Place the message here. I too have children who have been to school and know Malay. I can send the message." But he said, "Last time you did this you were sent to jail. So this time we must do it ourselves. Don't do anything until we come down. Now you have only one pig and no goats. When we come down, we must have seven pigs and seven goats. The goats are for those who do not eat pig, and the pigs are for us." I said, "If you wish to come now, I shall have to speak only once and there will be many goats." The friend said, "When I come, white clouds will fill this valley entirely. Then beat the gongs once for the people to bring wood." I said, "No. We have to pay people who have rice four cents for a mugful, and we have to pay them one cent for an egg. How shall we pay for the pigs?" He answered, "You can buy the pigs and goats with the gong you have. Now you can't eat people's rice without paying for it. Also, you pay for their chickens before eating them." [This was doubtless a reference to my system of paying for the food gifts brought me.] I said, "If people like me and bring rice and chickens, I cook them and feed them to the givers. I don't eat them myself." Then the friend said, "I haven't come yet, so it doesn't matter. But when I do come, you must pay for the water you drink; when you eat others' food, you must pay. But when people come to you, you must feed them and they must not pay you. Now that I haven't yet come, you pay before eating; also, people

159x

may make feasts. When I come, people may not beat gongs. They may make lineage houses and village guardian carvings, but they may not make any other feasts."

Then I said, "If a native missionary comes here, he will designate for destruction the guardian spirit." The Good Being said, "Oh, that is nothing. If he destroys it, just replace it. When I come down to earth, you must feed the village guardian spirit six times every month. If your lineage house is broken down, the owner must rebuild it and feed the people. Each owner of a lineage house must do this. This will take the place of other feasts. When you were born I wrote down your years; now you are nine hundred and ninety. When I come down a letter will be sent to all those who have had contact with Good Beings, and they must all come. That was written down above. It has been nine hundred and ninety years since the big earthquake came and carried off Mauglaka [a well-known event that occurred sometime between 1890 and 1900]. If others, like those in the government, were to summon a Good Being, they would send a letter. But we must use our own kind of records." I said, "If we sent a letter and beat gongs, the government would hear about it right away. Nowadays if I beat a gong the whole island hears of it." The Good Being said, "Those who have ever had contact with a Good Being can have their shrouds and grave-wrappings split from them [i.e., will come back to life]."

May 1, 1939

Last night I dreamed people put me on a ship, but it didn't sail on the water; it sailed in mid-air. It didn't go up into the sky but sailed in mid-air toward the rising sun. We went until we reached an island. I asked where we were and they said it was Japan.* I asked where was the highest tree of the island [the ruler]. People said they were the rulers and that we must go away and return to our own island. Then the ship left and came back. It followed the north coast of Alor until we reached Kalabahi. There we got off. Then the officials in Kalabahi asked me, "You are a mountain man. How is it that you went so far away? How did you go?" I said, "Oh, the captain of the ship took me. We went all the way to the rising sun, and he brought me back." At the bridge in Kalabahi people were building a house. I asked why they were building a house and they said, "We are building this house for the officials from over there [Japan?] so they will come and stay here x 159 in Kalabahi." The clerk of the radjah said we were to tell the chiefs and the tumukun that people from Atimelang must come down to the coast and work on the house. I got as far as Lakawati when this big wind shook the door and woke me. [A monsoon storm was blowing. Malelaka was sleeping in the house he built last winter for the Good Beings.]

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* This is the only reference to Japan I ever heard a native make. All that Malelaka knew of it was that it was an island to the north.

When I was still small, about five or six, my grandmother, Maliemai, fed her familiar spirit's altar. Many people whom she had cured came bringing chickens and rice. Then my grandmother killed a big pig, and the three villages all brought food to her feast.

When I was a little bigger, my mother, father, and Padakalieta were living together. My father made a circle with his hands on a beam and Padalang shot an arrow into it. They were building their lineage house at that time. Padalang, who was the first owner, had to shoot into the circled hands of the second owner. They did this before cutting down the beam, while the tree was still standing. After that they could cut the beam. At that time they had to feed the house-building partner three times with rice cones. [He continued with details about building the lineage house.]

Some years later Maliemai bought carabao bones for a death feast. [He continued with details of the ceremony. For the rest of the hour he discussed in detail various important feasts given by his kinsmen and himself. He refused to be diverted. In the first hour he had concentrated on the great things that were to occur through his agency. In this second hour he dwelt primarily on past financial achievements. He gave the impression of a man preoccupied with asserting his importance.]

May 2, 1939

[A bad storm was raging and several houses had been blown over. The people were apprehensive and had not slept much.]

Toward dawn I dreamed that my wealth-bringing spirit came to me and said, "You have not yet heard, but now you will." Then he hung me upside down by my feet. He was punishing me. [Why?] I had disobeyed the spirit, who had ordered me, "Call all the people to come to you carrying wood, because this world is to become dark," but I didn't tell the people of the Five Villages to do this. [I asked who the spirit was. He answered that it was a fish being who lived near the Good Beings' village and was their friend. This led to a digression about the hereafter. I then asked him what early memories he wished to talk about.]

When I was still small, about two or three years old, I remember that Loma [a cousin of his mother] came to fondle me. For a long time, until she went to sleep with her husband, she cared for me. Then Tilalani [an elder paternal cousin] came and cared for me until I was five or six. Then she married and left. When I was about that age, my grandfather took a gong to Atimelang and I went with him, carrying his areca basket. There I was given meat to eat. I lived for a time with my grandfather. When I was a little bigger, he took a pig to Fornafeng in the Kafoi area and I went with him. The people made a lineage house in Afengberka, and my grandfather took a pig and I carried his areca basket for him. My grandfather went to fetch Padamani's dowry payment and then took him a bride-price payment. When he returned the bride-price payment, I went with him to Bakudatang. Whenever my grandfather went anywhere to feasts, I had to go with him [*had to* in the sense of "wanted to very much"].

When I was twelve or fourteen, I did not want to follow my grandfather any more. I just wanted to shoot at banana stalk targets with my friends. They were Malelani, Lakamau, and Manimau. We played in two teams. We gathered all our arrows and whoever hit the target got an arrow. It was like playing cards [a form of gambling, now popular among Alorese young people]. When they started to build my lineage house, I forgot shooting at targets and just went for gongs and mokos. I thought only of roasting pigs. I too began for the first time to roast pigs and chickens. I was about sixteen. At that time a human head was brought to the village as a "husband" for my grandmother, Tilamani, whose husband had been killed in a war. I roasted a big pig. We promised the creditors that they might return in six days. When they came back my uncle shot a big pig and I gave a little one and a chicken. The creditors had brought the head of one of their own village members, so they did not eat of the feast. When the time came to pay, they said to me, "You are still single, but you kill pigs and chickens, so you too must pay." [Typical financial flattery.] So I got a Maningmauk moko and a large broken gong I had been saving to buy a wife, and used them to pay for the head.

When that was paid for, an uncle died. My elder kin said, "Go to the house of whatever woman wants to marry you and tell her parents to give a pig for the death feast." Marailani had spoken to me, so I went to her parents and got a big pig. In five days she came to live with me. At this time her family was giving a feast. I took three mokos and a chicken to the feast. Marailani had gone on ahead. When I got to her house she had disappeared. She ran away. So I was only throwing away

[151] my gongs and mokos on her family. Then after a time she came back to me. I began to look again for her bride-price. But she went off and slept with other men. Then I didn't want her any more. I asked for my expenses back and her family paid them.

May 3, 1939

Last night I dreamed I had a school at my house. The native missionary-teacher was not a man from these parts. His face was different. Fantan, Mateos, and Jacobis [local boys] helped to teach the children. I collected the children of the Five Villages for the school. There was a schoolhouse, kitchen, and sleeping place in Lonfaka's field. The school was near the place where I built the Good Beings' house that the government demolished. The teacher said, "In six days the Lord from above will come down." I asked what the Lord wanted and the teacher said, "He is going to peel all the people [i.e., give them immortality]. When he comes down, build his house in one day. He will call the government officials of the island so that their skins too may be peeled off." I asked what would happen then, and the teacher said, "When they come to collect taxes, you will have to pay them all at once. You will also have to follow the word of the Lord who is above. He will make laws for all people. Every person will have a garden, but only one. Even infants who have not yet laughed must have a garden." Then I woke up and it was dawn.

When I was half grown my father bought a gong, and the Five Villages came to dance it into the village. Father divided twelve rice cones among those who came. Then people brought a Piningia moko here, which father also bought.

[I stopped him and asked for early memories of his mother.] When I was five or six, my mother wanted to go to the fields to work. I cried and followed. She ran back and said, "Don't cry, and don't follow me. Go back to the house. I am going to the gardens and will catch rats for you." Then she took me back to the house and gave me an egg. I called all my friends to come and eat my egg with me. Soon there were a lot of us playing outside the house. I dug a hole and put hot ashes in it to [152] roast the egg. While we sat there, *Manimale* [a man] came and tugged Rusiberka's breasts. Her husband wanted to shoot *Manimale*. We were afraid and ran off. As we ran, my dog followed me. I tripped over him and fell, splitting open my eyebrow. I had a big wound. My grandmother, *Maliemai*, carried me to her verandah and cared for me there.

I and my friends were playing a game. We played until we fought.

Malelani pushed me and I fell, rolling over and over like a stone until I landed at the bottom of the hill. I cried. Motlaka, an uncle who had a house near there, passed by and saw me crying. He picked me up. My body was covered with wounds. I was almost dead. He carried me to his house, heated water, and washed my wounds. I stayed there with him. Then I saw young women bringing rice, first one, then another—seven of them. They said, "We have brought rice and today we are going to your garden and play house. We shall cook rice cones; and the egg your mother gave you is still there, so get it and we will eat it with the rice cones." I went back to the house and saw there were four eggs in the hen's nest. Two were good. I went to another nest and took six eggs, leaving five in it. Then I went to where the seven girls had cooked rice. I gave them the eggs, and each of the girls gave me rice until there was more than I could eat. So I put the rest in a basket and took it to my uncle Motlaka. We finished it together.

When we were ready to go home, the seven girls spoke to me and said, "In three days tell your elder kinsmen to shoot rats; follow them with a carrying basket to collect rats. Then we shall play house again. You bring the rats and we will bring rice." I asked, "Whom shall I call to hunt rats?" and they said, "Call the two Padamas, Senmale, and Lupalaka." So I called those four young men and we hunted rats. I carried the basket for them. [Malelaka was much younger.] We filled the baskets and then we went to a large field house. The seven girls were already there. Each girl got two rats and there were four left over. These we roasted and boiled there. The girls then cut the rice cones and we ate them with the rats. But there was a lot of rice left over. We five men got a basketful, which we carried home and ate.

When we were halfway home the girls said, "In three days there is a dance, so we must play house here again. We have eaten rats, but in three days we must eat chicken." The four grown ones hunted for a chicken but couldn't get one, so Malelani and Lupalaka shot a pig. They called me to come. Lupalaka was sitting near the pig. He told me to take it to the field house, but not to follow the trail because people would see me. I took the pig and went without being seen to the house where the girls were. I threw it down and ran home. Then my four elder kinsmen said, "Now we don't have anything to carry, so we can hunt rats." They went to hunt but shot none. Four of us sat and watched the trail to see that no one came while Lupalaka butchered the pig. When it was time to eat, he called us to join them. The meat was all piled up and the rice cones were cut when we arrived. Lupalaka x159 divided the meat among the girls. The girls said, "Aren't you men taking any of the meat?" We said, "Oh, we are satisfied with just a drink of water." Then we cooked the head of the pig, and that is all we ate. We told the girls that we could not carry the rice home and that they would have to carry it to our houses for us and give it to our mothers. The uncooked meat Lupalaka also gave the girls. In the evening the girls went on ahead and gave our mothers the rice. We followed them home.

The four older boys told me and Malelani to watch the house while they hunted areca nuts. They wanted them for the dance that night. Lupalaka, the two Padamas, and Senmale went to Lawatika and each one stole a cluster. Three of the clusters filled a large basket. When they came back, they told us not to tell the owners. They said if we did they would not let us follow them any more. We two children got twenty nuts from each of the older boys. They hid their share of the areca in Malelani's attic. We two dug a hole to hide our share. We took just a few nuts to the dance with us. At the dance Lupalaka tugged the breasts of an Atimelang woman. We saw it because we were sitting near them chewing areca, but we did not say anything. She was the daughter of Karmale, married to Fanpeni of Atimelang. The next morning they decided to litigate. At that time the government was beginning to give us laws and a way of litigation. Lupalaka denied he had tugged the woman's breasts. Then the mandur said, "Children, you follow this young man. Did you see it?" But I said, "I am young. I don't know how to dance. I just go to watch people's legs. I don't know." Then the chief and the mandur said, "They were sitting near you when this happened." I said, "That is true. They were sitting near me eating areca. That I saw. But pulling breasts I did not see." Lupalaka had to pay a pig and a gong as a fine. I was about twelve years old at that time.

May 4, 1939

[The storm was still raging. Everyone was very disturbed.] Last night I dreamed that this world broke up and darkness settled down over everything. Last night at about eight o'clock my friend the wealth-bringing spirit came and said to me, "I told you that people must go fetch wood and gather together a lot. This world is about to turn over." He went on speaking to me until I went to sleep. Then I saw this world about to turn over and everything was dark. There was no sun or moon. When my spirit friend was there with me, he said that darkness was coming and that women must prepare for it by gathering

wood. He said that for the first days it would be light, and during that [159 x
time women must gather wood, but after that it would be dark. I asked, "If it is dark when the officials come, how will they get along?" My friend said, "When it is dark, people must always go in pairs. When women go to fetch water, they must go along with someone else [as formerly in days of warfare]. If they don't, the souls of the dead will shoot them." I asked what would happen after it had got dark, and he said, "In time it will be light again; then an earthquake will come. After the earthquake you will see a large lamp hanging in mid-air. Thereafter the earth will be good again." [When Maleleka talked with his spirit friend, he stood on the dance place in front of the special house he had built. He heard the voice of the spirit in the house but did not see him.]

When I was about fourteen years old, people were waging war. If father or mother went to Likuwatang to market or went to work in the fields, I stayed home and took care of my younger siblings. I stayed in the house with them all the time to guard them and cook for them. When mother and father went to work, I took cassava, pounded it, [252]
took out the fibers, and pounded it again. I fetched water. When my mother returned she had only to cook.

When I was about sixteen, I started field work. I joined my friends in work groups [*tamal*]. Our mothers would cook for us. Young boys [476
and girls worked together. We worked, fought, played, and pulled each 883]
other. The older people saw that we did not work and that we thought only of playing and fighting. We told them that we worked before we started playing, but really we used to get lazy and just play. This went on all year until it was time to cut weeds again. Because we were young, we would cut only one or two fields and then play. When rain began to fall, we finally cleaned up our fields. We planted our own fields before we planted those of our elders. We weeded our own fields before we weeded those of our elders. They said, "Perhaps you are going to eat food only from your fields?" After that we all went and helped our elders. Then we began to raise pigs and chickens in partnership with people. But when they were half grown, our elders took them and roasted them, giving us only little ones in exchange. Since our elders took our pigs all the time, we didn't care to raise them any more; we just went to play instead. We gave up raising pigs.

When we were still older, father said, "We shan't need your pigs any more. You had better raise some and buy gongs and mokos for your bride-price with them."

When I was about sixteen, I worked with a group [*tamal*]. When

[59] they came to my garden, they didn't work. They just sat and watched the sun. They talked and played. So I thought I had better work alone. I built a field house and lived there. When others called me to join in group work, I said, "When I work in a group, I work industriously each day. When you come to my garden, you are lazy. I had better do my own work. When I am working, don't disturb me. I want to work my own garden myself. If you see sweet potatoes behind me, you can take them, but don't bother me." Young women also came to ask me to work communally. [He repeated the whole speech again.] When my parents came in the evening, they asked where my tubers were, and I said I had hidden some but most of them my friends had carried off. I had a very large crop of cassava and sweet potatoes that year. I hid them in three holes lined with banana leaves and covered with big stones. I saved them until corn-weeding time, and they were still good. [Later he said there were ten caches.] I gave mother one heap, and she took the tubers home and cooked them. Everyone asked her where she had got them at that season. She said I had saved them. Everyone wanted to weed my garden to get some sweet potatoes in return. I gave them one heap for their work. That was a lot for their work. Tilaka was one of them. Later when she had much cassava, mother passed by her garden. Tilaka still remembered what I had given her and gave mother some cassava. When her cassava had dried up she asked me for fresh cassava, because her teeth were all gone and she couldn't chew. So I said, "It isn't as though I had a wife who went to the garden. Just take what you want."

We ate up our corn that year before the rainy season even began, but I had a field of cassava that was very good, and many people brought us corn so they might dig cassava in my field. I said to them, [244] "Take the tubers but replant a shoot in each hole that you dig. That way you just take off the waste. The real food still remains." Of dried cassava I got a big basketful. Then Lakama [his uncle] went to Maikuli, who was observing food taboos before feeding his sacred hearth and told him that I had a big basket of cassava, that I was still unmarried, and that he could buy it from me. So Maikuli went to Mobikalieta and got a pig from him, which he gave me to pay for the cassava. I raised that pig until it was worth a Kolmale moko. When Masulani died they came to ask for the pig. I gave it to them with a Piki moko, and they paid me back a Hawataka moko. With this Hawataka moko I bought a wife, Fuimale, but she didn't go through with the marriage. Instead she married Manifani, and her father paid me back a Fehawa moko to cover the Hawataka, a goat, and other things I had given.

[I tried again to get him talking on human issues, but he reverted to 159x the preceding event in greater detail.]

When a kinsman of Fuimale's died, she wanted to marry me. Her grandfather said, "If you really wish it, we will ask him for his Hawataka moko." So Fuimale came to my house. At that time I had to leave to do *corvée*. Other wives brought food for their husbands, but Fuimale did not bring me any. So I ran off to get food. On the way I met Fuimale carrying some of my corn to Kalabahi to sell. She offered me some of the food she was carrying, but I said, "You are going to Kalabahi. I am returning to our village, so you keep the food." She was selling the corn for me. I got to the village and shortly afterward Fuimale came back from Kalabahi. She gave me thirty cents. That night I wanted to sleep with her, but she refused. This went on night after night. So I said, "If you don't want to, you can't live here." At that time I had given Karmau a gong, and he had paid me a Fehawa for it. Fuimale did not go, so I threw out the wood she had brought to the house and said she had to leave. Fuimale didn't go; she just sat there in front of the house. I told my mother and father to ask Fuimale to come up, saying, "She is also my child. Ask her to sleep in the house. I can give her to some other man." She came up and stayed with us for a month or so. Then the soldiers came and made us all move down from the old site into the valley. At that time Fuimale went off and lived with her grandfather. I told her to come help us carry down the bamboo of our house. But she didn't, and I had to do it alone. After that she did not follow us any more. Then I went and caught Lonfani [another girl], using as part of the bride-price the Fehawa I had got from Karmau. When I did this, Kekalieta [Fuimale's mother] was angry with me and wanted to know why I didn't pay more bride-price on Fuimale instead of getting another wife. I said, "Don't fight. I have bought another wife with three mokos, but I will give another moko for Fuimale and she can come back." However, Manifani was already marrying her with a bigger bride-price than I could pay.

May 5, 1939

Last night I dreamed I went to Karfehawa's village [Sahiek, the village of the dead]. Someone's familiar spirit took me. Karfehawa was sitting on a chair. He didn't look at us but just hung his head. Then the familiar spirit said, "Karfehawa, I have brought a man." Karfehawa said, still not looking at us, "Why did you bring him?" The familiar spirit answered, "I just brought him." Then Karfehawa said, "You must take him back." So the familiar spirit took me to an island, a little one with x159 ocean all around it. There was much ocean. I looked and saw there were five villages there. I asked where we were going, but the *familiar* said, "Don't be afraid; I'll take you to your village." Then we went along to Bataloleng. There I went into a kitchen, but the people didn't feed me. They just gave me tobacco to smoke. [Was this a reference to the ethnographer? He sat at the kitchen door while waiting for the interview. This was the only kitchen house in the mountains. He was given tobacco but not food.] There it was very bright and hot. There was no rain there. [Rain had been falling heavily for days at the time.] Then we went down to the ravine, where there was a big space. I asked what we were to do and the *familiar* spirit said, "Don't be afraid. Sit on my shoulders." I did, and he jumped across the river. Then he shook his shoulders and tossed me off, so that I landed on my feet. I was very hungry and told my *friend* so. He took someone's tubers that were growing there and gave them to me. I bit into one and it was *raw*. I said, "This is raw and I can't eat it. *Let's* just take it along." When we reached *Manetati* I woke up.

When I was small, maybe two or three, I was sick and wouldn't eat anything. I almost died. *My* mother cooked *rice* and I didn't eat it; she cooked pounded corn and I didn't eat it. *My* father had a large dog, very smart in hunting rats. *My* father hunted rats and got ten. He roasted one only and hid the rest in the thatch. This rat I ate with the *rice* mother cooked. Whenever I cried, my father would take another rat *from* the thatch and feed it to me. Whenever I cried they would take *rat meat and feed* it to me. When I looked at the thatch and cried, *father* would give me meat. When I had eaten all but one or two, he hunted rats again. This time the dog caught seven to ten. But father brought me just one at a time and hid the rest. [He continued repetitiously.] *My* mother too did not go to work because my body was thin. She stayed home. This went on for a month; then I got well.

My uncle *Maniabarka* shot at a man *from Kafa* but the man got away. *My* uncle sold his blood [i.e., he sold a bloodstained arrow, which is considered among those seeking vengeance a substitute for a head]. The buyers roasted a pig and gave him twelve coconuts, which he brought home. He gave me part of the meat and I ate it. The rest father cut into strips and hung in the smoke above the fire to dry. They cut off little pieces and fed me until I was well.

When I was still small, my mother gave birth to *Mangmani*. When he began crawling, I could already walk around alone. Our mother took us to Falafaking. While she worked in the lower part of the field, I was to sit on a stone and care for my little brother. I didn't watch him |59x carefully and he fell off and rolled under the stone. I called mother and when she came and saw him under the stone, she hit me. I ran off to Dikimpe to stay with Alurkaseni, a kinsman whom I called grandfather. He was neither a man nor a woman. He didn't have either a penis or a real vagina. At that time Tilafing had already begotten Alurkomau and his older sister Kolmau. Her husband was Mauglaka. While the children were still small he was carried off in a landslide caused by an earthquake. Kolmau could already walk when this happened. I stayed in Dikimpe and played with Kolmau. Whenever Alurkaseni got meat or food he would always set it out in three dishes for us three children. Alurkomau could not walk yet. I took care of him while his mother and father went off to work. Tilafing threw away her two children. She left them to her mother, Kolmaukalieta. Kolmaukalieta went to live with Alurkaseni as his wife, although they couldn't sleep together. Then Tilafing went to hunt for another man. I would take care of Alurkomau one day and one day Lonmani would care for him. Once Alurkaseni went to Likuwatang and bought two loincloths. The long one he gave me and the short one he gave Lonmani. He said, "Now I have given you both a loincloth, so you take care of Alurkomau all the time." When he went to work in the garden and shot rats there, he would give some to Lonmani's mother to cook for her. Ours he cooked himself for us three. Kolmau used to follow her grandmother to the fields and cook for her, so she didn't take care of her younger brother. When the harvest came, they gave both me and Lonmani a big bundle of corn. After Alurkomau could crawl, we didn't watch over him any more. I ran off from Dikimpe to Lawatika to stay with my aunt Fiyekalieta. That was when she had just married Kafolama. I went with her and her husband to the fields and cooked for them while they worked. When Kafolama got rats or meat, I was the one who ate them. Tilamani, the daughter of Fiyekalieta, went to stay with our uncle, Maniaburka, and our grandmother, Tilakalieta. [Note this shifting around of children among siblings of the ascending generation.] While I stayed with Fiyekalieta and Kafolama, I went to the ravine to hunt crayfish, crabs, and eels. Kafo- [234 lama, when he caught an eel, would bring it back to our garden. There 235] he would boil the eel with shredded coconut. I stayed with them for a year. When he brought eels, we ate them the same night. The crabs Fiyekalieta mashed with red pepper and salt for Kafolama because his [264] teeth were bad. The rest Fiyekalieta and I would eat together.

Kafolama had many children of all ages by his first wife. They used

159 to go out early in the morning to inspect the line of rattraps in their
[362] gardens, and then I would eat rats with his children. Kafolamo's wife would ask us all to go chop weeds in her pea field and then she would cook peas for us, and we would eat them there in the field.

May 6, 1939

Last night I dreamed until dawn and I was late coming here because I stopped to tell my wife and children what I dreamed. I dreamed there was a big earthquake: Trees, houses, and stones all fell until there was not one left standing. [The storm had stopped, but there had been a severe tremor the preceding night, which, however, had done no damage.]

Toward dawn I dreamed that all the dead awoke and gathered at my dance place, carrying *fighting* clubs. They said, "You don't have to divide all your corn with us. That isn't good." But all the people divided their corn with the dead anyway. Each got a small bundle. Then the dead left, but they did not follow the usual path; they went by Old Dikimpe and down into the ravine to the waterfall.

Then I had another dream. Someone said, "The women and children must not go anywhere." The world was shaking and about to turn over. It wanted to break apart. Every man held his wife by her hand, and every child held the hand of another child. We all sat quietly. All the people said, "Let everyone stay in his own house. Don't stay with each other." So every man went with his wife and children, and they sat either in their houses or on their verandahs. Everyone swept around their houses and threw all the stones far off. Then the dead came back and sat down on the dance place. They said, "This time we can't go empty-handed. Give us pigs or whatever you wish." So we all gave each person a piglet. Then they said, "Now that you have given us something, we can go; but hold hard to each other's hands, because the world is going to turn over." Then it was dawn and I awoke.

Last night also my wealth-bringing spirit came and talked to me, saying, "Plant areca and coconuts for every person, even the small children. Each person, large and small, must have his own areca and coconuts. People may no longer take areca and coconuts from others. They must fetch their own. People who take those of others must pay for them before eating. They must also pay for pigs and chickens before eating them. If we ask our male children for a pig or a moko, we must first pay a small pig or a small moko. Don't take people's eggs in vain [without pay]." I asked what we should do, and he said, "If you take people's eggs without paying, this world will turn over. Those who have taken 157 eggs without paying are liars and must be stabbed with wires. You watch. When all the people are gathered together, those with white hair, those who have grown up like yourself, the youths and the small children, and also the liars [deceivers] will be taken off." I said, "How will liars be stabbed with wire?" My spirit friend said, "Those who are bad will go to naraka [the *Malay* word for hell]. Now you are speaking so people may know that they may not take raw [without paying]; they must not lie to people about paying." I said, "If we do thus, are we to give feasts?" [Note the idea of deception as a correlate of giving feasts.] The wealth-bringing spirit said, "We can give the feasts if we have the goats and pigs ourselves, but we must not take other people's unless we pay for them first. Now widows and orphans must not be deceived. You must pay them too before taking their things. [Note again the acknowledgment of a system of exploiting the helpless.] Even if a person has a great deal of food in his fields, you must ask before taking it. If they don't want to give it, that is all right. Don't take without asking. Older people can't take food from children's gardens, and children can't take food from their elders' gardens." I asked what would happen to children who didn't know how to cultivate fields, and he said, "A mother can make a field for her child, but she can't go there to take food. If the elders have no food left, then the mother may go with the child to harvest the food." I asked, "If the child is still an infant and the mother is carrying it, what will happen?" He said, "The mother must go with the child to the field. To go to its field without the child is theft."

Then the spirit said, "The world has not yet broken up and I am going. You stay and listen to the world. I am returning. Speak to the men and women. If people listen to your words, it is good; if they do not, that is all right too. Women may not go to their fields. People who are at the base of the mountains must run to good level places." I asked, "Will this island shake every day?" He said, "No, on one day only. Twice it will move to the north and twice it will move to the south. If you don't talk to the people, that is also all right. But if the people who are near the bases of the mountains are hurt, they will ask why you didn't speak, since you knew what was to happen. Those who listen will remember; those who don't listen to you will forget." I said, "When this world turns over, what will happen?" He said, "In one day it will turn over, but a day or two later the land will be flat and all will be good." When he left he said, "You have not given the final death x 159 feast for your father. You had better order it now." When the spirit left, I went into the house, and the earthquake came.

[The informant had consumed three fourths of his hour in telling these dreams. He talked slowly and repetitiously. I suspected he was avoiding tales of his youth, which he considered insignificant in comparison to his dreams and prophetic fantasies.]

When I was about fifteen, father was sick. I went alone to get areca and ordered people to divine. The divination fell on his carving for ancestral spirits. So I ordered people to go cut fragrant wood. Malelaka and Fanlaka went for it and I sacrificed rice and chicken where the wood was cut. Then we brought the wood back and Atakari's father carved it. That night we had a dance for it and I killed a big pig to feed the people and to sacrifice to the carving. Then father got well. But there was also a valuable moko that had not yet been fed, so we got a goat. [I again asked for personal and early memories to forestall feast narrations.]

When I was about twelve or fourteen, people were blackening their teeth. I was staying at that time with Mangmani [his uncle by marriage] in Karieta. Tilapada, his wife and my aunt, had asked me to come to them to care for their child. While I was there, Malielmau [son of Tilapada] asked me to go with him to where they were having their teeth blackened. Senmau had asked us to come and do this. The women brought food and fed Senmau, who was pounding the dye. Finally Mangmani came and said to Senmau, "Are my two children your servants, that you order them to come here and cook for you?" When the [645] blackening was paid for, we each got a calabash dish of rice rolls and three rats. I said, "We are not grown people; we are only children, so we had better take this food to our parents." We took it home to Tilapada and Mangmani. [I asked why during his childhood he stayed so often with other kinsmen. He avoided an answer by saying, "Tilapada called me. She said she had called others to take care of her baby but they had run away."]

May 8, 1939

Last night I dreamed that all the familiar spirits of all the people here gathered in my spirit house. Then my wealth-bringing spirit said, "This is not a house for familiar spirits. This is mine. Tomorrow morning you must take down my house because all the familiar spirits have gathered here and spoiled it." [Actually the house was in bad shape owing to the recent storm.] So this morning I called all the men and we took the house down. My spirit told me, "Tomorrow take down this house.[5] There are many people talking, saying that tomorrow or the day after, Good Beings are coming down to earth. They say that tomorrow or the day after, an earthquake will come. But it won't happen. So tear down the house." I said, "You had better tell me the promised day on which this will happen." But he said, "No, just tear down the house." I asked again, "If I take away this house and the people's forecast comes true, I shall have torn down the house in vain. Better tell me the truth." But he said, "No. There has already been an earthquake. That is enough. If you don't take down this house, we can continue to sit here and talk. But you keep pigs under the house, and the smell of their feces strikes my nose." So I said, "Shall I take the house away then?" He said, "Yes, take it down. It is not our custom [i.e., the custom of spirits] to keep pigs under the house and to defecate from our houses down to them. We make enclosures on the edge of the village and defecate there. [Was this another reflection of Malelaka's acculturation struggle?] I said, "There are people saying that in one to three days a Good Being will appear or an earthquake will come. If their prophecies come true, I shall be shamed." Then he said, "No. If their prophecies come true, that is all right; but we must just sit quietly and say nothing." I said, "All right, but there is someone below [in the village] who has bought an Aimala moko, and I too shared in its purchase. My wife cooked for it and I killed a chicken for it. But someone took it away to pay for his offense."

[He was speaking in a very low tone of voice and with veiled references. The references were to the purchase some months before by Malieni and his lineage of an Aimala moko. Malieni had the moko in his house. Without consulting the co-purchasers he sold it. Malelaka seemed to have brought this into the conversation with his wealth spirit in order to tell me about it. He was in a very depressed state of mind that morning. He talked in a low, slow voice, hung his head, and used no gestures. He seemed to be in a sulky, dreamy state and a defeated frame of mind.]

Last night I dreamed that the soul of the kapitan came and struck me with a rattan. It was time for *corvée* and the kapitan had collected all the people to build a kitchen and toilet at the government camp. [This actually occurred some months ago.] I didn't go to work, so the kapitan beat me.

When I was still small, we played a game. There was a feast and we divided up the meat they had given us. The loser had to pay his share

[159 to the winner. We shot at banana stalks for arrows. Those who were not able to hit the banana stalk when they tossed for themselves got someone else to toss for them, and then we all shot at once. [As he told this he became more vivacious, began looking around and using gestures. He elaborated on all the kinds of targets they used.] We played thus until we were hungry and then we said we had better go to some older man and ask him to hunt rats with us. We went to Padalang [53-2] and while we were hunting, his wife cooked corn kernels for us and pounded-corn meal. When we came back she gave us a dish of whole corn and we spooned into it. Later when we had cooked the rats, she gave us pounded corn to eat with them. Then Padalang said, "Just now we hunted at random. We shall hunt again as a kind of divination. If we get many rats it will be a sign of the gongs and mokos I shall get if I give a feast. These rats will be the souls of my gongs and mokos." So we hunted and got many rats, more than a large basketful. So Padalang ordered his wife to begin pounding corn because the day of his feast was near. Then Padalang asked the older men of the village to come to his house and eat. He set the day for his feast. They asked him how many rats he had got and he said seventy-five. [The informant continued at length about the feast and its success.]

[I asked again for his own life history. As we stopped to smoke a cigarette, we overheard some people say that the bridge over the ravine, which is about thirty feet high, had been carried away by the recent spate. Malelaka went on from there.]

Once we played swing. We tied a rope to a high tree. The third time we swung, the rope broke. There were six boys and five girls playing on the rope. I was about fourteen or sixteen years old. We played below Mobikalieta's house. We fell from the rope where the ground sloped up toward us. If the rope had broken as we swung over the place where the ground dropped away, we should all have rolled down to the bottom of the hill.

Another time we tied a rope to a tree in Kalpada's field. There were older children higher up on the rope, and I, with the smaller ones, was hanging onto the end. There were a lot of people watching us. The rope broke and the end snapped back and struck Lompada, who was watching, just over the eye. We all fell in a heap. Her father came and chased us and we ran off helter-skelter. In running away Malielani struck his forehead against a mango tree and was badly wounded. Then Lompada's father called to us and said he was only teasing us. We all came back to the village.

It was tooth-dyeing time. There were twenty girls and only three boys—I, Lakamau, and Mangmani. All the other boys were off in another house to the east. There were four girls on whom a few small mokos had been paid as preliminary bride-prices, but who hadn't yet gone to live with their husbands. They stayed in another house. These four girls came down to our house to get their dye and then went back to sleep in their own place. One night they had boiled sweet potatoes and set them aside in the pot. When they were sleeping soundly, Malimale and Malelehi entered the house and bit the centers out of all the sweet potatoes and then pasted the two ends together. The next morning the women looked at their sweet potatoes and saw that they had been partly eaten and had tooth marks in them. They said, "We had better not stay here. We had better go stay with the others. Perhaps it was an evil spirit that came here and ate our potatoes." So they joined us in the large house. When they did, the other boys came with sticks and wanted to beat us three boys. Twenty of them came and called us to come out and fight. We were only three but we went out. Each one of us fought five or six opponents. Then Senmale tripped in a hole, and while he was down Langmani hit him on the head with a club and ran away. That left only me and Lakamau to fight them. The next morning there was a litigation. We told why the girls had come to stay with us. [He repeated the whole story.] We said we had not called to the girls. They slept in the loft and we three boys slept down below. The others were at fault and we were not. [No fines were paid. Allocation of guilt seemed to have been all that was required.]

May 9, 1939

Last night I dreamed bad things. People had been cooking rice cones on two dance places of Alurkowati. People had begun to cut them up and divide them. When they wanted to give me some, I said, "I can't eat this. I am afraid of it." The women of all three villages were there to help cook. I asked, "Is this a feast, or what is it?" They said, "The Senhieta lineage is feeding its wealth spirit and the Lakahieta lineage is feeding its spirit altar." They said, "Padakalieta is the first of the Senhieta, so he must eat alone in the spirit house." He entered the house and cut and ate the rice cone. Maliseni's rice cone for the spirit altar had just been cut by his first wife. I said, "Oh, we must eat this together because I am also a Lakahieta man." But Maliseni's wife said, "No, we shall put this in the house. Tonight we shall dance. The rice cone is to be eaten tomorrow after the dance." Then I went back to my house.

[159 The Lakabiera people danced that night but the Senhiera people did not. A Senhiera man called, "Why don't you people come down and join in the dance?" but the people answered, "Our stomachs are full of rice cone and we want to sleep. You owners of the spirit altar can dance." Then the dream broke off.

Near dawn I dreamed again. I dreamed there was a wire chain hanging down from the sky and my soul climbed up to the sky on it. As I approached there was a tree. It was hanging upside down with its roots in the sky. I took hold of it and went on up and found myself with my head down and my feet up. I was afraid and searched for the wire chain to come down. I was afraid of falling. Halfway down I said, "In that tree I was upside down and nearly fell. It is lucky I got away." When I got down to my house, I looked up and saw the sky was very dark and distant. Then someone spoke behind me, saying, "Who ordered you to climb that wire? It is very far. If you had fallen, your bones and body would have disappeared in mid-air. They would never have reached the earth." I went to the next dance place and people were tying a python to a carrying pole. I asked what it was for, and they said, "We wanted to sell this to the nonya [I had a short time before bought a python skin], but she has one already and that is all she wants. She is through buying. So now we want to take this to Kalabahi to sell." Then Pesha Benar and his younger brother, Jacobis, carried it off. I woke up.

[782] [I asked why these dreams were bad.] When I dream of rice cones, it is a sign that people will fight and get wounds. Once before I dreamed of them, and my female kinswomen, among whom the cones were divided in my dream, have all been wounded—Malicmai [his sister], the adopted daughter of the chief of Alurkowati, and my wife. [These women had really received more or less severe wounds during the last year.]

[787] [Question.] The ascent to the sky is a sign of hunger. It means there will be a big storm and the people will be hungry because the cassava and sweet potato crop will fail. [Actually the recent storm had made bad inroads on the gardens. Question.] The snake was already tied; so that was a sign of buying a moko. Maybe someone will bring a valuable moko here, and we will buy it but resell it right away.

May 10, 1939

[648
651] Yesterday the tumukun called the people to work on the government camp. Last night I dreamed all the people gathered and worked very hard until they had repaired it all and even removed the sand washed

down by the rain. The chiefs drove all the people to work. The tumukun said, "If you don't follow the order of the officials, you will be punished." Then the men all went to their wives and borrowed baskets and used them to move the sand away. They dumped it in the creek bed. The tumukun said, "Finish this work and then pay up the rest of your taxes." When the people had almost finished the work, my child kicked me and I awoke. At that time the chief was calling all his people to finish paying their taxes. He was telling us we must go to work on the government camp today. Then I thought I had dreamed truly.

Yesterday also I dreamed correctly. I dreamed that Padakalieta went up to eat a rice cone in the spirit house, and yesterday Padalani was hurt by a beam. [A man had been severely wounded the day before while cutting a beam. Maleiaka was present when the man was brought to the house for bandaging.]

Early last night I dreamed of *corvée*. While I was sleeping, the chief was going around to the people for tax money. I awoke but fell asleep later and dreamed again. I dreamed I went to the ravine to fetch sand. While I was there I turned over stones, looking for eels and crayfish. It was daylight while I searched for them. I shut my eyes and when I opened them it was already dark. I was afraid and started right home. When I reached the ridge the roosters crowed. I met Kafelkai and he asked, "How is it that you are returning at night? Aren't you afraid?" I said I was afraid and told what had happened. Then I woke up.

When I was about twelve or fourteen, we were cutting a field. The rice was already in head. My father took me to our field house to sleep with him and help guard the field. One night my father awoke, took a torch, and went down into the ravine to hunt eels and crayfish. He left me alone in the house. I was awakened by the creaking and crackling of the house. I found father had gone and I was very afraid. I looked but there were no pigs or people around. I was very frightened. I lay down, but again I heard this noise. I looked but there was nothing. I tried to sleep, but this time there was rustling in the thatch. Just then father came back with a basketful of crayfish and crabs. I said, "Why did you throw me away here? If you wanted to hunt for crayfish and crabs, why didn't you call me to accompany you? While you were gone an evil spirit was here. Probably it has eaten the cassava in the pot." Father then looked, and the cover had fallen off the pot. He picked out the two top tubers, and there were the teeth of evil spirits in them. He picked out some tubers from the bottom of the pot and began to eat them. He got evil spirit's teeth in his mouth. [These teeth were sup-

157 posed to resemble those of bats.] I told father he had better throw all the cassava away. I was longing for dawn so that we could leave. I said to father, "We had better go back and sleep with mother. We must not sleep here any more." But father did not want to leave. He said I could carry the basket of crabs and crayfish back to mother. I set out. When I came to Talemang, there was a woman who frightened me. She said, "Who are you?" I said, "Is it my name or my father's you do not know?" Then I left her and went on. I met another woman who said, "I am your father's sister, so give me some of your crayfish." I gave her some because I was still small. I came to the middle of the village and it was empty. All the people had gone off to work. Only Alurkomani was there, picking areca. He asked me, "Child, where did you sleep last night, that you are now returning from there?" I told him that an evil spirit had come and that I had been frightened and was going home. I said, "Your younger brother [*i.e., Malelaka's father*] is guarding the field." I went on. When I reached Tangfei, I heard the people of Alurkowati wailing. I went on to the village, and people said my grandfather, Mangma, was dizzy and people were weeping for him. [Dizziness was [827 considered a bad sign, indicating death and the departure of the soul.] 163] Then I didn't give mother those crayfish and crabs, but went right on into my grandfather's house. When I entered he asked, "Is that Malelaka who has come?" and the people said, "Yes." I gave grandfather the crabs and crayfish. Then he ordered me to fetch my father, but I said that an evil spirit had come to me the night before and I was afraid to go back. So my uncle went to call my father. At this time my grandfather was defecating in his loincloth. He was about to die, but by the time my father came he was coming back to life.

My grandfather recovered. It was time to harvest the rice. We decided to live in Kalmaabui and harvest the field from there. We didn't want to sleep in that field house. My friends from Kalmaabui said to me, "Your mother and father are harvesting rice and you are not helping. You can't sit here doing nothing, so come with us to gather kanari nuts." We went to Wale. We wanted to pick nuts, but we saw they had all been gathered and were piled here and there. Then we saw an old woman asleep wrapped up in her shawl. We didn't know what it was because she was completely covered by it. I called, "Friends, this is an evil spirit that sleeps here." We all ran. One boy took a stone and wanted to throw it at the evil spirit. He said, "Whether it is a human being or an evil spirit, I shall kill it with this stone." Then the old woman woke up and said, "Don't! Don't! I was just scaring you. Don't throw it!" We said, "You wanted to frighten us, so we had better 159x throw this stone at you." Then she said, "You may take from my pile all the nuts you want to eat, but you can't gather nuts from these trees. My husband has already put a taboo on them. However, you may eat what you want now. I have gathered these to crack and sell at Likuwatang." So we went lower down the slope to hunt for nuts. There also people had picked them all and put them in heaps. I said, "I am afraid of all these heaps. Maybe an evil spirit has made them." My friends said, "In that case we had better follow the ravine to Lamaing." We came to the top of a waterfall where there were some areca trees. One of the Kalmasbui boys climbed them, tied all the treetops together, and began picking the nuts. When I saw him doing this I was afraid that he might fall and we should all be accused, so I ran away. On the way home I picked a fern and ate it. When I arrived mother said, "Why [262 are you eating this fern when we are harvesting rice? You mustn't do 241] that." [Malelaka's parents had a harvest "medicine" that forbade eating ferns while the harvest was in progress, on pain of diminishing the crop.] She said, "Your rice is there in the pot. Take it to the village and eat." So I did.

The rice was all threshed and stored in the guesthouse where we were staying. A girl was burning off her weeds near there. The guesthouse caught fire and all our rice was burned up. Mother and father said, "Our rice is all gone. You had better pay for it with this child. We shall take her with us and raise her." But her parents were unwilling. They said they would pay with rice for the rice. I said, "Grandfather, we had better return to our village."

[I went back at this point and asked how he happened to know that evil spirits' teeth were like bats' teeth. He said he had once seen an evil spirit, and told of the encounter.]

I was sharing a field with another man called Malelaka and his wife, Kolaka. We had nearly finished tying the corn into bundles. I said they should start off with a load and I would finish the corn I had at hand and then follow them. While we had been working there in the field, Rualberka had come to roast corn. When I started back I saw that Rualberka was at Padabiki's field house. She was combing her hair. Over her forehead, where she was combing it, it was just wavy; over the ears, where she had not yet combed it, it was kinky. I then noticed that her mouth was pointed and that mosquitoes were flying in and out of her ears. I said, "Oh, that isn't Rualberka. That is an evil spirit." When I drew my knife to kill her, she turned into a night bird and flew x159 into a tree. I went to my house and spoke to Maleiaka and his wife about it. I said an evil spirit had almost got me.

May 11, 1939

[I began the hour by asking for all he could remember about Rualberka, the woman who turned into an evil spirit.]

Rualberka was married to Padama. She ran away from him and came to our house to sleep. She said that we had to marry and that I could pay back her first husband's bride-price. I said, "Before you married that man, I offered you my moko [i.e., offered marriage]. Now you have married another man and I don't want you." She took off my bracelets and put them on her arms. She took off her necklace and hung it on my neck. I didn't give them to her; she took them.

When I was working on the corn in my garden, she followed me. She was possessed of an evil spirit, and I almost slept with her [thought to be a fatal act]. She left the field first and then I left. When I saw her again, she had become an evil spirit. She almost took off her loincloth. She was just about to take it off when I said, "Whether this is a human being or an evil spirit, I shall kill it." Then she turned into a small black bird and flew off. When she reached the forest, she turned into a night bird. When I got back I told the older people what had happened. "An evil spirit rose in Rualberka, and we almost slept together." The next [262] day as I was sitting chewing sugar cane, she came to me. I told her about the preceding day. She said, "Good, now you must pay my bride-price." But I said, "No, I don't want to. I am afraid of litigation." Later her brother Mauglo gave her a necklace and some anklets [customary when a girl is marrying]. He brought her to my house, saying we must marry. I said, "I did not take off my bracelets and give them to her; she took them off herself. I did not take off her necklace; she took it off herself. We shall go as far as Likuwatang to litigate. If the case is not judged fairly, we shall take the litigation to Kalabahi." Mauglo said, "If that is so, you need not take the litigation to Kalabahi." Then Rualberka returned to her own house. Later she married into the village of Fungwati. When they shot the radjah in Fungwati [1918], she ran away and came down here. Within a year after her return both she and the child she had borne in Fungwati died.

Once I passed through Kuyamasang. There was a woman there I did not know, and I asked her name. People said it was Falongmating. She told me they were all going to Karieta for a dance and that I was to have betel ready; she would bring areca and we should chew it together. At that time they were carrying in the beams for the Lanwati lineage house. That next day I ran to Makangfokung to ask the former chief for a pig to roast. He said he had had a pig but other people had already taken it off. He said, "Don't stay. People are carrying in the beams and you must go back and help." So I went home and reached Alurkowati just after sundown. Mother cooked, and fed me. Then I went down below the house to build a fire and wait for the people. A lot of young women from Alurkowati came by on their way to the dance and asked me to go along with them. I said, "Better wait until all the people begin dancing." They said, "There are many people gathered there already. We had better go." So I went on with them to Karieta. There was a big crowd there; people from all three villages came. The Dikimpe and Alurkowati people shouted triumph as they arrived. Then the women from Kuyamasang arrived and Falongmating scratched my back. I looked around and saw her standing behind me. She said, "Come, let's go down there and chew areca." So I did. She put areca in my shawl. She took off her necklace and gave it to me. I said, "I am afraid." I took the necklace and gave it to my aunt Maliemai. Old people said we must give our elders the tokens received from girls. Then the girl said to her younger sibling, "Don't stay here. Go up to the dance place." Just then a crazy woman dashed onto the dance place brandishing a club, and all the people scattered. When she ran toward us, we ran away too. The girl pulled my hand and said, "Let's go down there." I said, "Don't. My grandparents taught me that when a woman spoke with me, we could not sleep together. If we did, our mokos would become small and disappear." [This means that the mokos young boys have out at interest would be eaten up in small repayments which the boys would want for immediate purposes, and they would never get the big mokos necessary for a bride-price.] I said, "If we sleep together, we must be married first. I have mokos. Your aunt is in Karieta and you can come and stay with her." But the woman said, "No, we had better sleep together first." But I didn't want to. Then this girl came to stay with her aunt in Karieta, and people came to tell me to go there [from his own village of Alurkowati]. I went and she had a big basket of peas and taro for me, which she gave me, telling me to take them to my mother to cook for me. I said, "We could eat together, but first I must think of wealth." Her aunt said, "You two can eat together whether or not you are married, because you are my younger brother." So then I took the basket to my mother and brought it back with fifteen cents in it, which I gave to the aunt. Then the girl

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x 159 832 said, "We are dyeing our teeth here, so you had better come tonight and join in." I said, "If it is near the time to pay off I can't come [i.e., it is too late to join the group]." But she said, "No, there are still five or six days." So that evening I went up there. She already had my strip of dye ready for me. That night a friend and I slept alongside each other. The girl was sleeping on the bench between the floor and the thatch. In the middle of the night I wanted to turn over but couldn't because someone was pressed close against me. I felt on one side of me and felt the rough skin of my friend, who had a skin disease. Then I felt on the other side and touched this girl's breast. She had come over to lie down on the other side of me. She put her arms around my waist. I said, "Don't hug me. My grandparents told me that if I slept with a girl my large credits would become small and disappear. You can sleep here, but we can't have intercourse. You go back to your village. When you hear the mokos being beaten on Mt. Laling, it will be I, and you can come for the moko." Her aunt was awakened by the sound of my voice, and Falongmating lay quietly after that. At dawn when we went out, she took a stick and beat my back until blood flowed.

x 159 I went away to dun for mokos. A man came and told me that while I was away the chief of Kanaipe had caught [i.e., married] Falongmating. I said, "Good. He has gongs and mokos; he can pay for her. When there is *corvée* to be done, she can cook for a chief. He is my kinsman, and when I go there she can cook for me." [Women with whom a man [834] had had intercourse were ashamed to cook for the man should he later be a guest. Also, the man was ashamed to be a guest in that household.] Then the man said, "This woman said that you were going to pay gongs and mokos for her." I said, "Yes, that is true. I am dunning for them now. But since she has married my kinsman, she can still cook for me." This woman is still living in Kanaipe and she has cooked for me.

May 12, 1939

Last night I dreamed that people called, "Today the earthquake comes. Don't go anywhere. Stay in the village. When the earthquake comes, people must not be on steep ground. Remember the earthquake." I swoke, and later I slept again. I dreamed there were a great many people at the government camp—the officials, the tumukun, the chiefs, and all their people. The officials beat them. The tree that fell across the kitchen buildings during the storm was picked up in one piece and thrown away. All the people were running here and there working. The tumukun said, "Yes, when the officials are here, 159x you work like this; but when they are not, nothing is done." And the officials said, "How is it that you don't work?" The women all went to fetch thatch for the kitchens. The officials then came to your house and said, "Let us have a sale of your things right now," but you said, "No, not now. Wait another month until I go." Then the chiefs said to the tumukun, "Speak to the officials and say it is better for the nonya to stay here. Who will stay in her house after she leaves?" Then the officials said to the tumukun, "If you sleep in her house [the tumukun wished to have my house], you will be afraid. This place is now for the government camp." Then the officials asked the chiefs for tax money. Just then a pig began chewing its pen, and I woke up.

[I asked what he wanted to talk about. He was quiet for a time.] When I first met my friend [familiar spirit] it was at Mt. Laling. The spirits were Atamau, Malemau, and their wives, Tilamau and Kolpada—four of them. At that time I was about eighteen or twenty. When I came back, I didn't keep food taboos for these spirits. I ate peas, crabs, and everything. I thought at the time that they were evil spirits. I went on my way to Afengla. I didn't speak of it. I went back to Alurkowati, and people cooked dried fish and I ate it. This was six or seven days later. I stayed at Afengla six days. After this eating, my face and body swelled. People said maybe it was some kind of disease. Then my four spirit friends from Laling came to me. I didn't see them, but they spat areca juice on me. I felt the cold dampness of it first on my left breast, then on my right one, and then on the base of my throat. I said, "Who spits areca juice on me? Why have you come?" Then they said, "We are good; we are not evil. How is it that you didn't abstain from sea food?" From this I knew that my familiars were wealth-bringing sea spirits. Then I put an arrow point in my mouth and brushed my teeth with it, saying, "All the particles of sea food in my mouth and my stomach, leave me and let me get well." Then I washed my mouth with water and spat. In one day I was well. That night I defecated water all night and my stomach turned over. By morning I was well.

About a month later Makanma [an uncle] went to Rualwati and caught eels, crabs, and crayfish. He returned and cooked them while his wife cooked corn and beans. We all ate them. By evening I was swollen. My stomach was big and hard; even my feet were swollen. Then I remembered about eating fish. So I scrubbed out my mouth again. Again that night I defecated water all night, and by morning my stomach had become soft and small again. I was well.

*159 About seven days later it happened a third time. People were feeding their verandah [preparatory to a feast]. We split a rice cone, which we ate with meat, and drank water. When we were through eating, I vomited everything—the rice, meat, and water. After that I stopped eating feast foods too.

About half a month later I got sick when I ate some peas. Again I washed out my mouth and recovered. Then only about a month ago I ate beans that made me sick, but I recovered. After that I abstained from all these foods and wasn't sick any more. I didn't have fevers, or coughs, or any of the other illnesses. Now I am never sick any more. If my mouth offends a little and my face and stomach swell, then I wash out my mouth and I get well.

[When Malelaka first encountered the four familiars, he was not yet married. It was during the Rualberka episode. His various affairs with women ran in this sequence: Marailani, Rualberka, Faloongmating, Fuimale, Lonfani, who is his present wife, and Kolaka. He has not yet mentioned Kolaka. I asked him about the coincidence between his illnesses and the Rualberka episode in more detail. Rualberka returned from her Fungatau husband, stayed about one year, and then married her Fungwati husband. At the time of Malelaka's encounter with the spirits, he was wearing Rualberka's necklace and she his bracelets. To check this version against the previous one, I asked about the Marailani episode.]

Marailani and I didn't speak together ahead of time. Her father came to me first and said, "I see people are almost ready to pay your debt. So if you want, you can marry Marailani." Then Lakams, my uncle, died and father said, "If people have spoken to you, you can go and ask them for a pig to roast for the death feast." So I went to her family and they gave me a pig and a Piki moko as a free gift. In two days they gave Marailani food to bring me, and I gave a Maningmauk moko to her brother, Alurkaseni. At that time her parents wanted to give a ceremony, and I took a Kolmale moko, a Loken gong, and a chicken. The girl went on ahead and I followed. When I came I gave them my gifts and stayed on for the feast. That evening Marailani's mother said, "Carry this rice home." I said, "I am no woman. Your child can bring it." So I went home empty-handed. Later her father and brother came to my house with food. I didn't want it. I thought, "That girl has run away." Then her uncle Padama said, "We have law now, and you had better eat this food. If you don't, you may be committing an offense against the new law [referring to the recent establishment of Dutch rule]." So I ate it. But the women didn't come. Her mother and father hunted for her but did not find her. She had gone at night to sleep in a mango tree. I asked for my expenses back. [Question.] We worked in the field together but we didn't have intercourse. [Why?] She was still small. Her breasts were not yet big. We could work together but could not yet have intercourse. [Question.] I never had intercourse with any woman but my wife, Lonfani. 159x

May 13, 1939

I didn't sleep well last night, so I didn't dream. When I was about twelve or fourteen, my grandmother Maliemai and her cousin Malelurka went to Likuwatang. My grandmother was left behind on the shore. Her cousin and uncle went on. She saw a large crabhole and began to dig for the crab. When she was near its nest, she thrust in her hand and grabbed the crab. When she pulled her hand out and looked, she had a sea pebble [token of a supernatural being]. She said, "Oh, maybe I have something bad. I'd better throw it away." So she threw it away, not into the sea but on dry land. As it fell, a pool of water formed and the pebble splashed into it. Then she wanted to go on, but she saw water flowing ahead of her. She turned to go back and there was water behind her. To her right and left water flowed. On all sides water was flowing, and she was in the center of it. She said, "Eh, I am in trouble here." With that the water dried up. Then she went on and saw pots cooking, but no one was about. They were dead people's pots. She opened the first one, and corn and peas were cooking in it; she opened the second one, and corn and beans were boiling in it; she opened the next one, and corn and another kind of beans were boiling in it. She saw no one, so she went on and joined her uncle and cousin. She said, "You threw me away, and while I was there alone . . . [he repeats the whole story]." Then as she sat there her eyes focused far off, and she saw Padaimau of Karieta stealing a bunch of bananas from her field here in Atimelang. At that time her eyes became clear. [She had second sight, which seers were supposed to possess.] [923]

When she returned she married a Rualwati man. She had a lot of rice in Talemang, and her friends wanted to carry it here. She told her friends to start on ahead and she would follow them later. She must have flown here, because while her friends were still in Kalmasbui she was already here at Vi Natu. She bathed and dried herself, and when her friends arrived she was sitting under a mango tree. [I asked that he continue with the account only if it had some relationship to him.]

x159 Once I and Maliemai were cutting weeds together at Fuimelang. My grandmother disappeared near an orange tree. She went to Afalberka [a ravine just below this spot that was the abode of dangerous evil spirits]. I hunted and hunted but did not find her. Then I came back, and there she was, carrying a corn bundle, a calabash dish, and an arrow [presumably received from a spirit friend].

Another time Maliemai and I went to Likuwatang to feed her familiar spirit. When it was time to light the fire, she left and went to the edge of the sea. When she returned, she brought back a new basketful of rice. All the people with us ate of it.

Once Maliemai wanted to feed her familiar spirit's altar. She took her necklace and tried to buy a chicken with it, but people would not give it to her. Then she went off, I don't know where, and came back with two chickens. She cooked them, and two people who were her patients ate them. [I said this was getting us nowhere in his own history. I asked about the woman Kolaka, whom he had mentioned yesterday. He started on this tale, but he seemed slightly annoyed.]

When I had got a Sosilau moko for my sister's bride-price, Kolaka's father spoke to me, saying, "Give me that Sosilau and then you can have Kolaka." I said, "All right, but first I must go myself and talk to your child. I must search her heart and then we shall see." I asked her and she said, "The old man asked for your moko. You can give it to him. I shall not say anything." So I gave him the Sosilau and he gave me a Piki moko and a broken gong. However, this woman did not come to me but spoke with another man. So I didn't want her and said that her father had better pay back my Sosilau. They said I would have to pay back the Piki and the broken gong. I litigated at Likuwatang, where the kapitan and the radjah were. They said the chief of Dikimpe should judge the case, which he did. Her father paid back my moko and I paid back his.

Kolaka married Mauglaka, who was then the chief of Hatoberka. Once the mandur of Dikimpe and I went to Kalabahi. On the way we met Mauglaka and Kolaka, also on their way there, so we all went together. We sold and bought and wanted to return, but Mauglaka was away talking to the kapitan. When I and the mandur wanted to go on, Kolaka said she would go with us. I said she had better wait until her husband came, but she didn't want to. Therefore we all waited for him to come and then left together. We got as far as Lelangtukai when the chief stopped to talk to some people. We two went on. Kolaka did not wait for her husband but followed us. We reached Latulang, where we

stopped while people cooked and fed us. Then the chief caught up with 159x
us and said, "I ran and ran until I was tired. Give me back my knife so I can clear the fields." When we came to Rualmelang, the chief turned off to go to Hatoberka, but Kolaka followed us. I began to understand that in her heart she was still following me because we had once had an agreement. I decided I had better run on ahead. So I and the mandur went on to Laling. There we looked back, and she was still following us. She said, "Go on." We went on until we reached the village. After that she brought me rice and three eggs, saying, "My father must have that moko. I can't go to a distant place to live." But I didn't want this and I said, "You can look for my son-in-law and I can look for your mother." [He was calling to her attention a distant child-father kinship tie. He meant by this that he would try to find her a husband, and she must search for another wife for him.] But Kolaka said, "No, we must marry." She took off a white shawl she was wearing and said, "My mouth is not large [i.e., her words were sincere]. You can have this and I can wear your wide shawl." So we exchanged shawls. Then Kolaka came to stay at my house for six days. After that she didn't return any more. At this time people complained against me because I was bringing Good Beings to earth, and I was sent to jail. [Question. He said that he had not slept with Kolaka and that his wife, Lonfani, had not fought with her over this second marriage. I asked why he did not have intercourse, and he said it was tabooed because of his Good Being activities. At the time he was sleeping by himself in a small house.] Her father and mother brought me two small baskets of rice, and I gave them ten cents. Then they brought me rice again, and I paid them ten cents. [They kept this up] until they had brought fourteen baskets and I had paid seventy cents. In all I gave her father one rupiah and twenty-five cents, which he never paid back.

[I commented that he had never mentioned his imprisonment.] They took me to jail and three times in one day they tried me. The controleur asked me, "People say you have become an official. Is this true or not?" I said, "I never said I was an official. Who came to complain against me and said this twisted thing to you?" Then he said, "Your chief said you had become a radjah." I said, "No. Has my chief become a radjah himself, that I should become an official? Whoever said all these twisted things, whoever is witness to this complaint, let him come and talk before us all. If he is sick, carry him here and we can all talk together." For two days I went back to jail. Then they brought me back. Again I spoke as I had the first time. I said nothing else. Then x359 the controleur said, "Maybe people have twisted things." People had also reported that I planned to have a government camp at my house, that I said taxes were not to be paid. All these things the controleur asked me. Then he said, "You have not named Malisoni, Manipada, and Manimala, so I shall hang you up in the house." [These were three brothers who were supposed to have gathered together the people of the Five Villages.] I said, "I myself gathered the people together. They didn't. If the officials want to hang me in the house, good. I want it too." The official said, "You did not name your three fellow conspirators, so we shall put you on a ship and throw you into the middle of the sea." The official threatened to send me to Bata Vi. [Malelaka did not know where this was. To all threats he said he answered simply that he was innocent, and that if the officials wanted to inflict punishment, he was willing.] Then the official said, "The witnesses who have testified against you spoke truly and they all told the same story." I said, "You had better call the witnesses, and we could eat rice mixed with lime right here. Then we could see which one's tongue swelled." [This was an ordeal used to establish innocence.] So the witnesses were all called, but they ran off and hid. The official said to Kapitan Jacob, "You said the chiefs were your witnesses, but they have all run away. Now you must be the witness." Then the official said to me, "You must go to jail for one year here and six years in Pantar." I said, "This is my island. Perhaps it would be better for me to go right away to Pantar." They took me back to jail. The next day they called me again. The official said, "Your punishment is one year. If those witnesses who twisted things had come, you might have gone free yesterday." By that time I had been in jail six months. I stayed one more year in jail.

May 14, 1939

[He seemed upset. There was a prominent pulse at the base of his throat; his breath was hard and short. The village was upset because officials were arriving that day.]

Last night my wealth-bringing spirit came and said to me, "My words the nonya probably knows already; my kernels I have already given her. Has she already told you or not? My words said that in eleven days this world will be dark, and if other people do not carry wood, you must." I asked, "What will happen?" and he answered, "Darkness has been ordered." I asked if it would always be dark. He said, "No. It will be dark for five days, and then it will be light again." I asked if we should stay here or not. Then my spirit stopped talking.

After that I dreamed. My wealth-bringing spirit in the form of a 159x man ordered me to go to the government camp and stand on the slope above it. Then he ordered me to stand on the slope below it. I said, "Why do you turn me around and switch me about like this?" And he said, "We ordered people to come and tell you to clean up around your house and you didn't; so we are teaching you to do *right*." I said, "I have already been punished, but I can't order people to work. If I want to weed or to sweep, I must do it myself, not order others." Then another spirit came and stood behind me with a rattan switch. He pulled me. From this I awoke to find myself sleeping on the bench.

[He then sat looking confused and anxious. He looked at me as though he expected a pronouncement of some sort, probably an answer to his indirect questions about my knowledge of things to come. I asked about a large area of scarred tissue on his side.]

When I first met my *friends* [familiars] they spat areca juice on me and I have been well ever since. My scars are from boils. They are my only sickness. I got a boil on my side and then it kept coming back.

When I first met my *friends* I was about twelve or fourteen and I did not yet have those boils. I ate all foods. I didn't observe taboos. Then I got a boil, and every time one started, two or three more developed. I kept on having them until I met my *friends* on Mt. Laling and they taught me to avoid certain foods. Then my boils stopped. I got this big scar when I went to jail. It is not from those early boils. When I was in jail I did not observe food taboos. When I came back also I ate all foods—peas, bananas, pork, *feast* foods. I also drank sea water. When I got back from jail these wounds developed, first one on the calf of my leg, then one here on my side. They developed the same month I got back. [They had not yet fully healed, although it had been seven years. He considered them punishment for not keeping food taboos.] At that time I took fifty cents for injections and went to the doctor. After I had taken one my leg got well. Then the wound in my side developed. I took fifty cents again and got an injection, but my back did not heal. I took fifty cents again for an injection. As I was leaving the hospital in Kalabahi, I heard my wealth spirit say, "You are throwing your money away in vain. You won't get well fast." Then I didn't go back again. When the officials came for taxes I showed my back [to get excused from taxes as physically incapacitated], and the officials asked why I didn't have injections. I said I had already had three, had thrown away one rupiah and fifty cents, and was not yet well. So the official said I need not pay taxes or do *corvée*. After that I roasted a white hen for the village

57 guardian spirit, and I cleaned out my mouth. Then my spirit friend said, "Before you get well you must also kill a goat." This I did, and my back healed. When I sacrificed the goat my spirit friend said, "If another time you don't observe taboos, your other side will develop wounds, and you will wear scars like a belt." I asked why they did this to me and they said, "We talk to you and you don't listen. We forbid red corn, and you eat it. We taboo things and you pay no attention."

[I asked about his first encounter with spirits.] When I was about twelve or fourteen, I went out of the house and left my shawl lying under the threshold of the room. When I went back up in the house there were two red fish there, still alive; their tails were still flapping. I went down and told Kafelsama what had happened, and we two went back up. The fish had disappeared but the cloth was still wet. This happened in the morning. My father and mother had gone to weed. Only Kafelsama was there. It was in Old Alurkowati. The fish did not speak to me, but that evening my eyes became clean. I was in the house, and it was as though the walls of the house split open and I could see outside. There were two people there standing on the ground. They were red like the fish. They said, "Perhaps you think we are not good, but we are. Why don't you carry our name to the people?" They were two men from the sea. One was called Yerkiki and one Maleakani [both names of fish]. For their sake I abstain from pig.

When I was a little bigger, perhaps two years older, I went to Likawatang. I was sitting on the beach. I looked and saw a piece of driftwood coming in. It hit the shore, and suddenly where there had been no one, two women were standing. They were Lonfani and Fuifani, the wives of the two fish men [his wealth-bringing spirits]. They came toward me with some plates. Each one set down two plates and told me to take them. I was afraid, so they said, "If you don't take the plates, we shall follow you home carrying them."

Once, when I was just married, I was doing *corvée* on the trail near the coast. We were making a stone wall. Suddenly I saw two people coming with a fishline, each holding an end. They stretched the line over the stone wall, and the pile fell down. They stretched it again, and it fell once more. They were Yerkiki and Maleakani. They said, "Don't build this wall. We shall only destroy it. When the time comes to harvest rice, make us a house in a mango tree." I promised to build them a house here, but I didn't do it. Then the kapitan came for taxes and beat many people. I ran and hid at the foot of my field. I saw many clouds gathering above the government camp. [This was at the foot of a gap.

where clouds often drifted into the valley.] I then heard a noise as if 159x two hawks were approaching, but I didn't see any people. Then I saw a boat. It was covered and no door opened. But from within I heard a voice saying, "Go back and cut posts for a house as we told you. We shall point out its site. You have built a house for yourself to sleep in, but when we come down, erect ours in a single day." So I went to a wooded area and cut posts. Two I pulled in, two I carried in. I set them down at the housesite. I told the people, and they said we had better erect the house right away. It was after this that I was punished.

May 15, 1939

So many people are talking of the arrival of a Good Being that the dead are becoming evil. Last night I dreamed that all the dead came to ask their children for food. This morning I asked Lakamau for a pig to feed to my verandah [a preliminary for any death feast]. The dead know that when the Good Beings come, there will be no more death feasts and they won't be fed. Nine of my dead came to me: Padamakani [his father], Fuimai [his mother], Kolfani [his father's second wife], Arangkika [a younger brother], Makamau [his father's older brother], Malimau [wife of Makamau], Maniaburka [his father's younger brother], Molangkani [wife of Maniaburka], and Malimai [daughter of Molangkani]. If the Good Beings do not come, we shall beat gongs [i.e., give a death feast]. If they do come, probably there will be no more death feasts. I will only feed my village guardian spirit after that.

Toward dawn I dreamed that people took my soul and put it on a small island that was moving about in mid-air. This is the way Good Beings are supposed to travel. In a little while the island came down in the middle of the sea. Then two other islands floated near me. On one of them was five villages [this area] and on the other, three villages [the Fungwati group]. On the one where I sat there was just one village. Then a wind came and drove us against the shore. Each of the villages then gave me a letter. I was on dry land then, but not here. The people there told me not to throw away the letters but to keep them. I went on to Alurkowati and then I awoke. Now the dreams are finished and we can talk of something else.

When I had just one child I went to Kewai. People there gave me some newly split areca. If it had been split a long time, I might not have taken it [since Kewai is a notorious center of witchcraft]. When I reached home my stomach began to hurt. The witches were already biting my liver. I cried and cried and could not sleep. So Londani [his x[159] wife] went to Padatimang of Kewai and said, "One of your young kin gave Malelaka areca nuts, and now he cannot sleep." Then Padatimang came. I took areca, rubbed my stomach with it, and gave it to Padatimang. He sat down beside me and rubbed my stomach, saying to the witch, "You can't stay here." He extracted something and put it in his basket. When I recovered, I gave him ten cents and he left. Then the guardian spirit of the village came to me and said, "Why do you want to eat that areca? They will pull off your head [a custom of witches]."

Then another time I went to Kewai to see Alurkopada. His daughter Kolata was fetching water. I looked; her head and right arm disappeared, and her body was leaning against a rock. Blood was not flowing at the stumps but had just collected there. Her head and arm were looking for snails in the taro, and she was eating them. [Snails were a source [325] of great revulsion.] I went to Alurkopada and said, "Father, when your daughter returns and cooks, I won't eat of it, because she was out hunting something in the taro." He said, "That child does not do right. If one wants to hunt something, one must do it secretly." Then he went to the chief, who gave an order, saying, "Another time you can't do this. Hereafter no young woman may step over a young man, and no young man may step over a young woman [a witch's system of casting a spell]. If that person does, he will go to jail, and we shall be shamed. If you have food that is cold or old, you must not give it to others; eat x[159] it yourself. If the person eats and is sick, we shall be shamed." Then two [779] people from Kewai who were not witches put medicine near the spring. 754 When the witches drank that spring water, they became ordinary people. They put the medicine in a bamboo tube with a hole in the joint, and the water from the spring flowed through the medicine and out the hole. Before this, when their husbands were away, women ate their own children's livers and substituted tuber leaves for them. When their husbands slept they would step over them, and that would make their husbands sleep deeply. Then they would take tuber leaves and put them in place of their husbands' livers. They took out the livers and cooked and ate them. When they did this, they ordered their husbands to go stay with their mothers and fathers. [That is, they ordered x[159] them to leave for their own villages so they would not die in Kewai, since this would create suspicion. Note that the informant spoke of witches in female terms, although they were of both sexes. He even acted as though residence were matrilocal, in order to place blame on women.]

[I asked if he remembered any castration threats.] No, but when my mother and father went to the fields I cried a lot, and mother said, 159K "Don't cry. By and by you will eat your penis and buttocks." Sometimes when I cried she would count my fingers. She would take my little finger and say, "This is your young corn. By and by I shall harvest it and we shall roast and eat it." She would then take my fourth finger and say, "This is your young beans. By and by I shall harvest them and we shall boil and eat them." She would take my third finger and say, "This is your rat. By and by I shall kill a rat and you will eat it." She would take my index finger and say, "This is your sweet potato. By and by I shall dig it so that we can cook and eat it." She would take my thumb and say, "This is your tuber. By and by I shall dig it and come and cook. You will eat." [The informant repeated foods of various sorts that his mother named in this kind of play.] Then she held my hand up to my mouth and said, "Here, eat them; eat their souls," and I made believe I ate them.

Once someone was sick in Karieta and Maliemai [his grandmother] was going to treat him. I wanted to follow her, but she told me I could not. She said she would bring me back a piece of the chicken and the rice they gave her in payment, and I could eat them at home.

When I was still small, a woman gave birth to a child. The child had come down, but not the placenta. People called Maliemai to come. I and Alorna [his cousin] wanted to follow, but she said we were not women and we could not go. I turned back but Alorna went on, carrying her basket for her. When they reached the place, the placenta had already come down. People gave grandmother rice and a chicken. They brought them back home and we cooked and ate them.

One day people said that a woman was dead. They called grandmother. When she got there, the body was covered with a shroud. People were beating gongs and killing pigs. I had gone with grandmother and Alorna. People shot and roasted a chicken for grandmother. When it was almost done, the dead woman threw back her shroud and sat up. She came back to life. Then grandmother said, "That woman must eat this feast; she must eat the liver of the pig (a delicacy)." [262] Grandmother and I ate the chicken. The next morning people gave us a big pig and a basket of rice. Grandmother took the pig home and raised it, but we ate the chicken.

May 16, 1939

[Yesterday I asked Malelaka to recall all castration threats he had heard and tell them today. He did not dream last night.]

8 159 This I never saw, but I have heard that when a man and woman sleep together before they are married, the woman's family and her husband quarrel, and the woman's family may cut off the man's penis and split the woman's vagina. If I bought a wife and my wife talked with another man [i.e., committed adultery], I would do as my grandfather did. If a man goes off and his wife stays behind and cooks for another man and they sleep together, I would do as my grandfather did.

8 159 684 This was my grandfather Mossang [really his father's grandfather] from Fanggwati. His wife was Lonata. Mossang went to see friends in Tengata. While he was gone his wife pounded rice and cooked eggs. Her children saw her but they did not know what became of the rice and eggs. Their mother did not give them the food. This went on day after day. Then one day Mossang came home and asked for his wife. The children told him what their mother had been doing. So Mossang said he wanted to go back to Tengata. He went as far as Kolei and from there dipped down into the ravine. He saw a cave that had been closed up, but the ground inside was fine and dusty, as though people had been walking there. He hid in the weeds above the cave. After a while he heard his wife singing a dance song. He saw her go into the cave. She took off her loincloth and lay down naked. She wanted the man to have intercourse with her before he ate. Then the man came, making a lot of noise. He took off his loincloth too and lay on her. Mossang drew his bow and made a rustling noise in the underbrush. The man raised himself and Mossang let an arrow fly. It went through the man's chest and came out his back. The woman yelled, "Ahuahu! Ahuahu! The other's penis has been withdrawn; your property is still here. Don't shoot." But he shot her too and the arrow went into her breast. They were both dead. He cut off the man's penis and slit the woman's genitals. He thrust the penis into her vagina. He then laid the bodies on each other and took a bamboo spear and pounded it with a stone through their two bodies. He went off and left them. He ran off to Abuiwati. [This horrible tale, which seemed to be traditional in Malelaka's family, might serve in part to explain his caution in relation to illicit intercourse.]

The man's family came to Mossang's brother Lakana to ask for a fine. The woman's family also came and said he should pay them. But Lakana said, "We bought that woman. She is ours. That man wanted to sleep with our wife, so it is his fault. The woman we had already bought; if we wished to kill her, that is our affair." So the woman's family didn't come any more for payment. The man's family also wanted to be paid, but Lakama said it was the man who had committed 159X the fault and he was the one who should pay a fine. Then the man's 684 family didn't ask to be paid any more.

There was a dance at Abuiwati, where Momang was staying. To the 159X dance came the son of a man Momang had once killed in a quarrel over a deer. The son, who did not know Momang by sight, gave a shout of challenge, saying, "Sepaliek! I am going to kill Momang." Then Momang said also, "Sepaliek! I am going to kill Momang." The man thought Momang was promising to help him. At dawn Momang called the man and said, "Come to my house and my wife will cook for you and you can have tobacco. So the man went with him and ate. As he lay down to sleep, Momang said to him, "Oh, here is a tube of tobacco for you. Put it under your head as a neck rest." When the man was asleep, Momang told his wife and children to go as fast as they could to Rualwati. He told his wife to hold up her raincape as a signal when she reached a certain place, and then to wait for him there. When he saw her waving her raincape, he went in the house. The man was sleeping soundly, with his neck on the tube; so Momang chopped off his head and, carrying it, followed his wife.

[Here Malelaka launched into the details of the financial exchanges associated with the sale of a human head. I asked for other castration themes.] When we were children, we boys and girls played together in the dust. If we fought a little, our boy friends would say to each other, "If your penis itches, cut it off." If girls fought, they would say to each other, "If your vagina itches, slit it."

When I was about five or six, two boys and two girls went off together to roast camera. I came along and saw the two boys lying on the two girls. I went to Lupalaka [the older brother of one of the girls] and to Makanma [the father of the other girl] and told them what they were doing. The two older men said, "We shall beat those children half to death and cut the penes off the boys." They went to get them, but they had gone. They hunted but could not find them. The two girls cried and went to their mothers, but the two boys did not return even at night. The two elders said, "We shan't cut off their penes, but we shall tie the boys up."

Another time the same four went to the edge of the village and played together, drawing pictures on the ground. Lupalaka saw them and said, "Now I shall beat you." The boys ran away. He said he was going to cut off the boys' penes and slash the girls' vaginas. [The four children were about ten or twelve.]

May 17, 1939.

x 159 Last night I dreamed that as I was weeding, a large wild pig came and ate my corn. I called people to hunt it. They chased it as far as Lakamobi's garden, where they killed it. They carried it down to the trail. It was already cut up. They roasted and ate it there on the trail. It had long tusks. The neck they gave to Karfehawa [chief of the village
[776] of the dead]. I went with them and I saw Karfehawa's mouth. His teeth were black as charcoal and so was the rest of his mouth. His teeth were long and curved. Karfehawa said, "You have given me a pig and I have eaten. Next time bring me a carabao to eat." I said, "You have already eaten many people. Is that to stop or not?" He said, "Watch your island. When it turns a little, I shall stop eating people. Speak to your village guardian spirit. If he speaks and red rain falls, he has spoken truly. If I speak truly, the world will turn over." I said, "If red rain falls, what will happen?" Karfehawa said, "If red rain falls, hang up your lamp when it is over." I asked, "If the world turns, what will happen?" Karfehawa said, "You are always invoking your village guardian spirit. If he speaks truly, red rain will fall. You have given me a pig; next time give me a carabao." Then I left and suddenly I saw Hamintaku [island of the dead] down below. When I reached our village, there was an official and his wife. They both sat on chairs. The official asked me in our language, "Where do you come from?" So I told him. He said, "We too are afraid of Karfehawa. How is it that you are so brave as to go there?" I said, "Oh, people take me and I just *follow*." Then suddenly I was up on the mountains of the south coast. I awoke lying on my mat.

[I asked him about Karfehawa's eating humans.] Karfehawa eats the souls that the familiars of seers bring him. Seers' familiar spirits take him souls, but we see only pigs. They are really the souls they have stolen. When a person is sick, a seer comes to sit with him and spits on him. If the seer or his familiar eats well, the person recovers. If not, the familiar takes the soul and gives it to Karfehawa. Familiar spirits are like the soldiers of Karfehawa. The seers know all about this, but last night was the first time I learned of it. [For the red rain Malelaka had no explanation. He did not know what the words "hanging up your lamp" meant.]

After a while I went back to sleep and dreamed again. Then the mountain above the valley made a big noise, and people thought the world was going to turn over that day. All ran to the government camp [one of the places safest from landslides]. Then the mountains slid down and covered over the houses, pigs, and gardens until you couldn't see them 159x any more. The rocks and sand all went rolling down into the ravine. All was good earth where the village had been. People decided to make new houses there, little field houses. They began building them. I saw Manifani of Dikimpe walking with a cane. He had been hit in the leg with stones as they rolled down from the mountain during the earthquake. Manimale [a distant kinsman] had a large wound on the side of his face and was being doctored in one of the houses. There were no stones or trees left; there was only empty earth. People were going right and left, shouting and calling. Someone shouted to me to come quickly and help with the house of Manimau. I started to jump up. The roosters were crowing and it was dawn. [Pause.]

[I asked what he wished to talk about.] My grandmother, Tilamau, 159x slept with a man. Her husband followed the man down into the ravine, 634 shot him, and cut off his penis. He hunted eels and crayfish and wrapped 367 them all up in leaves along with the penis. He went home and put the bundle on the rat disk and went up into the house. He told his wife there was a bundle of eels and crayfish below and she should get them and cook them. She went down and opened the bundle and said, "Eh, evil spirit, evil spirit." He said to her, "Just eat it. Maybe it will be tasty." When father was telling me this, he said, "When wives slept with other men, your forebears cut off their penes and thrust them back into the vaginas. Some cut them off, wrapped them in leaves, and gave them to their wives to eat. So your wives can't wander about at random. My wife cannot hunt lice in men's hair or eat their areca. If she does, my heart becomes evil and I shall do as my forebears did." He said, "Now my wives are dead, but you, my children, must watch your wives. When they go to the fields, they must go right through to their destination, not stop to talk and delouse or to chew areca. We do as our forebears did, and we follow our forebears in this too."

At that time Fuipeni [wife of a cousin of the informant] gave Lakafani money to play cards. 159x Her husband was angry, and we all took our clubs and fought with Lakafani. Now we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me. [Question.] He was the one who told us these stories of our forebears and he was the one who taught us. But the very first time I heard these stories was from my grandfather, Mangma. He told of

[59] his father's father. He said he was the first to kill men. When it was deer-hunting time in Abuiwati, people came and asked him to join them. At that time, when Abuiwati people shot deer, two brothers were accustomed to come and take the deer from them. They asked Mousang to help, because he was a strong man. [Malelaka then repeated in substantially the same form the episode of the preceding day.]

[I asked about masturbation and scolding for it.] When I was still small, about twelve or thirteen, Senmale put a wild bean in his penis. His father and mother were angry with him; his mother slapped his hand and his father scolded him, saying, "Now you are doing something bad."

Once some girls were playing. They were pouring sand on each [60] other's backs. Two of them stuffed the third one's genitals full of sand. Then her father hit the two playmates. [Question.] They were still small, about five or six years old. When we were older they teased Senmale about putting the bean in his penis, and I teased the girls for putting sand in their playmate's vagina, and they hit me.

Once Lakamobi, when he was still small, twisted and bent his penis so hard as he played with it that it wasn't straight any more. It just stayed crooked. Lakamobi's father said, "Why don't you work? You just play with your penis. Now I am going to scrape your hands on stones. When I was small my father dragged my hands in dirt all the way to the garden to teach me industry. Now I am going to drag yours over stones."

When I was still small I put a pea in my ear and we could not get it out. It was there for two years before it came out. It almost sprouted so that leaves came out of my ear. When they pulled it out, its skin was already split as if to sprout." [Question.] I was five or six at the time. My father pulled my ear for this. He was angry and said, "Why do you stuff peas in your ear in view of the fact that I don't strike you?" [The implication was that a child might harm himself out of spite, but that in this case there was no cause for spite.]

Two years later Kolera, a Kewai girl, whose mother was my father's kinswoman, was here planting corn. The child cried and said an insect had entered her ear. I looked and there was a small Chinese bead in her ear. I tried to take it out but couldn't. The girl's ear hurt, and her mother's stomach ached. Both of them cried all night long, and the next day they went home. When I looked in her ear it was not an insect but a bead, and even a seer could not take it out. Later I met her and asked about it, and she said it must have fallen out of itself or gone down the ear hole, since it no longer hurt her.

Kawaiman also put a bean in her ear, and she cried. I saw the bean there. I took a needle and fished it out very carefully. [He demonstrated with gestures.] The bean fell out then and blood flowed. 159x

May 18, 1939

Last night I dreamed and when I awoke this morning I told about it. I dreamed I was guarding people who were repiling the stone cairns in their fields. I said, "These stone cairns make the gardens small. Make walls on the boundaries instead." I was just standing guard over their work to see that it was done. [This order was actually given out two days ago by the officials and was relayed to the villagers by their chiefs. Was Maielaka giving himself governmental powers in this dream, or was he trying to impress me? This work would soon be actually done, and perhaps he thought I might not know of the order.] I watched and watched until the fields of all the three villages were finished. I awoke and the roosters were crowing. Then I went back to sleep and dreamed again.

The earthquake had come. People beat gongs and mokos and ran around. I said, "Don't beat gongs and mokos. It is as though you were calling people to give them to the earthquake. Sit quietly." But the people did not stop. Suddenly a big noise came from the mountains and all the houses fell down. I said, "You did not follow my words, and now it has come full force." If my dream is true, it means that next month a big earthquake must come. If not an earthquake, then another big wind. When the earthquake came, I saw the large houses were all aslant and the small ones were all down. Then my dream broke off.

[He continued immediately with the following.] If a familiar spirit 159x
extracts an object from a sick person and the sick person doesn't pay 755
well or doesn't do right, the stone returns to his body. Last year Lon- [778]
fani [his wife] got sick and people came and took out flints, sea pebbles, 865
and plate chips. One hundred and fifty they extracted. They would take one out and in a little while she would cry and they would take out another. This year I paid a pig for all this work. But now she is sick again and they have already taken out fifteen. Each day they take out one, and I pay three cents or five cents each time. I throw away five cents. I throw away three cents. Last year I threw away one rupiah and fifty cents. Now I already have thrown away ten cents. Maybe the seer
is deceiving us. Does he take one out and put it back again? [Who is [796]
the seer?] It is Rilpada. Formerly, when his father was a seer, his father 159x
would put a stone in his mouth first and then suck and pretend to draw 755
it out as he sucked. But Rilpada is different. He pulls them out with his

[759] hands. He says, "Look while I pull them out." Then he pulls them out
[755] with his fingers. I told my wife that if the seer didn't cure her, she could drink something else. [Was he hinting at medical care from me? Note how indirect all approaches are. I said nothing, and he went on.] That is finished. We can talk of my familiar—a civet cat that turned into a human being.

Once I was sleeping with Kafelkalieta at *Manifula.* We were guarding the field of sun corn. Each afternoon and evening I shot rats but didn't hit them. Once I went to the jungle near there and sat down. After a bit a large civet cat came and ate corn. I had only a bird arrow with me, so I used it. It hit the cat's head but didn't stick in. I looked and suddenly a man stood there. The man said, "You have shot me. Another time I won't come back to eat your corn. If you hadn't shot me, I surely would have come back. If we come to your house to take chickens, even if they sleep under the eaves of your house, don't chase us. I was a good friend of your grandfather, Senmani, so don't shoot me." [Malelaka here interpolated that his grandfather once saw a large eel going over dry land at *Manifula,* and whenever it brushed against grass or twigs it was as though a large man had passed by. His grandfather built a spirit altar there, after which gongs and mokos poured in.] This man said, "If you find something the next time you dig for rats, you must not be afraid." The next day I found a rathole. At first it was small, but as I dug, it became larger. I dug as far as the nest. It was a very large one and I pulled it out. I looked in it and there were aren palm fibers in it, as if a man had put them there. There were also floor boards of split bamboo in the nest. But there was only one small mouse. I was afraid and ran away.

Another time I found a honey hole, and later we went back to get the comb. I saw then that the honey had gone and that a green snake slept in the hole. Then the spirit at Manifula said, "How is it that you did not take what you saw the first time? If you don't hurry and take what you find, it disappears. It does not really disappear, but people hide it."

Once I wanted to take beans from our field and mother hit me for picking them, so I ran off. As I ran, I tripped, fell, and slid down a steep slope. My grandmother, Malemai, said, "If you hit this child, our grandparent [a euphemism for evil spirit] may come and help your hand, and you may kill him. If you chase the child and he runs away, our grandparent, or perhaps some other evil spirit, may come and hide him." When I ran and fell, the beans spilled out of my basket. As I

went to pick up the basket, it was full of beans again. An evil spirit had |59x
put them back in my basket. My grandmother looked at the beans and saw they were those of an evil spirit. Then an evil spirit possessed Malimai and spoke through her, saying, "If I were an evil spirit as you said just now, you would surely have been dead long ago. Evil people wanted to sleep with you, but I sent your brothers to guard you. If I hadn't, you would surely have been dead long ago." Thus my grandmother's spirit spoke. It said, "I have been a good spirit. I have given you much food, many gongs and mokos, and very many pigs and goats. All these I have given you. I am not bad."

Once my grandmother was living alone in a small field house near Lakamobi's field. At night she took off her belt and was adding new [[3]]
decorations to it. Meanwhile the spirit Lanpada had gone visiting. When he returned his wife said, "Oh, your sister is over there making her belt. I heard young men say they wanted to sleep with her, so you had better guard her." Lanpada came in the form of Langmani. He built up the fire to give light, and he sat and watched her hands. Then my grandmother said, "Langmani, your wife Fuimau is bad. She is accustomed to talk harshly to people. You have come to me, but your wife will be angry." Then he said, "I have no wife called Fuimau." At this my grandmother's hands began to shake with fear. Then he said, "I am not Langmani. I am the spirit Lanpada. I have been away and when I came back your amoi [the term for a sibling's spouse] told me to come and guard you because some young men were planning to come here and sleep with you." My grandmother was afraid. Lanpada asked her, "Whose child are you?" She said, "I am Maipada's child." He said, "Then you are my real kinswoman. Another time you must not sleep here, because boys are all very bad." Then in the morning she ran back to the village and said to her mother, father, and siblings, "Oh, you are bad. I stayed alone in that field house until an evil spirit came to me." At that time her family wanted her to marry, but she did not want to. She was still young and unmarried at this time, but spirits had already come to her. She had run away to the garden house because she did not want to marry the man her family wished her to marry.

May 19, 1939

Last night I dreamed my soul was taken to the seven villages of the evil spirits. First I went to Lemia [a spring] and there was a village there. The evil spirit said, "We have guests, so cook and we shall eat."

x 157 But my soul did not want to. The person who took me told them I did not wish to eat, that I had just come to inspect the village. At Lemia there was a person who was supposed to be bamboo, but he wasn't really bamboo. One leg was like a human being's and the other was a piece of bamboo. He sat on a verandah. He asked my friend why he had brought me, and my friend said, "We have just come to look." [Did this reflect the fact that five days earlier the missionary and I had "inspected" the villages?] The bamboo man asked me why I had come, and I said, "Some of my people [dead] have come here, so I wanted to see. Malangseni and his wife [dead kinsmen] have just made a house here. My younger sibling, Senmani [dead] is also here." Then Senmani said, "Elder sibling, why are you here?" I said, "Oh, just to see." He said, "All right, but you must not stay here long."

Then the evil spirit who was guiding me took me to Foramelang. We went on to Kelakaik [a spirit tree]. Two houses were standing there and Senpada was living in one of them. He asked, "Father, why are you here?" And I said, "Oh, I've just come to look things over." He said, "If I were as formerly [alive], I would surely order your daughter to cook, but now I can't." I said, "I've just come to inspect." Then we went on up to where there was a house, and in it was Maliemai [a dead cousin]. She asked, "Elder brother, why do you come?" I told her, "I've just come to see what sort of village you have."

Then I went up to Maniahurka's field. It is really steep, but there were many houses that had sprung up, and the place had become level. There lived Maniahurka, Tilakama, Lonmani, and Manikeng; all were there living in a house. There were pigs and mokos for feasts and for paying for burial shrouds. They were all in one house, in a small field house that they had built, with pens below for the animals. Then Maniahurka said, "My child, you have come to my village. I was brought here to live. Children [living] may not come here to play." There was a large house there with a guesthouse, and there was a thatch roof running from the guesthouse to the main house. The owner of this house had a long beard reaching to his stomach. He asked why I came, and I said, "I hear that my people are happy to come and stay with you." He said, "I don't pull them here [i.e., kill them]. They are just glad to come here and live." He then asked if I was willing to eat his food. He said, "Your eyes will not become infected, nor will your stomach swell." [This is the usual result of eating the food of evil spirits.] I said, "I don't want food. I am not hungry. I only chew areca and smoke tobacco."

I went on to Fuiala. There was a small village. I saw Fanmanikalieta,159x his wife, and his children, all gathered there. He said, "Our son-in-law has come. What are you looking for?" I said, "Oh, this man came and said we should inspect all these villages. I have already inspected all of them between here and Lemia." I saw they were preparing a feast in the Lanwati lineage house. People were carving designs on the posts. There were seven rice cones there and very many pigs and goats, not yet roasted.

Then I left and went on up the slope. There were many villages. We see it as steep land, but it is full of villages. The evil spirits with their weapons were assembled on the boundary of the villages to receive the rice cone. They were the house-building partners of Lanwati. The evil spirt who brought me said that we should stay and watch them receive the rice cones, but I said, "You have brought me to bad villages. We had better go on up until we reach the customary trail."

So we went on up to a house that Malealurka and Senmale had built and where they stayed. They were there chewing areca, one cud after the other. They said, "My child, from where have you come?" I said, "My friend has taken me to inspect all these villages." He said, "There are many children in your family. Guard them well. When we travel we follow only the steep paths, and children should not come up here, because this is where we travel. Children must stay on level ground. We [the dead] won't do anything, but we don't know the hearts of the evil spirits. I thought the evil spirits here were just garden spirits and not bad, but now I know they are evil."

I went up to Yesebok, and a village of evil spirits was there. An old man there asked what I was doing, and I answered that my friend had brought me to inspect the places in which people stay. He said, "People were bad to me, so I am bad to them." I said, "Do my people [dead] who come here have red hearts [evil in intent]? Why do you say that?" He said, "I sent my dogs to meet them and they shot them. I thought if they shot my dogs they would shoot me too. Now I am bad toward them. You have a law and so do we. If people have done wrong, we pull them here. If they haven't, we don't. They shot our dogs, and so I pull them here when they are bad."

Then I went on up the slope and there was a small village. Malefani [died in June 1938] and his older brother, Fanmale, were living there. Malefani said, "Where is our brother-in-law going?" I said, "People are always taking away our kin, so I have come to inspect them." Malefani x[59] said, "I was brought here by a woman. Go back and tell my older son that he must warn his youngest brother that people here want to take his child [who is sick]. He must live in another house." I asked, "Why did people steal you and bring you here?" He said, "I was planting tubers. They were not those of an evil spirit, but were mine. However, the evil spirit came and put her tubers in my hole. She put hers on top of mine. I took mine away. Then she came and carried me off [i.e., he died]." I said, "Why didn't you tell us? We could have paid." He said, "When an evil spirit stands near us, our words disappear. Perhaps I would not have come, but my daughter Fungata didn't want to marry the man I wanted her to, so I took our sacred stone and cursed her, and then the spirit of the sacred stone was angry and helped the evil spirit carry me off." I asked, "Why are you sending word to your youngest son?" He said, "It looks as though he and his wife had no house, because they live in a field house, where the evil spirit comes and stands near them. [Actually Alurkari did live with his oldest brother for a time in the new lineage house his father had built, but he had recently moved to a field house.] My child has many fields. He must not cultivate the Faida field any more." I asked, "How did your older brother come to stay here?" He said, "Fanlaka did as you did [prophesied the arrival of a Good Being]. A Good Being was to come, but an evil spirit took her place. Fanlaka slept with her [this was always supposed to be fatal], and, having begotten children, he came here to live. Be careful. Your older sibling first tried to bring a Good Being here, but instead he slept with an evil spirit and came here to live. Be careful." I counted Fanlaka's children and there were six of them there [the offspring of a ghost and an evil spirit]. Then Malefani's child began to laugh. I asked why Fanlaka had slept with the evil spirit woman, and Malefani said, "The Good Being woman came, put rice in a tube, and waited for him; but he did not come, so she went away. Then an evil spirit woman came, and when Fanlaka arrived he saw the rice and thought the evil spirit woman was a Good Being. He slept with her. When he came out of the house, the Good Beings saw what had happened and didn't come near him again." Then Malefani said, "You had better go." So I went on up to Padalchi [a real village] and then I woke up.

June 2, 1939

The encounter at Mt. Laling [see the story for *May 12, 1939*] gave me the familiar spirits called Atamau and Malemau and their two wives Kolpada and Tilamau. I was climbing up the mountain when I met two women. The only thing they said was, "Come, we shall go to our father." But I thought they were evil spirits and I said, "No, I am going off to dun." I didn't know they were supernatural beings. At that time I didn't know there was a Good Beings' village above Mt. Laling. The women asked me again to go up with them, but I wouldn't. 159x

Then I went to Kafoi and in two days I came back. On the way back I didn't see anything.

When I went to Kafoi, the people from Fungwati were busy preparing for their Good Beings [1917 or 1918]. Shortly after I came back, the radjah went there and was killed. Then the war began. I had a big house at the time, but I went to sleep in my small field house. Once I was lying there on my back looking up when a frond of coconut or aren palm fell on my chest. As this fell, it was suddenly light in the house, as though a lamp were lighted. I looked but I did not hear or see anything. This was a tally of their coming [resembling the split coconut leaf used as a tally in connection with invitations to feasts]. [64]

Then after the war was over, an official came and gave out tax slips. There was a dance that night at the government camp. As I stood watching it the officials told me to join in. I told them I had a fever, so they said I should go lie down and sleep. I went to my house and slept. I heard someone call. I looked out the front and back doors but saw no one. Then the one who had called struck a storage basket up in the loft. I looked up into the loft and saw a person, who said to me, "Now the government is changing everything right and left. You must follow the government. If you don't they will beat you. You must not eat crabs, crayfish, or fish." I said, "Come down." He said, "No, I only came to say what I have said." A big wind blew as he went up from the first loft to the second. He parted the thatch as one opens a window and went out. One bundle of thatch fell down where he had left. [Note that Malelaka reported fever at the time. This was probably malaria, since it is endemic in Atimelang. He also had an enlarged spleen. In general, how many of the sincere hallucinations were attributable to delirium? People took fever so much for granted that they scarcely noticed a high temperature or thought it worth mentioning.] [551 649] [illegible]

At that time I was not yet married. Shortly after that I bought Lonfani. One day I was doing *corvée* on the new government camp. I was stamping down the earth floor. The kapitan shouted at me to work. I said, "You call only me to work. There are many other people here also." Then the kapitan took a rattan switch and stood alongside me. [551 649]

x157 He was fingering it to hit me, so I ran away. Then the kapitan beat the man who had been working with me. First I ran up to Watahieng and then I doubled back down to my garden at Falingfaking. At the time I left the government camp the sky was clear and cloudless. By the time I reached Falingfaking the mist had gathered and was already over the large mango in Kafelkai's field. Then a wind came and the mist floated over to the eucalyptus tree of my field. My supernatural friend spoke to me, saying, "Now you must make a small house in the mango tree." So I cut beams. I dragged two in and carried the other two, all in one day. [Was this a compensatory show of strength after running away from the kapitan, who was a little man half the size of the informant?] Then I set to work and made a house in the mango. Before it was thatched I heard a noise like twelve gunshots in the direction of Mt. Laling. I thought the soldiers were fighting. But later when we asked the people from the vicinity, they said the noise came from our direction. My supernatural friend came and said, "I was dragging a rope around this island [as Karmale and Alomale did when they introduced death to the world]. Did you hear? The two ends of that rope are here. Fold them over and sit on them." Then my friend said, "You are now busy doing *corvée;* also your wife is pregnant and cannot cut thatch. So go do one day of *corvée* and then order other women to cut your thatch." This I did, and I killed a chicken for the women who cut thatch. I went to cut weeds, and when I came back to the field house my friend said, "Your rice is in full ear. If you wish to feed dry wood [dead kin], go ahead with it." So I tied a pig and gave a death feast for my two mothers. Then my friend said, "Now you have made your house, but it is only the kitchen [a small outhouse]. Now you must make a big house. It must be finished in a day. [*Malelaka* then enumerated all the parts of the house that must be cut and erected in a day.] All this must be done in one day, but I must come here before you make it." So I told the older people what my friend had said. The next day Tilapada came and woke me as I slept. She said that all the people were building that new house and that I should go look at them.
1 159 I awoke and took three plates of ten areca nuts each and three plates
262 of tobacco and gave them to the workers. I said, "Since you have started the house, the women had better cook." Then my supernatural friend came and said, "I told you to wait for me before making the house, but since they have started, gather up all the people and give them a law." I said, "What shall I order them to do?" He said, "Tell them, 'Now you can no longer eat crayfish, crabs, eels, fish, sea water,

red corn, red rice, snake tubers, red tubers, green bananas, or foreign 159x
bananas.'" So I collected the people together and gave them this law. [212]
After that people went to the government and complained against me.

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

This man was about forty-five at the time his autobiography was taken. His life history is in every way typical. His childhood and adolescence were quite normal, and his parents seem to have been true to the cultural form in their treatment of him. He is not a very successful man, and his standing as a seer is questionable. Rilpada holds him in great contempt. His story itself is faulty in that many details needed to establish the continuity of his life are lacking.

Of particular interest in this man are his reactions to having his 159x
autobiography taken down. The ethnographer had evidently estab- 115
lished a justified reputation for being quite a healer and a powerful [23]
person. Malelaka's attitude toward the interviews is unusual. He is eager for them and often comes early for his appointment. Before long he has a very decisive attitude toward the ethnographer. He feels that he can get something out of this situation, and his dreams reveal time and again his disappointment at what is happening. His sole motive is to play on the ethnographer's sympathies in one way or another in order to get her to give him something. Judging from his dreams, we would say that what he *really* wants is food without paying for it. From time to time he becomes exceedingly impatient with the situation when his wishes do not materialize. Furthermore, he wants to impress the ethnographer, and perhaps in some ways he regards her as a competitor, but indeed one for whom he has great respect.

The greatest emphasis in Malelaka's story falls on his vocational 159x
activities, in connection with which he has some very interesting and revealing dreams. The story is short on the affective side, just like those of other Alorese, and is extremely poor in the description of his human relationships. Like other Alorese too, he tends to emphasize the infantile, and his current life is hardly touched upon. This may be the result of the way the situation was described to him in the initial interviews. Here the influence of the interpreter may be important. Very little mention is made of his wife and children.

For the light that his autobiography casts upon this society, perhaps the most striking features are the story of his *relations* with women, the persistent manner in which wealth-status is associated with mating, 157 and the many anxieties to which the growing young man is exposed on this latter score.

Malelaka's early childhood was marked by illness. He observes that when he was two or three years old he was very sick and could not eat. His mother cooked *food* for him, but this he rejected; his father cooked a *rat for* him, and that he ate. This may be a falsification as far as the facts are concerned, but only too frequently in his story does he appear to regard men as good spirits and rescuers and women as evil spirits who lead him to temptation and destruction. He seems not to have lacked care as a child; while his mother worked in the field he was taken care of by two cousins in succession until he was about five or six. Both of them married—that is, were taken away by men. It is to be noted in this connection that the loss of his mother-surrogates to men is a constellation that seems to have dogged him all his life. He is constantly giving up his women, whom he fears for other reasons, to some apparently more powerful man. He is always mortally afraid of the man to whom the girl belongs, her father or her brother, because of the litigation they might bring against him.

After his two mother-surrogates left, he was taken care of by his grandfather for a time. About him he relates several pleasant episodes. He narrates an incident from his fifth year in which he tried to follow his mother into the field. She sent him home with a promise to get him food. She gave him an egg, and Malelaka boasts that he called all his friends together to eat it with him. From this same period, and in fact immediately after the narrative of this episode, he speaks of witnessing a quarrel between two men over a woman. He was frightened, and in running away he tripped and injured himself. He seems throughout his life to have had a dread of woman's infidelity, and he himself claims never to have committed adultery. He always denies having seen instances of infidelity among women during his childhood.

When Malelaka was about five or six his mother gave birth to another child. It soon became Malelaka's duty to take care of this child. But he did not perform his task diligently and the child was hurt. Thereupon he ran away to his grandfather. But on the whole, his relations to his parents seem to have been quite friendly. On several occasions he boasts of his father's exploits. His adolescence seems to have been quite typical. He claims at this time to have taken good care of his younger siblings and often cooked for them. At about this time he started working in the fields with girls with whom he played house. They were not very diligent at their work. He seems to have cultivated some fields of his own too, and he was generous about disposing of the products for the needs of others. He also began raising pigs in partnership, but this was rather discouraging because his father was constantly claiming them. Eventually Malelaka protested against this, and his father finally told him that he didn't need Malelaka's pigs any more and that he should begin collecting money for a bride-price. From this point on his story is lacking in details, but two aspects of it are well carried through—first, his relations with women, and second, his career as a prophet. When he was about thirty-five his father died. His relations to siblings are hardly touched upon.

His relations with women began when he was comparatively young, somewhere about seventeen or eighteen. During his life he had relationships of some sort with seven women, one of whom he married. Several of these relationships were purely platonic, and on some five occasions he was about to become engaged to girls, at their invitation and very much against his wishes, only to find that they were undesirable, that they talked to other men, or that they were evil spirits. The first episode occurred shortly after the first flush of his independence. He worked hard, made enough money for a bride-price, and then proceeded to look for a girl. He made an arrangement with one but she refused to go through with it, and he had difficulty getting his bride-price back. When he was called away to do *corvée*, the girl refused to bring him food. She also refused repeatedly to sleep with him, so he threw her out. But the forwardness he showed in connection with this first girl did not last. The next encounter was entirely on the woman's initiative. She made the advances by taking his bracelets and giving him a necklace in exchange. She tempted him, but then he discovered that mosquitoes were coming from her mouth, which meant that she was an evil spirit. He had a difficult time getting rid of her because she insisted on marriage. He was eager to get away partly because he had great fear of the litigation that might follow his being falsely accused of intercourse with her. On another occasion, when it was again the girl that proposed marriage and made all the advances, he got panicky and gave to an aunt the necklace she had given him. She invited him to have intercourse but he refused because he said it would lead to financial ruin. She tried again to seduce him and again he refused. This time she was enraged and finally beat him with a stick. In short, Malelaka says he never had intercourse with any woman but his wife.

The exact chain of events that led to his fear of women cannot be traced from his narrative. When he was very young he heard his grand-

157 father threatens to castrate any man he caught with his wife and to put the penis into the slit vagina of the woman. His great-grandfather had actually done this. At the age of five or six he witnessed intercourse between a boy and a girl, whereupon he decided to uphold public morals by informing the girl's older brother. There were no threats about masturbation that he can remember. He reports that in childhood he stuffed a pea into his ear, but the significance of this cannot be determined. The most common tie-up in his fears of women is with his anxieties about wealth and prestige; he is in constant fear of being impoverished by them. Although this is possible in the culture, Malelaka's attitude about it is decidedly neurotic.

157 787 Malelaka's career as a seer dates from puberty. He had his first encounter with spirits when he was about twelve. One day when he was alone in the house, he found two red fish in his shawl. He was amazed and rushed out to tell someone of his great discovery. When they returned the fish had disappeared. Malelaka says that on that very evening he began to have second sight. He saw two strange beings, who informed him that they were kind spirits from the sea.

On another occasion, while he was visiting a man he saw the man's daughter as a witch whose head and arm, separated from her body, floated about searching for snails, which are revolting to the Alorese. When he was about seventeen or eighteen, after an illness following the eating of fish, several good spirits announced themselves to him. They said they were not evil creatures and asked him why he did not abstain from sea food. Whereupon he knew that his familiars were sea spirits, which meant they would bring him wealth. Before he identified these spirits as sea beings, he had a vision of the sun speaking to him, promising him that he would not get sick and ordering him to build a house. This was a promise of supernatural aid. Later he had a vision of the mountains suspended in the air.

Malelaka's dreams are constantly occupied with supernatural beings. In his dreams he is always foretelling doom—earthquakes, the end of the world, pestilence, or some similar disaster. Some of these dreams of doom took place at a time when there was a severe storm raging on the island; there had also been an earthquake, which did very little damage, however. On this occasion Malelaka dreamed that the world was coming to an end and that all the dead were waked; but the dead reassured him, telling him he would not have to feed them.

157 Another dream quite vividly describes his relations with the ethnographer and is very revealing of Malelaka's character structure. He

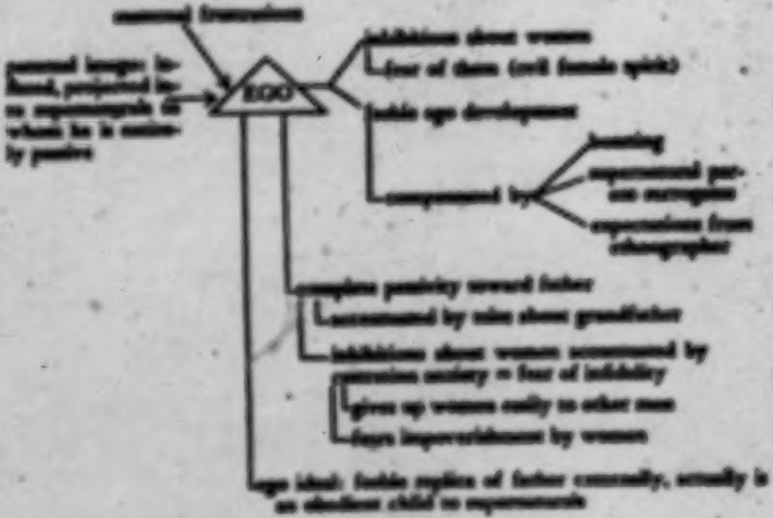
appeared for his interview one day (May 6, 1939) looking quite 159x depressed, and stated that he had had a dream in which the kapitan had beaten him *for* not working. In association with this dream he describes an accident in which he *fell* off a swing in childhood. The next day he recounts another dream, in which he sees a chain hanging from the sky and proceeds to climb it. When he comes near the sky he sees a tree with its roots in the air, and as he climbs this he realizes that he is hanging head downward and fears that he is falling. Then he finds himself in his own house. He next goes to a near-by village, where he sees people tying a python to a pole and is told that it is for the ethnographer, but, says Maleiaka in his dream, she already has one. (This was a fact; the ethnographer had bought a python skin.) So in the dream he suggests taking the python to Kalabahi to sell; then two people carry the python off and sell it.

Not only does this dream reveal Maleiaka's relations to the ethnographer, but the context in which it occurs tells us a good deal about the man's character. His first dream about being beaten is evidently a dream of guilt for not working. Then follows a wish fantasy of being pulled up into the sky—that is, lifted into mother's arms. But he finds himself falling; in other words, he is rejected. The ethnographer does not come across, so he proceeds to rob her. He had noticed that she had bought a python skin; in the dream the python skin is sold at his direction. The implication obviously is that he appropriates the money. As a matter of fact, he needed money at this time; he was in difficulty about paying taxes. And he expected the ethnographer to take up his burden for him. The dream says, "You buy luxuries while I am in need. Since you do not give me what I want, I shall steal it."

This dream reveals Maleiaka's general infantile adaptation. He is too indolent or too inadequate to be successful, and he is always looking for some superior being upon whom he can throw the burden. The dream further reveals a strongly anxious and strongly repressed predatory trend. In the previous dream about the dead's not asking to be fed, Maleiaka wants to play the role of the great prophet but feels too poor to be the benefactor and great man he would like to be. His dream of not feeding the dead is really a dream of stealing, for in his associations he turns this impulse into a text for moralizing that one must not steal, that one must pay for what one takes, and then he expatiates on what would happen if one stole, especially from children. These impulses are largely directed toward the ethnographer. He is really threatening her.

His relations to the spirits are of a similar character; that is, these x 159 beings are parent-surrogates through whose power he is able to become someone of importance in the world. His attitude toward them is entirely passive, however; he merely tells what they inspire him to do.

Malelaka's Character Structure


unusual frustrations
parental images libidinal, projected to supernaturals to whom he is entirely passive
EGO
inhibitions about women
fear of them (evil female spirit)
feeble ego development
boasting
supernatural parent surrogates
compensated by
expectations from ethnographer
complete passivity toward father
accentuated by tales about grandfather
inhibitions about women accentuated by castration anxiety = fear of infidelity
gives up women easily to other men
fears impoverishment by women
ego ideal: feeble replica of father externally, actually is an obedient child to supernaturals

Chapter 13

Fantan the Interpreter

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The beginning of this autobiography was collected in the usual manner. 124 It was the first of the eight secured, and I suggested that Fantan tell me his life story so that he could understand the kind of information I hoped to get. The last part is a combination of Fantan's own casual accounts of his daily affairs and my observations on the difficulties he encountered. This latter part is written in the third person instead of [126] the first and consists partly of casual jottings on Fantan's behavior and attitudes made in connection with other topics.

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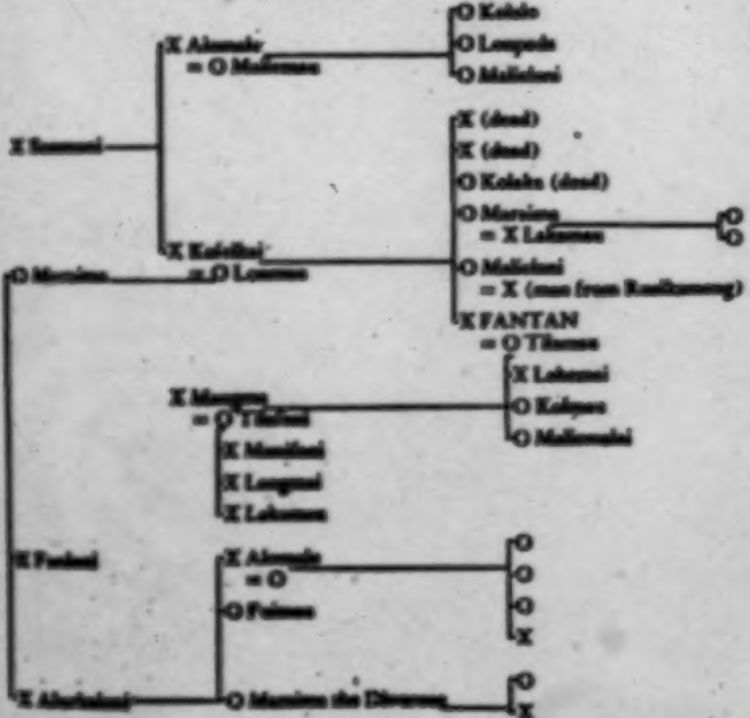
Genealogy of Fantan


O Kolalo
O Lonpada
O Malielani
X Alomale
= O Malieman
X (dead)
X (dead)
O Kolaka (dead)
X Senmani
O Marning
= X Lakaman
X Kafelkai
O Malielani
O Marning
= O Lonaman
= X (man from Rualkamang)
X FANTAN
= O Tilamau
X Lakamai
X Mangma
O Kolpane
= O Tilalani
O Maliemalai
X Maniflani
X Longmai
X Lakaman
O
X Funbani
X Alomale
= O
O
O Fuimau
O
X
O
X Alurkalani
O Maniama the Divorcee
X

November 14, 1938

x 159 [I suggested that Fantan begin by telling early memories. He was unable to start, so I asked whether he had dreamed the night before. He told the following.] I dreamed that a white woman—either you or the new nonya,* I don't know which it was—went out to the toilet in the back. Malieni was standing there. He went to the door. We told him the white woman was in there and not to stand there. We were angry with him. He opened the door and looked in. [What brought that to your mind?] When I was very small, someone I don't remember, maybe my father's older brother, hit me. My mother came and made the man stop. The men picked me up and fondled me. Another man with a big sore on the small of his back came and took me from the first man and fondled me. I cried. This was the time there was a war in Atimelang [i.e., in 1918; Fantan must have been about three at the time]. People came to stay at our house. A little girl my age stayed in the house with us at this time. I had a stomach-ache. In getting up to run to urinate I defecated on her head because I couldn't control myself. My mother scolded me and washed the little girl. The feces were in her hair. [Urinating on a person is a device used by witches to get people in their power.] [154]

At that time the men had built a stone enclosure and covered it over with bamboo. It was a sort of fortification, and the men were hidden in there. I did not know about it and went up on the roof of this enclosure to defecate. As I defecated on the men's heads I heard them saying softly, "Uh, uh." Then my father, who was in the fort, took a stick and chased me away.

About this time I remember that I cried in the morning until I was fed. My paternal parallel cousin, Lonmale, was about my age, but she didn't cry. The girl's father poured water on me because I was crying. We two children turned on him and fought him. My sister [cousin] gave me her food to eat.

When I was about six or eight, my father sent me with my mother to fetch a moko from Alurkaseni. Father gave me bird arrows and a back and a side shield of areca bark. I danced challenge as though I were an adult. Alurkaseni gave me the moko, and I beat it as is customary. It was only a short way from Alurkaseni's house to ours, but I beat it ten times while carrying it home. I delivered it to father, and father said,

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* This was Miss Nicolspeyer from the University of Leyden who joined me for three months.

"Here is a rich man." I felt very proud and went around all day boasting of what I had done. 157

A year or two later they were building the lineage house Kolwati in Dikimpe. I said to my mother and father, "We had better roast a pig for it." I talked as though I were a rich man. So my father said, "You had better go to your Male House and ask them for a pig." I put on my side shield and back shield, took my bow and arrow, and went all the way to the site of Old Karieta [about an hour's walk]. I stood on the verandah and asked my Male House for a pig. Just as I spoke the pig began to squeal. My Male House didn't even wait for me to come in. They went and tied the pig for me right away. I had a hard time carrying it home all by myself. I carried it in my arms, on my head, and on my shoulders. It was heavy for me. When I got home I gave the cry of a man returning with wealth. My father said, "He is already a rich man; he doesn't travel empty-handed." That day we roasted the pig at the lineage-house feast.

When the soldiers were here [about 1918–20] I made friends with a Rante man [i.e., a civil prisoner used as a servant for soldiers]. One day a soldier was butchering a pig and asked for my father's knife. I gave it to him, but when he was through using it he did not return it to me but just stuck it in his belt. I asked him for it but he wouldn't give it to me. I asked again. He began chasing me. I was afraid I would be killed. A white officer stood in one doorway of the government camp with his legs together, blocking the doorway. Another stood blocking the other door with his legs spread. I made a dash as though I wanted to get out through the door that the first officer blocked, then I doubled quickly in my tracks and ran between the spread legs of the second officer. I got away. The next day I was afraid to go to camp, but my Rante friend said it was just play and not to be afraid. He had some cooked rice and he gave it to me with two pieces of fish on top. He kept guard so no one could come and take it from me. Alurkoma wanted to take my rice. He came sneaking up, but the Rante man took a stick and chased him away. He wouldn't let anyone near. My father was sitting under a tree off to one side. I wanted to give him the food but I couldn't; so I ate a little and hid the rest in my basket when the Rante man wasn't looking. Then I gave him back the empty pot to wash. I was too small to wash it myself. Then I went off and gave father the food I had in my basket, and he ate it. This Rante man also gave me the head of a pig they had killed, and my father and I went off together into the gardens and ate it.

At this time we were living in the garden house at Maiamalang. A x [57 corporal wanted to buy a chicken, but my father didn't want to sell it, so the corporal just took it without paying for it. He said he would kill my father. We went off to tell Kapitan Jacob.

The soldiers went away but in a month they came back. People ran to tell Kapitan Jacob, because at that time he was the only one who knew how to talk Malay. The rest were all stupid. Some women were in the field and I was the only man there. I climbed a tree and saw the soldiers coming. One came down to our field and asked who we were. We didn't know Malay, but my mother said she was the mother [classificatory] of Kapitan Jacob. At our house people saw the soldiers coming and slipped out through the floor of the house and went to hide in the rice fields. Some people hadn't yet finished paying their taxes, but my father had. The soldiers took my father. The present radjah was clerk then. He said my father had paid his taxes and let him go. I got home. My father had a big body, but when I got home he was sitting there small and all shrunken together.

[Up to now this had been a free flow of narrative. There was a pause and he went on.] A young girl came to our house, and I said she was my wife. I always said girls were my wives, whether they were my age or already big girls with breasts. My father and mother said, "Good. That's settled." I got worse and worse because my mother and father weren't cross with me. [Question.] My sisters entered the game too and called these girls their sisters-in-law.

One day when I was about twelve, I went into the house while my older sister, Malielani, was defecating. I watched her buttocks. She was angry and smeared her feces on my mouth. We fought. I took my bow and arrow and wanted to shoot her. Mother came in and scolded my sister and washed my mouth. I told my sister, "Your husband will never pay for you." I was only a child, but I spoke the truth. Now she is married, but her husband has only paid one Fehawa moko, worth thirty cents. [Here Fantan corrected himself and gave the right price of thirty rupiahs.]

About this time I had a large, dry tree in my garden, which broke and fell. Everyone came running to strip it for wood. I said, "All you women are my wives, so come get wood." ¶The people laughed and said, "Good."

Also about this time I had been sick and couldn't walk very well. My paternal uncle died and I had to go up to Old Alurkowati. The verandah was high and I couldn't climb onto it. People helped me up. I held the corner of the shroud that people had fetched and helped lay it over my dead uncle. [Question.] I wasn't afraid because I was only a child, without thoughts. At that time we were staying in the house of Lakamobi's wife. It was a hungry season. Father and mother took gongs, mokos, anklets, and necklaces and went to Kelaki to buy corn with them. The corn was partly to eat and partly for the death feasts. There were many people sick at that time and many died. Mother used to go fetch insects for us to eat. Mother cooked some rice for Malielani and me. I saw Tilamau pinch her mother and whisper to her. She was grown, but she was asking her mother for food. So my mother secretly took some of my rice and gave it to her. She took it secretly so I wouldn't cry. But I saw there were only three of my rice rolls left; one had been taken. I asked where my rice had gone and my mother said a dog had eaten it, but there was no dog in the house. I didn't cry. I just kept quiet. Tilamau used to cry when she saw her mother giving us food. She was a grown woman but she cried. Her mother and my mother wanted to give us food, but Tilamau didn't want it. [Question.] My older sisters were already married and living with their husbands. [illegible] [222]

[I interrupted to get a list of his siblings. Fantan was the youngest. Two older brothers died before he could remember them. An older sister, whom he recalled, also died. I asked whether he remembered Kolaka's death, and the temporarily interrupted flow began again.] I remember that a big rain was falling and I was sitting on the verandah. A pig rooted up the skull of my paternal parallel cousin. [Question.] She had been dead a long time; there were just bones. My father called in the gravediggers to rebury her and fed them a chicken.

Kolaka came with her husband to ask my mother to help her cut a garden. We all went. They gave us corn and a chicken and we all returned that evening.

Evenings I used to come home with my friends. I had two. One was Senmani, brother of Rilpada. He was older, but he was my friend. The other was Sefatcha. One day we went to my garden and dug sweet potatoes. I and Senmani wanted to roast them in the garden, but Sefatcha wanted to take his home and roast them. I didn't want him to and said he had dug potatoes in my garden and he should eat them there, so he threw down his sweet potatoes and ran away. Senmani said we should make a house; so we built one out of cassava stalks and made the thatch of cut weeds. Then Senmani said he was going to get a pig. We went to a pile of stones and caught a rat. We tied it like a pig and carried it to our house on a pole. We shouted like men bringing in a pig. Then Senmani said the house was a pig-hunting camp. He said that since he

157 had caught the rat he would get the hindquarters and I the forequarters. We ate them and divided the belly. Senmani said the sweet potatoes were *rice* baskets and tubers [i.e., the two vegetable foods taken [524 / 29] by men on their communal pig hunt]. We made believe there was a feast. There was a pointed stone like an altar stone, and we took the heart of the rat, mixed it with sweet potato, and fed the stone. Senmani said the tail of the rat was the hunter's share, which must be taken home to feed the women. So we pretended to give it to our two wives, but we ate it ourselves.

[At this point there was a half-hour's interruption, during which we looked at some cloth brought up for sale by coastalmen. Fantan tried to get me to buy him a piece of cloth that he admired. He made ridiculously low bids on it and was refused. Then he returned to his story.] Thus we played until I was bigger and began to have thoughts. One day I was working in my garden and Senata called me to say that his bow had been broken by *Manipada*. I was angry and went to help him. I hit *Manipada*. Senata picked up a stone and pounded *Manipada* on the head with it. He was wounded and went to *Manifani*, the former chief of Dikimpe. We each had to pay *Manipada* a *fine* of ten cents. Another time a group of us were playing a ring game. Rilpada was angry with me and called me a redhead. Padalani, Lonata's son, helped me. He called Rilpada "Peppercorn hair." The two *fought*. Padalani and I had to pay a fine of a large corn bundle apiece, and Padalani had an extra fine of twenty cents.

By the time I was fourteen or fifteen I was working hard in the gardens and helping my father. By then I had thoughts. I went to Kalabahi, where I guarded Jacob's coconut garden for a year. Then I came back here to Atimelang and went to school for two and a half years. Now I have been married four and a half years. [Question.] I married after school was finished. Also before I married, I went to Pantar [an adjacent island] for six months. I followed the native schoolteacher there. He was good and asked me to come with him. In six months I returned. [Why?] I was not happy. I remembered my father and mother and came back. There was a schoolteacher there who hit us. There was no boat. Finally I got in one and when it was well offshore, I stood up and said I would *return* in seven days. When I got back to Atimelang a woman wanted to marry me, but I didn't want her. She followed me down to Kalabahi. When I got there, there was no boat, so I returned to Atimelang. When I got back, another woman wanted to marry me. Both of them asked for me. The first was *Matingma* of Kation. I didn't want her because she went around to her friends and said I had no gongs and moko to pay a bride-price; that was why I would not marry her. The other woman was Kolani, sister of Rilpada, but I heard that her father hit her because she wanted to marry me. So I didn't want her either. Matingma's family also wanted her to marry me, and I had given her some presents.

[Question about his present wife.] One day I was playing cards and Tilafani [now his mother-in-law] came to me and asked me for money. I said I didn't have any, but then I found five cents in my basket and gave them to her. She was my Female House. Then she went to my house and saw my Fehawa moko standing there. She spoke to my older sister, Maraima, and said that it was ours [Fantan's and Tilafani's]. Maraima answered, "There are no gongs and moko here." Maraima was just repeating the words Matingma had said. Then Tilafani said she had never repeated such gossip. The day before I had gone to Tilafani to buy a chicken. She wanted twenty-five cents. I offered fifteen cents but she would not accept them, so I left. The next day she told me I could come and get the chicken and pay for it later. I thought maybe her daughter had sent her for me. So I went to Maiyamelang [the girl's village]. The former tumukun [the girl's father] was sitting on the veranda talking. He said I could get the chicken, but when I started to shoot it he didn't want me to. Lakamau was standing there. He told Lakamau to shoot the chicken, but Lakamau went off in the opposite direction before he aimed, so it was a very long shot. He said, "If I hit the chicken in the neck, it is yours; *if* not, you do not get it." [All this was symbolic reference to Fantan's marriage to the daughter.] Lakamau shot, and the arrow hit the chicken right in the neck. So I took the chicken home with me and we ate it. At that time the former tumukun was selling a valuable moko because he wanted small ones for change. So I sent the chief of Dikimpe to ask if they wanted mine. Tilamau [his present wife] laughed. That showed she was willing to marry me, so I sent the Fehawa moko. But Tilamau did not come to me for half a month. *Meanwhile* Matingma and Kolani said if she didn't want to come, they would. I told them they could come and work to earn their own bride-prices. Finally when my father was sick, my wife came to me. We did not sleep together for a month or so. Then I wanted to sleep with her, but she said, "Where is the shawl for my mother?" [Before consummating a marriage it is customary for the husband to give his mother-in-law a shawl.] So I gave Tilafani a moko with which to buy a shawl. Then we slept together. [Question.] I had never slept

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E 159 with a woman before. I had not slept with those women who wanted to marry me, although they asked me to. I thought that if they married and went to other villages and I was traveling and wanted to stop and ask them for food, I would not be able to do so if I had slept with them. I would be ashamed. I was afraid that later I might have to travel hungry. [Question.] My wife too was a virgin.

November 16, 1938

When I was about ten or twelve, my mother was sitting in a corner of the house. Mobikalieta was sitting across the hearth from her. I was standing in another corner of the house with my bow and arrow drawn to shoot rats. A rat ran down and I was [illegible] ready to shoot it, but instead of shooting it I whirled around and shot my mother. I don't know why I did it. My soul just left me, and I don't remember. [Question.] I wasn't angry with her and she wasn't angry with me. It was a long iron arrow and it entered her breast about two inches. She cried and pulled it out herself. I began crying too. Mobikalieta was very angry with me and said he would kill me, but my mother said, "No, if I die he can sit in my place." [As he described his mother's forgiving attitude, his voice was husky; he seemed very moved.]

When I was about that same age, Maraima [his oldest sister] was fighting with her husband. He drove a comb into her hand. I was very angry, and picked up my bow and said I would shoot him. He ran and I followed, throwing stones at him. I chased him all the way to the government camp [about a quarter of a mile]. He was afraid because he knew I was only a child and didn't yet know how to bluff. My mother and father were in the house at the time my sister and her husband were fighting, but they did not interfere; they just tried to make peace with words [literally, spoke between them]. [Question.] I don't know why they were fighting; I was still small.

Once when I was very small but could talk and walk, I was in the house with father and Fuimau, the wife of Kapitan Jacob. She cooked some tubers and we ate. This was the time of the war, when the soldiers brought many heads here and buried them near the government camp. That night we heard the heads making a noise. Some were saying, "Wah! wah! wah!" Some were crying, "Nia, nia [mother]." There was a lot of noise. I went to sit between father's knees, and Fuimau also sat close in front of my father. We sat thus all night. In the morning I went to look where the heads were buried, and all the leaves were trampled down as though people had been walking there.

This was the time that Kapitan Jacob bought two wives in one day. 157
One night he was sleeping between his two wives, and I was sleeping on [illegible]
the other side of one of them. In the middle of the night I woke up and 513
sat on the corn muller to urinate. I was small and didn't know better. Kapitan Jacob woke up and spoke, saying, "Look, he has urinated on the muller." He took hold of me and said he would cut off my ear. He got a knife. I was afraid and cried. Then he picked me up and fondled me and I was quiet.

My father bought one of Kapitan Jacob's two wives for him, the one who was called Fuimau. [Why?] Because my mother was Kapitan Jacob's full sister. At this time Kapitan Jacob came to stay with us. A little later he made two houses on the upper dance place of Dikimpe, [illegible]
one to store corn in and one just to sleep in. At this time we lived in Maiyamelang with my older sister, Maraima, who had married there. But when Kapitan Jacob made these two houses, we went to live with him.

Once when the corn was young, I roasted three ears for the kapitan. When they were cooked I handed them to him, but as he reached for them I drew them away. I handed them again and drew them away. Then the kapitan grabbed me and tied a rope around my neck as though he were going to hang me. He said he was going to cut off my ears. I cried and cried.

Kapitan Jacob bought a lot of bananas. He held three out to me. He stood close to his horse and held the bananas out to me. When I came near to get the bananas, he grabbed me and held me under the horse's head. I cried. Then he gave me the bananas. I ate them and was quiet. Then he grabbed me again and put me on the horse's back. The horse started going, and I screamed and cried until finally the former chief of Lakawati lifted me off.

Once Kapitan Jacob rode his horse to Lakawati and back. He held [412]
me on in front of him. When we got back he got off and left me on the horse. I cried, and the chief of Lakawati picked me off and set me on the ground, but I couldn't stand because my buttocks and legs were so sore.

I have already forgotten much. [Pause and interruption. I asked for his dreams on the preceding night.]

I dreamed I saw a large flat place like this one here, only it wasn't here in Atimelang; it was flatter. There was a mountain at its edge, the mountain on which Padalehi stands. A large, round stone like a ball dropped from the sky and struck the side of the mountain, but it

359 did not roll down; it just rolled sideways, following the slope until it came opposite me. Then it rolled down straight toward me. As it came to me I ducked under it, and it struck a wall in back of me. The wall was not like those here; it was of planks. The stone hit the wall and bounced back in front of me. Then I woke up. When I told this dream to the old people last night, they said it was a good omen and meant I would buy a valuable moko. [Question.] In the dream I was not afraid; I thought the world was coming to an end, and I just thought of Tuan God and Tuan Jesus. This flat place didn't have casia trees growing on it, just eucalyptus. [Question.] When I woke up I thought too that it was a good sign, and that if I didn't buy a valuable moko, at least I would receive some valuable property. [Any further idea about the dream?] I thought to myself at first that maybe the stone was a gravestone. [Whose?] I don't know whose. Maybe my own, maybe someone else's.

I had another dream too. I saw a bird flying, and it perched on a bayorka tree. It was hidden by the tree and I only saw its tail. I crawled up carefully and grabbed the tail, but all the feathers came out and it flew away. I followed it and got it. Then I came to some corn. The ears were very small, just about as big as my little finger. I took these and went on, and I saw some tuber leaves that looked as though the tubers might be ripe and large. It was on the bank of a small, steep ravine, and water was flowing below. I began digging but reached water. Then I began searching for crayfish and eels. I got two small crayfish and about ten small eels. Alomale [a cousin] was there. He searched and got crabs and a large eel. I woke up and thought those two crayfish and eels were a sign of gongs—a good sign. The eels were a sign of mokos. The bird is a sign of a shawl. I thought maybe someone might die and I would fetch a shroud, gongs, and mokos.

[What was your relationship to Alomale when you were small?] Alomale and his sisters lived with us when I was small. Their father and mother were dead. David [a younger brother of Kapitan Jacob] stayed with us too. I was only five or six and Alomale was already a grown man, but he wasn't married yet, although he was as old as Nicolas [about thirty]. A lot of young people used to stay with us. The house was always full. They would arrive and my parents would ask them to stay and eat. When my mother and father died, they all came and helped me with the death feast. They did not eat the food [a sign of close attachment to the dead]. [Question.] Alomale did not play with me like Kapitan Jacob. He always pitied me and gave me rats and

things to eat. [Who cared for you most?] They were all the same; 159x
there was no one person especially who cared for me.

I can't *remember* any more. *Maybe* this afternoon or tomorrow morning I'll remember more. [He sat silent for a time.]

People stole corn from our garden. We found the husks. One night we heard the corn making a noise like this, "Ko, ko, ko, pah, pah." I was sleeping with my *father*. He got up to see who was there. I was afraid and went over to sleep next to my mother. Father went out and threw a stone. The person thought the stone came *from* the other direction, and he ran right down into my father's arms. Father grabbed him by the belt, but he had just a single cord there and his loincloth was tucked into it like a woman's. Father grabbed *for* his hair, but his hair was cut short. The belt rope broke and the person ran away. The next morning we saw the corn broken down and we found the piece of rope and the loincloth, but we didn't know who had stolen the corn.

One night too a man from Karieta came down to steal our corn. 159x
Ours was the only corn ripe yet. *Malalehi*, my sister *Maraima's* first 695
husband, went out in the field to watch. Three men came, but only one entered our garden and began to break off corn. My brother-in-law shot, and the arrow went right through the thigh and came out the other side. The next morning my brother-in-law followed the trail of blood. It led up to Padalehi. There was Augfani, wounded. Malalehi accused him of stealing corn. Alurkaseni too was one of the three men, although he had stayed at our house. But people urged him to steal and he had gone. However, he *refused* to enter our garden. Kapitan Jacob beat gongs and went up to Padalehi. One man, the wounded one, paid us a pig that was pregnant with five piglets. The other paid us a sword —and all for the corn they had stolen. [Pause.]

One time my father wanted to buy a wife for *me*, although I was 159x
still small. I was about ten or twelve. Fuimai was already big and had breasts. *My father* asked her for a long tuber and she gave it to him. Then some people from Hatoberka came to get a spirit-bird bundle of [778]
which my father was second owner. He was paid a Vifal moko, and he used it to pay *for* Fuimai. I was small but I was not ashamed. I carried that moko and ran fast to take it to her. After a while I began to have a *few* thoughts. Whenever Fuimai came people would say, "There is your wife." When I looked at her I saw she was a big woman, and I felt ashamed. Then her father died, and the moko stayed there. I never got it back. [Question.] I could go ask for it back but I am ashamed. Besides, maybe she gave my father something in return for the moko. I don't know about the transaction because I was still small then.

November 17, 1938

X 159 Last night I dreamed I saw a trail coming down the mountainside. It circled back and forth. A cement ditch for water was alongside the trail. Then the cement ditch turned into a bamboo water pipe. I saw an eel as big as my leg enter the water pipe. I thrust my hand in where the pipe was open, and with my other hand I cut the eel ten times and pulled it out. It was as thick as my calf and half an arm-span long. Just [78] now I told my dream to old people and asked what it meant. They said it meant I would get a valuable moko.

[He blocked on any further explanation. I tried to explain cultural dream interpretation versus free association dreams.]

When my father was sick but not yet dead, I dreamed I saw a big snake flying overhead. It had a beard of tree moss. When it got over my head it dropped the beard, and five fish fell at my feet. There was a pool of water there suddenly. I searched about in the pool for the fish [78] and pulled out a great many crayfish. The old people said that meant I would get a great deal of wealth. Then when my father died people came from all over with gongs and mokos and pigs. [He then gave an animated account of all the pigs that were killed for his father's death feast. He was obviously impressed himself and wanted to impress me.]

[I asked how old he was and how he felt when his father died.] It was only about three and a half years ago. I still didn't have real thoughts then [yet he must have been over twenty]. I didn't know [76] about feasts. I didn't know how to pay the gravediggers. I brought out the mokos and gongs, but my elder relatives divided them up. [Was your father sick a long time?] No, just about two years. It began in Hatoberka. When he felt a little better he came back here. Then he had a boil high on his thigh, but that healed. Then he had ordinary sickness, headaches, but no fever. He coughed but no blood came. Once when there was a war my father was shot in the breast, and the arrow point broke off and stayed there. The arrow point moved around, and when it moved, my father had pains in his chest. He died of that. One night father died and we beat gongs for him, but in the morning he came back to life and said, "I am not dead. Just beat the gongs for my elder brother [who was dead]." Then my father died again and came back to life. Four times it happened. All the people thought we should send for Rilpada [the seer] and ask his familiar to take away my father's soul. My father sat up and chewed areca. He asked the seer for tobacco. When he smoked he said, "All my children are gathered about me. If the smoke I blow out sails out of my mouth straight ahead, I shall live.

If it curls around my mouth, I shall die." He blew out the smoke and it sailed out straight ahead. He said, "Now I shall live." But the seer sent his familiar spirit, and it took father's soul far off, and my father died. As I was holding my father in my arms I put my hand under his mouth, and a tooth dropped out into my hand. That was a sign that there would be another death soon, and in a short time mother died. 157 [787 824]

[How long was it before your mother died?] Mother died a year and a half after my father; it was two years ago. [How?] Padata the Leper and his wife separated. The wife married a kinsman of ours in Makangfokung. The Makangfokung people would not eat the food that the people of Karieta [Padata's village] cooked and vice versa. The Karieta people made magic against Makangfokung with their *namoding* stone. Makangfokung made magic against Karieta with their *maheng* spirit. Padata gave a feast and paid my mother for a shroud with a *moko* and rice. My mother carried them right through to the Makangfokung people, to our relatives. In Makangfokung the *maheng* spirit must have hit my mother, because she came home and was sick. She defecated blood. Mother was sick for two and a half months. [Which hurt most, your father's or your mother's death?] When mother died I cried for ten days. But I cried for ten days too when my father died. Whenever I went any place alone I would think and then cry a lot. I feel my mother and father were good because they gave birth to me. If they hadn't I wouldn't be here now. I am still here, so I feel I have a debt to pay. They fed me and gave me drink when I was small. I must pay that debt to them. I am raising three pigs now, and the next good year [1940] I shall give a death feast for both of them. That is the debt I must pay. I think and think of my father and mother. They slept together. Father used up all his semen. Mother was pregnant and had trouble because of me; people had to watch over her until I was born. I was small but she fed me. When I slept she made me comfortable; she had to clean up my feces. My mother and father went to work and had to come back to fondle me when I cried. Mother had to come back from the fields, from fetching water and firewood. Father would start someplace and I would cry, and he would have to come back to fondle me. When I was hungry they cut bananas for me. My maternal grandparents came bringing things and had to be fed. When I was still bloody [i.e., newly born] my mother had to sit in the house from four to six days with me. My mother had trouble because of me. Death feasts are to pay for all this care. [Pause. I felt throughout this speech that Fantan was saying something rehearsed, or was expressing just a standard [578 754]

[159] cultural sentiments, and yet that all these things were *full* of emotional content for him.] So now too it is the hungry season. If people who have lots of food remember us and give us *food*, good food, we remember them when food is plentiful and pay them back. [Long pause. Was [illegible] this last speech a bid for a food gift from me as an expression of love? I definitely played a maternal role for the informant.]

When I was maybe six years old, a man from Kolaisi was our guest. He gave us a coconut. I was out in the fields with my father when he was cutting weeds. I took a knife to open the coconut and eat it. My [illegible] father told me not to do that but to plant it. I wanted to cut weeds, but my father didn't want me to. I cried, but he would not come up to fondle me. So I took the coconut and threw it down the hillside at him. It hit his side. He took a stick and chased me. I ran, but he caught up with me and beat me from my head to my thighs.

When I was ten or twelve years old, Kolaka [an older sister] called me to come and mind her baby. We went together to Lakmelang. I took care of the baby for five days; then Kolaka wanted to go to Atimelang. I was afraid to be left alone and I cried, so she came back and we went up into the house together. Then after a while Kolaka went out. While I wasn't looking she went off to Atimelang. She left me there. I left the child in the house and started out to follow her. I got down as far as the Limbur ravine, and there I met a big man from Rualmelang. He pulled out his sword and said he was going to kill me. I was afraid and ran away. When I got back to Kolaka's house the baby was still sleeping. That evening Kolaka came back. The next morning I went back to the river and saw a large eel trap. There was a dead rat in it. I took it away and saw a great big eel in the trap. Then I carried the eel back to the village still alive. When I got there Padata's father said, "A child has brought back an eel, so my women had better cook rice." His women cooked rice and we all ate together. [This he told with much pride.] The next day I went again to the trap. There was nothing in it but there was a bird near it. I caught it and went back to the village to play with it. An old man took it from me to eat. [Question.] I wasn't angry, because his wife was my mother's cousin.

After a while I came back to Atimelang with Kolaka and my father. [821 One morning I got up at sunrise and looked at the sun. I saw two, one 787] on the eastern horizon and one overhead. I went in and told my mother and father, and they told me not to speak about it. It was a sign of good luck. [If one told good omens, they would not materialize.]

[Long pause. Again he said that he had forgotten much. I suggested 159^x that he listen to the thoughts that traveled through his head.]

When I was still small my hair was reddish. Falemata was staying with us. When we *fought* she called me redhead. I answered by calling her Faleata. [Play on the name of Falemata; *faleata* is the name of a [363] wild plant used as food.] She called me Fankai [a dog's name, a play on his name, Fantan]. We fought; she was bigger than I and clamped her hand over my mouth and bit me. [Pause.]

One time when I was about twelve years old, my father took me to Kelaisi. We went because Atakalieta had come to ask for a pig. When we delivered the pig, he killed a chicken for us and we ate it, but the two legs we saved for a very old woman, grandmother of my mother, called Kolati. We took them to her in Kamiowati. She cooked rice and fed us. She gave us a bunch of bananas and a full basket of areca nuts. We went back to Kelaisi and slept there overnight, and the next day we came home here to Atimelang.

When I was that old I could not go to Makangfokung because if I 159^x went there I would die. [He paused to make me ask why.] My father 751 and uncle had begotten many boys there, but they all died. Only the 761 778 girls lived. Kaloi, the spirit of our lineage house, had killed them; it said that all the male children belonged to it. My two brothers had already died, so my mother and father thought I would die too. Father went to Kelaisi to buy a medicine. He paid a piece of cloth and a moko for it. When he brought it home he killed a pig, a big one, to feed the medicine. After that father could go to Makangfokung, and when I was older I could too. Father went to Makangfokung, put the medicine on a stone, and threw the stone in the house. Then a snake rose halfway from the ground. *My* father placed some of the medicine on a little stone and held it in front of the snake, and the snake died. Father didn't hit it; it just died. After he had this medicine father could kill the evil [778] spirits that lived in trees and other places. He could burn off spirit abodes, and everything would dry up there. The trees would die and dry up, and with them all the taboo strings. [Fantan had had several "taboo strings" extracted from under his sternum that year.] *Manifala* is a spirit abode. I placed the medicine there and burned it over. I went 159^x up and there were many dead snakes. [How long since you have cut this garden at *Manifala*? He spoke as though it were in the present.] I haven't cut that place in about six years. It was while father was still alive. He died less than a year after I cut the Manifala garden.

November 18, 1938

8 157 [He wanted to begin with other data I had asked him to collect. When I asked him to begin with his own story there was a very long [326] pause. I felt much resistance this day. Was he punishing me for not accepting his bid of the preceding day for food and nurture?]

When I was small an old man from Kewai, called Maugfani, came to stay with us. He was my father's *Male House*. He used to sit by the fire and doze. He would fall over and then wake up and say, "*Na laktiel.*" ["Indeed, I was dreaming." In local dialect this would be *na la pieti.* [222] Such dialectic variations were always cause for much laughter and [143] ridicule.] He was very old and all the time he was there my mother fed him pounded corn. [Question.] He stayed several months and then returned. [Question.] I liked him because I was still small. I called him grandfather.

One time Alomale, Fanlani, Maraima, and Kolfani [all siblings or cousins] were staying with mother and father. I was still small. Alomale and Fanlani went to hunt rats near the Limbur ravine. A rat went down a very steep slope. Alomale followed it and rolled down the slope. He was dead. People carried him to Maimaulang. Many women cried for him. But when he got back to Maimaulang he came to life again.

Fanlani's wife was Tilamau. I was still so small I couldn't talk clearly. Tilamau fondled me and took me to a dance. She danced holding me in her scarf. [Question.] I myself remember this [i.e., it was not hearsay].

When Fanlani died Tilamau wanted Alomale, but Alomale stole three small ears of corn from Lakamobi's garden. Lakamobi took Tilamau as wife to pay the debt, just for three small ears of corn. Now Lakamobi doesn't pay Tilamau's bride-price. He just took her. [Inaccurate.]

One time father, I, and Kolaka's husband, Mailang of Hatoberka, were all at Hatoberka. The three of us went down into the ravine to get [223] crabs. A young spirit bird flew up. Mailang shot and missed. He shot all his arrows. Then father gave him his bird arrow and he hit the bird. When we got back to Hatoberka, Ataloi bought the spirit bird and cooked and pounded corn. We ate. Father got a Vifal moko as the second seller of the bird.

Once we were near Fiyaipe cutting a garden. Three men were sharing the work and the crop. At burning time we went down to the river to hunt for crayfish and eels near the place called Talmang. We drained a pool and got an eel about the size of my wrist. Then we saw another as big as my calf. Fanlaka shot it and jumped into the water after it. We also got a basketful of crabs and crayfish. The smaller eel we ate and the larger one we brought back to the garden. [illegible]

[I commented, "This morning you are not saying what you think or feel."] Before I went to Kalabahi, when I was maybe thirteen or fourteen, my friends Senmani, Sefaecha, and Samuel and I played. Senmani said, "We must get sweet potatoes and young corn and go down to the Lindaur ravine to play and bathe." We hunted and got three rats first. Then we went to the ravine. Senmani made a fire with a strike-a-light. We cooked the rats, pounded up the sweet potatoes, mixed the inner organs of the rats with them, and cooked them in a bamboo tube. Then Senmani said we must go look for eels and crabs. I looked in a pool near our camping place. There was an eel. I had only a bird arrow and was drawing it when Atapada came. He was crazy; a spirit had already possessed him. The others all ran and hid. Atapada came to me and raised his knife over my head, saying he was going to kill me. I was not afraid. I talked quietly to him and said I had an eel that I would share with him. Atapada's body was thin because his spirit possessed him. He sat down near me and I shot the eel. The other boys came. We gave Atapada the head, the tail, and the inner organs. Each of the rest of us had only a small piece. Atapada also ate our rats. [Pause.] We played there and only returned to the village late in the afternoon. [illegible]

[Pause. I asked, "Did you dream last night?" He answered that he hadn't. Very long pause. He sat and sniffed, picked his nose, rubbed his ears, and shifted about. I looked at him. We smiled at each other and he said, "I don't remember any more." There was another very long pause. I asked, "Why do you talk so much about eels?" He answered, "You said I could talk about anything." I answered, "Yes, of course. But why do you happen to think so much about eels?" He answered, "Because I like to hunt for eels and crabs and crayfish." My response was, "But you are afraid of snakes, aren't you?" "Yes, but eels are meat." "Did you get any this year?" "Yes. When you asked me to go out and catch crayfish one day, I caught an eel and took it home to eat." "Did you catch many last year?" He then continued his narration.]

No. I was in Makangfokung. I made a garden there. I was there a year and a half in all. It was after I had thrown away my wife for the first time. I was there half a year and then came here to Ibigeta. My wife went back with me and was with me in Makangfokung for a year. When my mother died and the feasts were over, she ran away from me again. She went back to her parents and stayed with them until after I came to work for you. [Why did you separate?] After my mother's

[39] death we fought over meat. The chief of Alurkowati came to help me when my mother died, and brought a pig. So when he gave one of his wife's death feasts, I gave him twenty-five cents. My father-in-law was the Male House of the chief of Alurkowati, and he took a pig, which he got from me. That evening my father-in-law sent me some meat. I said I didn't want anything and not to send the meat. Tilamau, my wife, went back to see about it. She found out I had given the chief twenty-five cents. She was angry because I hadn't given the money to her parents. We quarreled and she left me. I sent back the meat too.

She stayed a year with her parents, and then I placed the litigation with the chief of Dikimpe. I cooked a chicken for the chief, and my wife came back to me. We made a litigation to see whether she wanted to return or not. If she didn't want to come back I wanted my bride-price back. At the litigation her mother didn't want her to return, but my wife said, "He is my husband and I don't want another." Her father also didn't want to break up the marriage. He said they had already received a moko from me. [Why did your mother-in-law want to break up the marriage?] Her mother didn't want us to be married, because I had quarreled with her child. [Did you beat her?] No, I don't know how to beat women. If my wife is angry because I go to play with young girls, she can hit me, but I don't know how to hit a woman. [He had always very strenuously denied extramarital affairs. I asked, "Are quarrels cause for divorce here?] Her mother gave a lot of little feasts and [40] expected me to give her things all the time. If a man is old or rich he can bring gongs and mokos, but we children [meaning himself] can go free if we don't have anything. She wanted to be given a great deal. But her husband said, "We are rich people. If we get gongs and mokos, that is all right, but the rest of the things don't matter. [At this point the informant looked as though he were near tears. He was much more disturbed than during accounts of his parents' deaths, for example.] I wanted to separate but my wife didn't want to. She wanted to use me right through.

[Why did you separate the first time?] We had a child that died. My wife and her parents said my evil spirit was following me and ate the child. My mother-in-law didn't want us to stay together. [What spirit?] The kalai spirit in Makangfokung that ate my father's sons. [True or not?] No, it wasn't true. If it had been true I wouldn't be here, because the kalai would have eaten me, but my father fed it medicine. [Question.] My child was a boy about seven months old when he died. He was big enough to laugh but not to sit up. I had been married a year when my wife became pregnant. At the end of the second year she gave birth. |5Y²

[Question.] At the end of the first separation it was I who made a litigation to get back my bride-price. Her parents said I hadn't come to one of their feasts to help them. I wanted to get my bride-price back, but the chiefs—I mean my wife—said I was her husband. [Here I felt that he had started to say that the chiefs heard the litigation and didn't approve the divorce, but he corrected himself and stressed the point that his wife was deeply attached to him.] So *Malikalieta*, a relative, paid a free gift [*pungkle*] for me, and my wife returned to live with me. [This free gift was what he was expected to contribute to his parents-in-law's feast.]

[Question.] My wife is pregnant now; she has been for four months, and in another six months she will give birth. [Shortly after his wife's pregnancy began he built his own house and stopped living in his sister's. He had said nothing to me previously about his wife's pregnancy. I asked, "Are you glad?"] Yes. [He smiled in a pleased fashion.] A child is like having wealth. When we get a child it is like getting the bride-price back. A girl brings back too. When she grows up she brings us a bride-price. A boy when he grows up and is big makes our death feasts. [Which do you want more?] It is just the same whether it is a boy or a girl.

November 19, 1938

[Yesterday I told Fantan that for one month I could use him only half time. He was very angry and unwilling. Finally, at his suggestion, I agreed to give him more than half pay for half time. He said that then people wouldn't think I was dissatisfied with him. This morning he started in much more willingly than yesterday.] |15 |26

Last night I dreamed. My soul went to the market at *Aiyakandiking* to barter. The women of the Five Villages had gone on first. When I got to the market there was no one there. The women had finished their trading and were down below the market place. Malielani, Maraima [his two older sisters], and Lakamau [Maraima's husband] were there. Lakamau was angry with *Malielani*. I and Lakamau fought, exchanging blows. I told him to go back to his own village. "Your wife is my sister, but I have given you a lot for her. It is better that you don't stay with us." I was helping *Malielani*. Malielani is from a distant village, and when she comes here she must stay with us. Then we returned to the house. I woke up and told my wife. I think this is a true dream, but I think I shall hit Lakamau only if I go to Aiyakandiking. |5Y¹ x 159 [Have you been quarreling with Lakamau?] Yes, we are having much trouble over areca, and his wife [i.e., Fantan's sister] is moving my boundary stones. [Fantan lived with his sister on their adjoining fields.] I told them they had better leave. The field is mine. I am a man and the youngest son. [Actually these were not claims to prior possession of fields. I asked, "How long have you been quarreling?"] For ten days now; but from the time I was a child Marsima and I have fought a lot. Every time I say something Marsima gets angry. Lakamau sides with her. Those areca trees are mine; my father planted them. But Lakamau says the trees are on Marsima's land and are his. I say to him, "Your mother and father perhaps didn't know how to plant arecas and coconuts; they weren't industrious. I have already given you a wife; don't be bold enough to take my areca." The other day I ripped down their house walls and told them to leave, but they just mended them and stayed. [Question.] That was a month ago. Because I come to you they take my areca, sell it, and keep the money. [Question.] My wife can't guard it. Lakamau just takes it. [Question.] Lakamau is making a small house in Alurkowati now. Maybe they will leave. I don't know. [Previously Fantan had always denied his obvious hostility to his sister. I asked, "Does your wife help you in the quarrels?"] When they drag in her name she helps, but when just the three of us are fighting she stays out of it. [Question.] Marsima and Lakamau have been living in the field just one year. Before that I lived with them in Alurkowati, but I wasn't there much. When I returned from Makangfokung I went to live for three months in Rualmelang. [Question.] The trouble over areca began when my father died.

[Short pause.] When I was still small and lived at Mainmelang [the field where he is now living] I dreamed. This was the beginning of
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taxation, and nobody paid. All the grown men were in Kalabahi, either in jail or trying to earn money. I dreamed that the former tumukun [his present father-in-law] was coming back. Early in the morning I went and told his wife, and we went to look. We saw him coming. He said, "That child's dreams are like mirrors."

Once when I was staying at Makangfokung I saw an eel as big as my thigh. It was hunting crayfish. I shot the eel and followed it into water so deep it would have been over my head. We struggled, but the eel got away into deep water. This was the first time I made a garden at Manifula. My father was already dead, but my mother was still alive.

I went to Makangfokung, where my elder sisters [cousins] lived in a field house. I told them I had come to cut the field. There was a woman and we wanted each other. At that time I was separated from my wife, 159x Tilamau. If Tilamau had divorced me I would have married that woman. There was a heavy rain and I was sitting in my house. This woman came and saw me sleeping. She woke me up and said she had just cooked some food. I said, "I am sleeping now. Tomorrow." The woman said, "No, we must go to my house and sleep." She left. Then she came again to borrow fire. Her mother called. I didn't want to go, but her mother kept calling insistently, so I went. Her mother had cooked sweet potatoes and corn, so we ate. The woman opened a sleeping mat and told me to sleep, but I said I had to go back to the house before sleeping. I left and didn't sleep there. [Angry?] No, she was not angry with me. Then the next morning I sharpened my knife to go cut weeds, and so did this woman. I went to cut weeds and two women from Kuyamasang called and asked who was cutting the field. I said that I was. The women said I couldn't, but my two elder cousins said I was their younger brother and I could. There was a quarrel. All Makangfokung sided with me. Then the three of us cut the field on a profit-sharing basis—I, Maliemai, and Lonkamo. This girl had a garden adjoining mine. She asked me to eat with her, so I went. Each day when I went to work in the garden she followed me and cooked for me in her garden. I worked five or six days and then got sore hands and had to stop. When I stopped she went to another garden to work. When I sharpened my knife she took her pots and came to cook, just as though she were really my wife.

I planted one and a half cans [seven gallons] of corn in that field. When it was ripe I didn't guard it, so the birds and rats ate a lot of it. We got one hundred and fifty bundles, sixty of large ears and ninety of small ones. They made five tins [twenty gallons] of large kernels plus three tins of small kernels, three tins of a poor grade, and four tins of black corn to feed the pigs. [What did you do with it? In answer he repeated again all this reckoning.] Part of my share I used for my mother's death feasts. [Fantan then gave the names of all the various female cousins to whom he gave corn, but he gave none to his wife or his parents-in-law. I asked if this was customary. He said it was customary to give to one's female kin and not to affinal kin. This is not true.] [431]

We divided the corn and were carrying it in. When I was carrying it in, this girl came and asked me to eat. She offered me a cucumber, but [264] I did not want it; so she offered me areca to chew. We stood talking. She said I should go litigate and get my bride-price back and then carry the gongs and mokos to her parents. She said we should exchange to-x 159 kens and sleep together so I would not forget her. But I didn't want to. I said, "We have to be husband and wife before we sleep together." [I asked where he had learned this code.] The old men used to talk like this. They said, "You can sleep with women from other villages but not with those from your own." [He then repeated the idea expressed in a previous interview, that one's own village women would marry into other villages, and that if one wanted to be fed and received hospitably when one traveled one must have a clear record with women.] We were talking thus when two of my women relatives came and said they were going to take a pig to a near-by village. I hurried to carry in the corn and accompany them. Then I came home. My mother was still living. I said I wanted a new wife, and she said I would have to find the gongs and mokos myself. So I went back to Makangfokung with my wife. Then the girl and her family made sour faces at me and didn't ask me to chew areca with them. [Why did you go back to Makangfokung?] I had a garden there. [Here too?] Yes, but people here steal terribly. If I had been happy in Makangfokung I would have wanted to settle down there. [Why did you return here?] My mother died in Makangfokung. We carried her body here to bury it. I was afraid I would die too in a year or two if I stayed in Makangfokung, so I came back here to live. [Was your wife happy in Makangfokung?] She was happy while my mother was alive, but after her death we were both unhappy there and returned.

When we were in Makangfokung they burned a large field and got two deer. [He then told how he captured a deer singlehanded and with bare hands. In telling this he made a slip of the tongue. He said he saw the deer and dropped his bow and arrow and ran, but he then corrected himself and said he dropped his areca basket and ran after the deer. His loincloth loosened as he was struggling with the deer, and when he stopped to adjust it the deer got away. It had been my experience with the informant that he was physically quite cowardly. I guessed that this tale was fantasy or someone else's exploit. There was a long pause.]

One time in Kalabahi I, Thomas, and Maugkari were staying together. A Kebola man's dog chased a big deer. Thomas and Maugkari took a large knife and followed it. I cut off its path and the deer ran into me; his nose hit my chest. Then this mouse—deer [corrected himself]—I didn't have a knife or anything. [Here the informant was obviously confused.] I wrestled with it and we killed it. Thomas said we should sell it. I was still holding it. A man came up and pounded its head but couldn't kill it; then some Kebola men came with a knife and cut its throat. There were eight of us mountain men staying together 159x and there were a great many Kebola men. We divided the meat and each one got only ten small cubes. People told my wife, who already had a child, that we had killed a deer and had not sent the meat. My wife said, "We are not married any more. He doesn't send meat." Her mother and father were angry too. When I returned I brought a coconut and some salt. I didn't stop but went right through to my garden at Manifula. I sent the salt and coconut to my mother and asked her to take them to my wife. My mother took them to my wife, but she refused to accept them. So I gave the coconut and salt to the chief of Dikimpe, who was sick. [Pause.]

I stayed here and was not happy, so I returned to Kalabahi. I took a rupiah and lost it all the first night playing cards. Then the doctor wanted to go on a trip, and we went along as carriers. The first night we slept in Alor Kechil. From there we went to Kokar. There were many coconuts. The corporal bought some and we ate them. That night we hunted shrimps and eels, and cooked and ate them. The next [222] day early we went to Aimoling. People came for injections. They [177] brought chickens and money to pay for them. The doctor gave us a present of two chickens and we ate them. We went on and slept at Adang. There the people brought many chickens [to pay] for injections, and the doctor gave us one. The doctor's cooking pot was carried off by a dog. The next day we went to Topibang. After the people had injections we went on to Buyenta. The doctor gave us half a tin of rice and a chicken. We got two other chickens. The carriers of the doctor's assistant and of the corporal got three. The next day the injections were finished. The corporal stayed overnight, but the doctor's adopted child wanted to get back to Kalabahi. So we went that night to Kalabahi. We slept in the house of the doctor's servant near the cemetery and the doctor went home. We had chicken and rice to eat. Then the doctor's servant came and ordered us to carry the luggage on to the doctor's house. We did and came back to sleep. The next day was Sunday, so we did not get our wages. On Monday we went and each was to get two and a half rupiahs, but we were fined because the cooking pot had been stolen by a dog, and so we got only seventy-five cents. My wife and mother-in-law were in the market, so I bought ten cents' [443] worth of fish and ten cents' worth of salt. My wife wouldn't take the fish. She threw it in the ditch. She said she didn't want anything from me. My mother-in-law felt the same way. They went home, so I gave the fish to the wife of the mandur of Dikimpe. [Pause.] That night we x159 played cards and I lost half a rupiah, so I had only two left. [The informant's account seemed full of internal contradictions.]

[It was evident at this point that the informant was blocking in his autobiography. I dropped the daily sessions for three days. During that time Fantan was engaged in a vigorous quarrel with his wife, Tilamau.
[126] On the fourth day he came early in the morning and told me the following story, which I have recast into the third person and in which I have inserted such observations as I was able to make.]

November 22, 1938

[525] About a month ago Fantan's wife gambled and lost her dance necklace and anklets. Fantan said he gave her money to try to win them back, but she only lost that too. He was angry, and in telling me about it he put his anger on the moral basis that women should not play cards though it was all right for men. "Young women can play cards because they don't have to work and remember their families, but married women have to work. Besides, women just go on and on. They gamble
[292 away all they have, even their shawls. If they don't have shawls to wear
841] during their menstrual periods it isn't nice."

On Friday (November 18) Fantan was wandering about and joined in a game in a remote garden house where some unmarried girls were gambling. One of the girls, Fungata, had just lost most of her anklets and her necklace. She had only two anklets left. Fantan said if she would give him her two remaining anklets he would win the others back for her. He lost the two anklets and then said (although he admitted to me that he was lying) that he had twenty-five cents in his pocket and would stake fifteen cents of that against the lost articles. He had a winning streak and won back all that the girl had lost. Instead of keeping them, as he was entitled to do, he returned them to her.

Early Sunday morning (November 20) while he was away two of the girls present at the gambling told his wife about the episode. When he returned from an early market where he had been with me, his wife berated him for returning the jewelry to Fungata when she herself had none, and for not winning hers back for her. She asked if Fungata were his sister or maybe his wife and implied that he had had intercourse with her. She boxed his ears, and he picked up a rattan switch and hit her twice across the thigh. She took her field knife and hit his shoulder with the flat of the blade. He was terrorized and told me he had a large wound. This was patently untrue; he had not even a scratch. When I pointed this out he said, "Well, I might have had a large wound."

His wife then ran off to Karieta and fought with Fungata. They 159x came to blows, and in ripping off Fungata's necklace, Tilamau broke it. She then came back to the house, but Fantan had meanwhile hidden himself in the servants' quarters behind my house. He told Stephanus and Nitaniel (two of my boys) to tell his wife, if she came, that he was not there. His wife arrived and went directly to the servants' room and tried to pull open the door, but Fantan held it from the inside. His wife then hid quietly around the corner of the house. When Fantan came out to see where she was, she attacked him once more. He again struck her twice on the upper thighs with the rattan switch, which he was still carrying. He raised large welts and she again drew her knife. Stephanus and Nitaniel held her and got scratched in the process. Fantan ran off around the corner of the house.

Meanwhile Thomas and Maleboi (two other servants) came running into the house [illegible] tell me of the fight and ask me to come out and stop it. Thomas hastened to explain that he was afraid to handle Fantan's [843] wife roughly because she was pregnant. When I went out Fantan had just disappeared around the corner of the house. He circled the house and as I stood out back he dashed into my room, where he hid himself. As I came in he peered through a crack of the door, obviously very much afraid. All this quarrel was uncharacteristically quiet, with a minimum of shouting.

Tilamau sat down near the house, crying and raging. Thomas tried to tease her back into good humor but received only two hard blows for his effort. Fantan skulked on the verandah for about two hours, while his wife lay in wait for him outside. Finally toward evening she left and he also went off.

Meanwhile Fungata had already made a litigation with the chief of Dikimpe because of her broken necklace. The chief said Tilamau would [591 have to pay a fine; but neither Tilamau, her parents, nor Fantan would 635] pay. So the chief of Dikimpe was angry and brought the oath stone [*namoling*] from Karieta and swore an oath, saying that they could not come to him any more to try cases. Included in his repudiation were Manifani and his brother Langmani, who were Tilamau's maternal uncles and supported her in the refusal to pay a fine. Then Fungata went to the chief of Karieta, who summoned Tilamau to attend a new trial. She refused to go.

So early Monday morning (November 21) Fungata brought her case to the tumukun. Involved at first were only Fantan, Fungata, and Tilamau. The older and more responsible people did not appear. Fantan, x 159 meanwhile, was avoiding his wife and had slept the preceding night in Karieta, Fungata's village. He returned to his own house in the early [illegible] morning to discover that his wife had burned his rattan switch with a leprosy curse. She had procured a piece of a leper's mat from Lakamau's house. Lakamau was a neighbor and brother-in-law of Fantan. Burning a leper's mat was considered a much more virulent form of curse than just erecting at the place of the injury a pole with a piece of the leper's mat on it.

When Fantan ran to me in the morning after discovering that his wife had cursed him, he said that this morning at the litigation he was going to divorce his wife and then marry Fungata.

During the litigation Tilamau was outwardly stony, but a strong pulse was evident in her throat, and finally tears ran down her face, though she did not change expression. She accused Fantan of unfaithfulness, of calling her vulgar and ignorant, and so on. The tumukun, however, insisted that she pay Fungata for the broken necklace, and this Tilamau refused to do. The tumukun then turned to Fungata and said, "Within the last month you have had a quarrel with the wife of the chief of Alurkowati, with the wife of Paulus Besar, and now with the wife of Fantan. One of these three men must become your husband. Which shall it be?" Fungata denied having had intercourse with Fantan. Then she said that the story about the chief of Alurkowati was as follows: She was roasting corn in her house when he passed by and said, "Ugh! a wild pig has come to eat your food." She answered, "It must be an evil spirit." He said, "You are an evil spirit too, so we had better marry." This is considered a noncompromising joke. Then Fungata admitted that Paulus Besar had seized her near the government camp on the night of a dance (October 24). At first she denied intercourse, but finally she admitted that he tugged at her breasts. This is [illegible] considered an admission of intercourse. Paulus Besar was standing on the edge of the crowd at the dance place and was now called to hear judgment. It was suggested that he would have to pay a fine of a five-rupiah moko. He looked very upset but said nothing and went off to fetch it.

While he was getting the moko the litigation between Fantan and his wife was resumed. Both Fantan and Tilamau insisted, when asked by the tumukun, that they wanted to separate. The tumukun then had Tilamau's parents called. This she didn't want. Her excuse was that they would talk loudly and vulgarly. She said that she and Fantan could reckon their own dowry and bride-price settlement. This the tumukun would not concede, saying that her parents might not be satisfied with the settlement and there might only be more trouble. While someone went for the parents Fantan reckoned his bride-price with the assistance of some older men. During the trial Fantan came and sat close to me as soon as I joined the group. He also made a great show of consulting a little notebook I had given him, in which he said he had written down his bride-price payments. In the midst of this the mother-in-law appeared, saying that her husband was away. She was unusually calm for her and seemed not to take the matter seriously. People felt that Tilamau's parents didn't want to reckon wealth for a divorce just at that time.

After Fantan's reckoning there was a pause, and most of the people wandered off, including Fantan himself, who went and shut himself in my house. His wife sat upright and motionless on the ground. Fungata wandered off too and left her mother to wait for the moko Paulus was fetching. The rest of the day was spent largely in settling the marriage agreement between Fungata and Paulus. In the course of the afternoon Paulus' first wife had a quarrel with Fungata. The divorce suit between Fantan and Tilamau seemed to have been dropped, and the unbiased consensus of opinion was that none of the principals really wanted the separation.

November 23, 1938

Fantan still insisted that his own divorce proceedings must go through and that if he didn't separate from his wife he would surely die of leprosy. The day before, while Paulus' and Fungata's troubles were being settled, he had sat in my house, saying he was sick and seeing double. As soon as the two women began fighting he recovered and came outdoors grinning and enjoying the spectacle along with the rest of the men. When I teased him about seeing double, he said it was just because he had looked into the sunlight. His stressing his fear of the leprosy curse was a new development and it too sounded spurious to me. He kept insisting that he couldn't remove it because it was burned, whereas a planted curse could have been removed with the sacrifice of a chicken. His wife had offered to remove the curse, but he refused this, saying her effort would be ineffectual. He admitted that he had not known that Fungata had slept with Paulus. He explained that he had wanted to marry her yesterday just because older men had said that was the best solution.

November 24, 1938

x159 There was still no indication that Fantan's divorce proceedings would be continued. He took an active and gleeful part in warning Paulus that his first wife was coming to quarrel with him. He even helped hold the woman while Paulus ran off. When Fantan reached my house, his first request was to have me bandage a very minor scratch on his forehead, which he said he had received in his effort to restrain Paulus' first wife.

He still claimed that he wanted a divorce but that first he wanted to find another woman to marry so that the surplus on his bride-price settlement could be applied to a new wife. He said, "I want someone from Makangfokung, because here people have big mouths and go about saying I am poor, that I am an orphan and have no brother to help me. No one speaks for me in a quarrel. In Makangfokung I have an older and a younger sister (cousins) and many kinsmen who would help me." (Note Fantan's recurrent dependence on women.)

He then continued with the statement that his wife had offered to sacrifice a chicken on Aranglaka's grave. (Aranglaka was the dead leper whose mat was used for the leprosy curse.) This he had refused. He said that about a year and a half before he had dreamed that he slept with Aranglaka under one mat, with their arms around each other "like husband and wife," and Aranglaka laid his legs over his. He denied it was a sex dream.

Fantan kept stressing his fear of the curse and said he would feel safer if divorced, since his wife wanted him dead. (He said this despite the fact that he had just told me she wanted to remove the curse.) His sister Maraima didn't want him to divorce Tilamau, he said. Malikalieta, his ranking Male House and the father of Paulus Besar, told him to separate if he wanted to.

On Sunday night (November 20) Tilamau slept in Fantan's house, while Fantan slept in Karieta. On Monday too Tilamau slept in Fantan's house. He returned late, found her sleeping there, and drove her out. She went to sleep in an abandoned shack. This he learned only some days later. On Tuesday and Wednesday nights she stayed in the field house of the *mandur* of Dikimpe, who was a kinsman of hers. The house was the one nearest Fantan's field house and, like Maraima's field house, is known as a rendezvous for young unmarried people. Fantan said his wife's heart was divided and that she didn't want to leave him. This was probably true.

Two days past Fantan had seen Tilamau weeding his garden and sent her away, saying that when they both had different spouses he would 159x be ashamed to see her working in his field. His wife said that as soon as their dowry–bride-price finances were reckoned she would marry another man. He did not know whom she had in mind but suspected it might be a man from Rualkameng. So in revenge he also talked of marrying someone else immediately, and someone too from another village (i.e., Makangfokung). On Saturday (November 19) he had gone to Makangfokung for the afternoon. He said he had not been looking for a new wife at this time, that it was before he had had this idea. He knew that the girl with whom he had had a flirtation some years before was now married to someone else. He said he would not ask his kin to find a wife for him but would go himself and make arrangements. He would make friends with a woman and when he had reached an understanding with her he would make a litigation and use his bride-price settlement to buy a new wife. He hadn't spoken to his father-in-law about the matter, but people had told him his father-in-law was willing.

November 25, 1938

At about seven-thirty in the morning I was told that Fantan's 159x parents-in-law had instituted litigation in Karieta. Fantan had been summoned 695 to attend. Thomas had told them that the case must be tried by the tumukun here in Atimelang because Fantan had to stay near my house for his work. So at about eight the litigation was moved to Atimelang. This time the girl's mother, Tilafani, her father, Mangma, who was the former tumukun, and three maternal uncles, Manifani, Langmani, and Lakamau, were there. All these were representing Tilamau's side; Fantan had no supporters. Even his sister Maraima and her husband, also called Lakamau, did not come until much later, and only after they were summoned. The tumukun and his brother Fanseni tried to equalize the situation by mildly presenting Fantan's case and lending him a sort of neutral support.

Tilamau's backers kept insisting on a divorce. Fantan told me before 159x the litigation began that he was angry at its being called, that it was his right to litigate. (This was not true, since either side could sue for divorce.) At the trial he reversed the procedure of November 21 and refused to reckon his bride-price contributions. Also, he kept stressing that he was afraid of the leprosy curse. But when Tilamau and her parents offered to remove it, he didn't want that either, saying it was no use. Manifani, the girl's uncle and a recognized expert on leprosy curses, assured him that a chicken sacrifice would recall the soul of the leper, x159 Aranglaka. But Fantan refused to believe him and insisted upon his fears. His father-in-law proceeded to lay down tallies and reckon his dowry payments. He had seventeen tallies representing gongs, mokos, and pigs. Then his wife, Tilafani, reckoned food gifts—fourteen tallies for rice and beans, sixteen for corn. In addition, eleven tallies were laid down for meat and chicken gifts. Each tally was named with the occasion on which it was paid. Fantan tried to protest some of the tallies, but he was told to wait until it was all finished. He complained to me that they reckoned everything, that they laid down a tally for just a little corn as though it had been a large bundle, that they reckoned half a can of rice as a whole can, and so on. He said that if they had reckoned in money values he would have given more than they, but that they had more tallies because of their greedy and grasping way of reckoning. However, public sentiment was that Fantan was the one in debt. When he refused to reckon, it was felt that he was afraid he would have a debt to settle instead of receiving a return on his bride-price. In that event he would not only be without a wife but would have nothing with which to buy a new one.

Fantan stubbornly refused to lay out a parallel row of tallies, although he had been willing enough a few days before. He was very quiet, but he had an expression of angry and surly obstinacy on his face. Several of the older men berated him. No one came to his support, although the tumukun and Fanseni tried to speak kindly to him and asked what he did want. Finally Fantan said that he was primarily interested in getting his unborn child, and if they would give him the child he would reckon. This arrangement was categorically rejected by the parents-in-law, who said that the child would go to Tilamau's next husband. Then Lakamobi, a more or less neutral kinsman of Tilamau who had also contributed to her bride-price, said that if he got half the bride-price payment, whoever had to pay it, he would take care of the child and the child would belong to Fantan. Both sides rejected this compromise solution. Lakamobi was in the midst of raising money for a death feast and obviously was trying to acquire gongs and mokos. Finally a neutral bystander threw his scarf down on the tallies, which was a sign for dismissing the case. This was discussed for a time and it was agreed that the whole thing should be called off, but to do this Fantan would have to pay twenty-five cents to his father-in-law for picking up his tallies. This Fantan did, and when Tilamau's parents saw how easily they got twenty-five cents, they raised the price to fifty cents and got it.

The next problem, once divorce proceedings had been dismissed, was to figure out and restate clearly how much Fantan still owed on his bride-price. The tumukun then summarized the obligation involved and read a moral lecture. He said that the father-in-law must help Fantan, since he was poor and an orphan. (Fantan in giving me his version of this the next day said *poor* and then corrected himself, as though it had been a slip of the tongue, and said *orphan* instead.) Then the tumukun spoke to Fantan's sister and her husband, who had come after being summoned, and told them if Fantan and Tilamau fought again to take them next door to the mandur of Dikimpe and see that they each got a lashing. Maraima complained that these two fought daily, and she seemed to feel that a divorce was the only solution.

Fantan complained to me that all his faults were exaggerated by his parents-in-law and that they said nothing about their own errors. He said that his mother-in-law was always trying to extract money from him. This was probably true, because she was known to be grasping and certainly the dowry reckoning was an ungenerous one.

November 26, 1938

I asked Fantan this morning how his affairs were coming. He said he had slept at my house last night and had not gone home to his wife or spoken to her yet. He did not know where his wife spent the night and did not know whether or not she had removed the leprosy curse. He then went on to speculate about forcing a bride-price payment on his sister Malielani (which had been due for years and which he had not been able to get his brother-in-law to pay). He would use it to buy another wife. He felt that yesterday's litigation had been fairly judged, and he laid stress on the fact that the tumukun had said his father-in-law must help him by paying dowry. He then said that he would pay his bride-price on Tilamau only with the wealth his father-in-law gave him as dowry. His whole attitude was self-righteous and revengeful toward his wife. I accused him of bluffing about his fear of the leprosy curse, and he grinned and admitted it was true. He refused to discuss his emotional relationship to his wife, and when I pressed this point he escaped into his self-righteous position on the financial aspects of the bride-price payment.

November 28, 1938

For the last two nights Fantan had slept in his sister's field house. At first he said that he had not yet spoken to his wife, but when I re-

x159 proached him for this he admitted that he had been home for breakfast that morning and when she spoke to him he had answered. He then went on to complain of a quarrel he was having with Manifani, Tilamau's maternal uncle. Three times to his knowledge Manifani had come
x159 and helped himself to nuts from his areca tree. This was done without
423 asking or paying. The day before Manifani had come and put a leprosy
685 curse, made from the mat of a newly dead leper, on two of Fantan's trees. This was equivalent to staking out a claim to their yield. Fantan protested, but to no effect. He said he was afraid of the curse but later admitted that he had taken a long bamboo pole and removed it after Manifani left. He said that if he was poisoned he would litigate before the kapitan and the radjah. Manifani had a counterclaim against Fantan, the legitimacy of which Fantan did not admit.

November 29, 1938

x159 Fantan began talking again about the leprosy curse that Manifani had put on his areca trees. After speaking for some time as though he had acted alone in the matter, it developed that he had acted with the assistance of Malikalieta, his ranking Male House and an old man of considerable influence. They went to the garden and removed the curse. They said, "If we are guilty of a misdemeanor toward Manifani, may the curse fall on us. If we are not guilty, may the curse rebound on Manifani." Kolmau, wife of Manifani's younger brother, saw them doing this and fought with them about removing the curse. She then went to Manifani and, according to Fantan, told him they had said many insulting things about him—such as that he was a poor man, that he would die soon, and that the spirits would possess him. Fantan denied that they had said all this. This was on the evening of November 27. When Manifani heard this tale from Kolmau, he made a fire and threw it with a curse toward Fantan and Malikalieta.

December 3, 1938

On November 30 Fantan went to Kalabahi. He traveled with his father-in-law, with whom he was now on perfectly good terms. He had still not spoken to his mother-in-law. "She is still making a sour face at me." Then he told with evident self-satisfaction that he had slept at home the night of December 1, after his return from Kalabahi. He said that he and his wife were happy together again. He said, "My wife does not go to her home but does meet her mother in the fields. My father-in-law comes to see us, and I ask him to eat."

He reported that nothing further had been done about Manifani's leprosy curse against him and Malikalieta. Subsequently the whole matter was dropped.

MISCELLANEOUS ACCOUNTS

In addition to this fairly sequential series of events, there are a number of other accounts dealing with Fantan, some preceding, others following, the month during which he was giving the foregoing autobiographical material with daily consistency. These accounts have been combined topically and then chronologically.

His Wife and Sister

April 25, 1938

Gossip had it that Fantan and his wife had quarreled again and had separated. When I questioned Fantan about it he denied the story completely. However, he had moved into a field house with his sister and his brother-in-law, Lakamau. This house stood on Fantan's field and the two men had collaborated in its building.

Meanwhile Fantan had had a litigation concerning his wife, and he did not ask his sister to come help him debate. She was angered by the slight and retaliated by refusing to give him any more rice and corn to eat. So Fantan moved into Thomas' field house, where he lived alone. Two days later Fantan and his wife were reconciled and she joined him there.

His Sister Maraima

May 2, 1938

Fantan arrived late. He gave as his first excuse that he had stopped to wash his shirt at the spring. Finally he said that his sister was ill and had been for about ten days, although this was the first time he had mentioned it. He asked me to go see her and take her medicine. A seer had already been consulted and her illness had been diagnosed as the result of a gong bought by her father and never paid for. The gong was now in Fantan's possession.

Two days later Fantan had not yet paid for the gong, although by so doing he supposedly would have cured his sister. He again asked me to visit her. She was very worried because people wanted her to move away from her field house into the village. She was sure death would be more rapid there in the vicinity of the graves of her dead kin. She also insisted that she had no relatives but her brother Fantan and that she preferred to stay near him. Her husband and two daughters seemed to x159 be of less importance to her at the moment than the brother with whom she had quarreled ten days before.

May 22, 1939

About a year after the episode of April 25, 1938 Fantan came with a similar tale. He said he had been quarreling with Maraima for two days about the division of seven cans of rice. The complications of their mutual obligations need not be given in detail, but there were many recriminations about their joint contributions to various feasts and sacrifices. On this morning Maraima had gone to the chief of Alurkowati to litigate. Fantan refused to present himself, on the pretext that he had to work with me. Before Maraima left that morning she had torn down the new field house she and her husband had begun to build, saying that she and her brother no longer lived side by side. She had further threatened to discover the hiding place of Fantan's valuable moko and give it to their kinsman, Malikalieta [see the story of the moko, which follows].

I suggested that Fantan go to settle the matter with the chief, but he refused, saying the litigation had been put off until that evening. When he reappeared in the morning he announced that the trial had not taken place the preceding evening but had been scheduled for that morning. He had once more refused to attend on the plea of having to work for me. When I said he should settle the matter, he seemed reluctant to go.

The litigation proved to be no more than a scolding from the chief, with a lecture about siblings' helping each other. The chief ordered Maraima to divide the rice and told Fantan to return a pig he had taken from her.

The Sale of a Moko

May 30, 1938 to August 13, 1938

Fantan's father and paternal uncle were half-owners with Malikalieta in a Kolmale moko worth five hundred rupiahs. Malikalieta decided to sell it, and began negotiations without consulting Fantan, who had inherited the half interest in it. Fantan did not resent this until two and a half months later, when it became evident that all was not going well and that there was a good chance that Malikalieta would lose the moko entirely.

As a group of people returned one evening from many days of unsuccessful negotiations, Fantan suddenly burst out to me, "Those people think I am a child. They don't say anything to me. They took that moko and walked right off without saying anything. My fathers paid for half of that moko. They gave Malikalieta a Makassar moko worth two hundred and fifty rupiahs for it. I am half-owner. I sent my wife with them to the negotiations and Malikalieta didn't want her to go. For five days now she has been away and I have had to go hungry. There is no one to cook for me. I have to dig my own tubers or go hungry. There is no one to cook for me if my sister Maraima is not at home. I guess I had better go take that Makassar moko which my fathers gave Malikalieta. It is in his house now. I shall bring it here for you to guard for me."

I told him to do whatever he wished, and he immediately calmed down, saying he had better wait for more news of the negotiations, since so far only women and children had returned. However, he could not resist calling to the group, who were discussing the matter, that Malikalieta had better go carefully and not abandon his (Fantan's) moko in a strange village.

In a short time Fantan went to the tumukun and asked whether it would be all right to seize the Makassar moko in Malikalieta's house. The tumukun said it was permissible, so Fantan went off to get it. He returned in an hour with the moko, but he was panting and almost in tears. He complained bitterly because the women in Malikalieta's house had tried to prevent him from taking the moko and had hit his fingers with a stick as he carried it off. On the tumukun's advice, he said, he had brought the moko to my house for safekeeping, since no one would dare enter my room to steal it.

The next morning Fantan was very bitter about his sister Maraima because she had not approved of his action the day before. Maraima had cautioned him about antagonizing his powerful kinsman, Malikalieta. Fantan said, "She gets angry about everything I do or say. If she were a good sister she should approve of what I do." However, Fantan was worried and said, "When Malikalieta returns I shall talk nicely to him. I shall tell him that if he sells the moko he can have mine back in return for my half of the sale price, or that he can keep my half of the sale price and I shall keep my moko."

August 15, 1938

Malikalieta returned with his sons, very disturbed over the turn the negotiations had taken. Fantan was able to get only a very garbled account of what had happened. Meanwhile Malikalieta was angry with Fantan and refused to speak to him.

April 26, 1939

x 157 Eight months elapsed without any developments in the negotiations for the sale of the Kolmale moko. Meanwhile people had been besieging Fantan in an attempt to lay their hands on his Makassar moko, which was still in my house for safekeeping. Two women had been offered him as wives in the hope that he would pay with his moko. Malikalieta was "talking nicely" to Fantan in an attempt to make Fantan return it to him. Simultaneously Malikalieta's sons were threatening to seize the moko from Fantan as soon as I left, and their father had been urging Fantan's sister to come to my house either to claim it or to steal it. Maliseni, a neutral financier, had used the tumukun as go-between in an attempt to get Fantan to sell the moko to him. To all these approaches Fantan remained adamant; he seemed perfectly content to leave his moko in my possession. I warned him that I was leaving in two months and that he would have to make other arrangements concerning it.

May 8, 1939

Fantan was still being hounded about the disposal of his moko, and people had taken to watching my house to make sure Fantan was not removing it. Meanwhile Fantan made an arrangement with Koleti, a kinswoman from Hatoberka. He planned to remove his moko from my house secretly in the middle of the night and carry it to Hatoberka, where Koleti and her husband would guard it.

May 10, 1939

Last night Fantan and his wife came after the village was asleep and took the moko from my house. They reached Hatoberka with it, went to Koleti's house, and found it deserted. They waited until almost dawn and then started home with the moko, which they hid in tall grass near the trail. Fantan's wife then went to hunt for Koleti, showed her the hiding place, and asked her to get the moko some night and take it to her house in Hatoberka.

May 12, 1939

The other servants noticed that Fantan's moko was no longer in my house. One of them said to a group that included Fantan, "The nonya must have sent Fantan's moko to the coast, because it is no longer in her house." Fantan played the innocent, saying, "Oh, is it gone? I haven't been in her room in many days." Fantan was then at some pains to tell me he had spread the rumor that I was buying the moko from him for Dutch currency at an inflated price. He then said, "If you really wanted to buy it I would sell it to you for less than that."

May 16, 1939

Fantan said on arriving this morning, "I am no longer happy with Koleti. The moko is still hidden in the grass. She came to our house and said she could not keep it in her place because her house is no longer safe to live in since the last big storm. She wants to take it to the house of someone she knows, but I no longer trust her."

May 17, 1939

Fantan appeared in excellent spirits, saying that he and his wife had gone last night to get the moko from its hiding place and had turned it over for hiding to Padatimang, a friend of his father. His comment was, "I took the rupiah you gave me the other day to buy Padatimang's heart. Last night when all the people were asleep he hid it in a place he knows. Now when people come to me I can talk hard to them." When I asked whether he knew the place in which the moko was hidden he said, "No. When a man finds a good place to hide mokos, he does not let anyone know where it is." I asked whether he did not consider this too trusting, and he said, "Padatimang was a good friend of my father and my heart is happy with him. Padatimang said that when you left he would take me to the place. Then if I ever get any more mokos I can go there and hide them myself. He has some mokos hidden there himself. He said I was not to come and talk to him during the day because people would notice and begin to suggest that he was helping me. If I want to talk to him I must go at night." (For another factor in this episode, see "His Father's Grave," pages 386–87.)

This need of Fantan to trust and depend upon someone has been continual but has never resulted in a consistent or lasting relationship. The shift from his kinswoman, Koleti, to the old seer, Padatimang, in connection with his moko is a case in point. The manner in which he established a relationship with Padatimang is worth noting.

Fright

April 13, 1939

For some weeks Fantan had been in a state of considerable anxiety, resulting from the death of his child, which will be described later. The anxiety had expressed itself primarily in terms of speculation about evil spirits. In a series of conversations he told me about having hired exx159 perts to divine for him. The results of these divinations had directed his attention to three possible sources of danger. One was the spirit of his father's lineage house in Makangfokung, which was putatively responsible for the death of male children in Fantan's line. 778 A second was the evil spirit of a knoll called Manifula, where Fantan as a child had found a crab, which he carried home and which was identified, *pott boe*, as a manifestation of the local supernatural being. The third source of danger was his place of residence. After these diagnoses Fantan went to purchase various "countermedicines." Of these he managed to secure only one. Although he declared his intention to continue his search for the proper remedies, he showed no persistence and in time the matter was dropped.

On this particular day Fantan arrived declaring he was very frightened. He reported that on the night before bats had come wheeling and squealing into his house and had frightened him and his wife. In addition, his wife, who had stepped out of the house, came running back, saying she had seen a dark figure that had tried to seize her. The two were apparently terrified, and Fantan burned some of his newly acquired medicine and then left to spend the rest of the night in another house. Fantan was obviously disturbed by the whole episode. He was sure that he was the victim of malignant spirits, and he was making the most of the matter to me.

The subsequent development along these lines occurred a week later and led to further events in connection with the disposal of his Makassar moko.

His Father's Grave

April 20, 1939

On the preceding day a grave at Karieta had caved in. The kin were worried and called Rilpada the Seer for advice. Rilpada's familiars said that the soul of the dead man was dragging into the grave the souls of 775 several living kin. The seer recaptured them and returned them to their 778 owners. Fantan heard of this and was worried. He went to examine his father's grave and saw that it too had settled. He sent his wife and sister to fetch Rilpada to investigate the matter. His wife and sister, however, decided that they preferred the services of Padatimang and summoned him instead. Padatimang's familiars revealed that Fantan's soul had indeed been dragged into his father's grave. The seer then recovered it and returned it to him. However, he told Fantan secretly that he had also discovered in the grave the soul of Malikalieta, the rich kinsman with whom Fantan had been having so much difficulty about the sale of a moko. Padatimang now had control of Malikalieta's soul and 159X was using it to form an alliance with Fantan. The results of this alliance were indicated in the last episode on the sale of a moko. Fantan, however, gave as the reason for the new alliance the fact that Padatimang's familiar spirit and his father's were brothers.

The Birth and Death of His Child

March 23, 1939 to April 1, 1939

The reader will remember that Fantan's wife was in the fourth month of pregnancy at the time of the divorce proceedings described in the latter part of his autobiographical sequence. When Fantan gave his life history he made almost no reference to the fact that he had already lost two children shortly after their birth.

On March 23 Fantan announced casually that his son had been born the preceding night. He was reticent about it, although he seemed pleased. Concerning the five days of his wife's confinement and the attendant ceremonies he offered no comments. When I questioned him he gave depersonalized ethnographic descriptions except where payments to various persons were involved.

On March 29 Fantan reported that his child was crying constantly and refused the breast. Divination had been used and among the sus- [illegible] pected malignant influences was the crab spirit of Manifula, which Fantan had encountered as a child. Also, there was some question of a breach of the paternal postbirth taboo. Fantan racked his brain and finally recalled that he had helped me plant some young trees two days after his child's birth. He attended immediately to the sacrifices and ritual necessary to counteract these deleterious influences. All during the day he was preoccupied and was constantly listening for the outbreak of wailing at his house, which would announce the death of his child. I urged him to go home but he refused, saying there was nothing he could do.

The next morning he said nothing about his child except that it seemed no better and was crying incessantly. At about noon the wailing for which he had been listening broke out. We went immediately to his house. Fantan did not go up to see his wife and child but sat outside, as custom required. An older man who had been trying to doctor the child was there and attempted rough comfort by commenting, "Oh, it was only hung on the edge of the thatch," meaning that the child was still small and of no great consequence. In the house Fantan's wife held the dead child in her arms, wailing over it in the formal fashion but with x159 signs of real grief. His sister sat with her hand on the dead child's head. She was also wailing but broke off to repeat again and again to the assembled women the tale of their family's misfortune with male children, and of the malignant spirit of Manifula that was pursuing Fantan. When the older man took the child's body away to bury it, Fantan for the first time buried his head in his hands and wept with dry, choking sobs, which he tried his best to control.

Just before the burial Fantan sent a message by a child to his affinal kin, saying they were not to shoot one of his pigs to force a death feast for the infant. His comment was, "Tell her family not to kill my pig. I have had enough trouble and I do not wish to have animal trouble too. I have already killed six chickens for that child [for the feasts of divination]." While people were sitting around after the burial, a child ran up to say that Fantan's brother-in-law had shot his pig. This proved to be a false rumor, but Fantan's grief turned to anger and he rushed off to investigate. The group followed Fantan, loudly discussing the evil spirits that pursued him and his family. When they joined Fantan he was openly frightened by their talk and repeated again and again how afraid he was to go near Manifula.

The following morning he came to the house looking wan and saying he had scarcely slept that night and had had very bad dreams. His account ran as follows: "I dreamed I went to the Kafoi area, where there was a big pig-feast. They were hunting a wild pig. Manimale [reputed to be a poisoner] and Maliseni [Manimale's brother and an aggressive financier] were pursuing it. Cornelius pointed to some blood and said the pig was already wounded. Manimale said the pig was standing in a patch of tall grass waiting to charge. I found myself with a strange child. I lifted the child into a tree and the tree turned into a house. The pig charged. I jumped and caught the rafter over my head. The pig reared up and tried to bite me. It stood on its hind legs and showed its tusks. The pig then turned and killed the child. Just then I heard that my domestic, castrated pig had been taken off by my older sister, Malielani, and my cousin [female]. I started out carrying the child, which had been killed, but somehow it disappeared. Then I came to a deep, narrow stream. I thought there were rats in the bank but when I broke it down there were none. Then I reached home and found that Malielani and my cousin really had taken my castrated pig. I woke up. Then I thought I saw a woman come and stand in the doorway. She spoke to me. I could see her lips move but I could hear no sound. Then a young girl came and spoke to me. Next I dreamed that

Manimale came and danced up and down brandishing a sword. Maybe 159x
he wanted to strike someone, I don't know. I saw my wife standing there watching him. Her stomach was flat as though she were not pregnant. All night long people and spirits came to me. I was very afraid and finally sat up and smoked to wake myself up."

When I asked what Manimale meant to him, he could make only the association with *Manifula*, where the malignant spirit that pursued him lived. I asked about his wife, and his only response was that she too had been restless and frightened, but he returned immediately to his own fears and worries. He then went on to say that about two weeks before, when he had gone to Kalabahi with me, he had dreamed that the young radjah had come to him and had said that since Fantan's young squash were ripe he wanted them to eat. Fantan's interpretation was that [787]
squash represented human beings and that the dream was a forecast of his child's death.

From this time on Fantan was preoccupied with the series of fears and anxieties described under the heading, "Fright," page 385.

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

Fantan differs from the other men whose autobiographies we have read much as a city slicker differs from a farmer. He is sophisticated and has had experience with more sophisticated coastal people. Whether or not he has accommodated himself to them is not altogether clear, but within a certain range he knows their ways of thinking and how to get along with them. He knows particularly how to play upon people's sympathies to get what he can out of them. Fantan differs from the other men also in that he has a slightly cosmopolitan air. He has had three years of schooling and has traveled to the neighboring island of Pantar with a native schoolteacher. In other words, we have here an extremely shrewd, somewhat educated young Alorese.

Fantan's story differs from the others in that it deals largely with the concrete activities, difficulties, and problems of his current life. There are very few fantasies, and those in which he does indulge center primarily around practical affairs. In spite of all this, Fantan is a true Alorese, for he is compelled to live within the circuit prescribed by Alorese institutions. About some of these he has his tongue in his cheek, but from others he has no opportunity to escape, and his enlightenment avails him nothing on that score.

Fantan is the youngest of six siblings. At the time the story is told he has two sisters living. Two of his brothers died before he was born x159 and one older sister died during Fantan's early adolescence. The story of his development is sparse, but some significant facts can be safely gathered from his narrative. His parents, although not wealthy, were apparently well to do. His father was obviously an enterprising person. The treatment that Fantan received from both his parents was above average. He received good care—that is, good in so far as this culture permits good treatment of children. He admired his father, feared him, respected him, accepted his ideals, but he had some difficulty in being the kind of person his father was. He says that his father's magic was extremely powerful. If this is an exaggeration—and there is little doubt that it is—it speaks for a tendency, so little seen in Alor, to idealize the father, and this in turn means that Fantan expected something from him. It bespeaks a good relationship with the father, who must have helped him grow into manhood. This is borne out by the absence of stories in which the father deprived him of rights or put unusually great obstacles in the way of his marriage.

The fact that Fantan has to exaggerate his own exploits shows that he is imitating his father as well as living up to the cultural ideal. This is shown definitely in the fact that Fantan boasts about exploits of physical courage, which must be lies since he is known about the village as a coward. His father was not a coward. On the other hand, Fantan apparently looks upon his education as part of his identification with his father and presumably substitutes it for physical courage.

Now at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, his parents having been dead three years and one and a half years respectively, Fantan speaks about them with a great deal of emotion. Although it is obvious that his story, in so far as it deals with his parents, is exaggerated somewhat for the benefit of the ethnographer, nevertheless the feeling is undoubtedly genuine. He had the usual frustrations in childhood, although he mentions a good many kindnesses from his parents. He follows the usual childhood pattern of having to cry to be fed and tells of incidents in which water was poured on him for crying. However, these episodes are dwarfed by the predominance of incidents which clearly show that early in Fantan's life his parents fostered his self-esteem and encouraged him in performing exploits. For example, when he is about eight years old his father sends him to fetch a moko. He is dressed appropriately, and when he accomplishes this errand his father praises him and calls him a rich man. His father sends him to fetch a pig from a relative for a new house that his father has completed. Although the pig is almost as big as he is, he finishes the task, much to his own satisfaction. Such an occurrence is not unique, but the telling of it in an autobiography is rare.

In other words, we find that Fantan gives a picture of greater participation in the lives of his parents than is the case in other autobiographies. Accordingly he is eager to grow up, but his fantasies about it are clothed in terms of accomplishments like rat hunting and premature marriage. Such encouragement as he received may have been due to his position as an only son in a family that thought its male children cursed by an evil spirit. For this reason perhaps his father encourages him by making a gesture toward buying a wife for him at the age of ten or twelve. Fantan shows an interesting reaction to this situation: he notes that the girl was "big and had breasts" and he is somewhat terrified of her.

A good indication of Fantan's development appears in the fact that his anger is always readily expressed, at times toward his father, at whom he once threw a coconut and was soundly beaten for it, and at times toward his mother. On one occasion he accidentally shot an arrow into her, which he says penetrated about two inches. She was apparently sick for quite some time, but he was completely forgiven. The words his mother said on that occasion indicate a deep affection for her boy, or at least Fantan needs to remember his mother in this light.

There is one relationship during his childhood that is unusual—at least in the sense that Fantan, unlike all the other men, speaks about it with a certain degree of candor. This relationship concerns his sister Maraima, who is his next older sibling. It seems that when he was very young he had a great deal of sexual curiosity about her. Interestingly enough, he tried to satisfy this curiosity by observing his sister defecate. She once caught him in these peeping activities and smeared his mouth with feces. His mother rescued him and settled the quarrel, assuaging his rage against his sister. (In this connection it is worth noting that his first dream of the ethnographer was of another man's watching her in the toilet.) As his story unfolds it becomes obvious that Fantan had a very strong sexual attachment to his sister, which she did not encourage. Whether on this account or because other rivalry situations complicated the matter, the fact is that Fantan carries a deep grudge against Maraima, as he does against his other sister. But at the same time he tries to enter into friendly relations with them. In this he is not altogether successful, because they are constantly taking advantage of him. Fantan's story ends with a litigation that he brings against his older sister for refusing to share the produce of a field upon which they had both worked.

x157 At the present time Fantan seems to be sexually quite a mature and aggressive person. His attitudes naturally fall within the cultural mold. He tells boastingly of how eager women were to have him as a husband, although toward the end of his story he does not seem to be very sure about finding a new wife if the divorce from his present one goes through. There are the usual stories of being wanted by women, and the usual denials that he ever had anything to do with any woman other than his wife. However, a few slips of the tongue here and there indicate that Fantan is quite a philanderer and takes advantage of any opportunity that presents itself.

In his courtship with his present wife he shows himself to be aggressive; he wants to have intercourse with her before the legitimate time. She holds him up for a while until he has given a piece of cloth to her mother. Then they have intercourse. In his willingness to overlook payment regulations in order to satisfy his sexual desires, Fantan differs from every other man we have studied, although undoubtedly other men in the society were equally aggressive.

Much of Fantan's story is taken up with the current problem of whether or not he should get a divorce. He is reticent about his emotional relations with his wife. It is clear that his wife is much interested in him, but that the relations between them are constantly being spoiled by the interference of her relatives. Her parents are both living and since she is one of a large family, Fantan's relations with all of them are complicated. The resulting impression is that his relations with his wife are bad. However, in some of his wife's retorts during their quarrels, we have some indication of the root of the trouble as far as the wife is concerned. Fantan gives himself airs about being an educated man and apparently looks down upon his in-laws, so that his wife has acquired a feeling of inferiority toward him, while his in-laws try to exploit his education for their own ends. Fantan pictures himself as gallant toward his wife, since he never strikes her and he never philanders. On the other hand he has a tendency to exaggerate every trifling injury she inflicts upon him. This probably bespeaks a sense of guilt. He no doubt does philander but says, by implication, that he does so only when he wants to avenge himself on his wife. This is probably not true.

[593] Fantan's marriage seems to be a typical Alorese marriage, with constant jealous quarreling and bickering about property. He is almost constantly on the verge of divorcing his wife, repeatedly separating from her and then being reconciled. It is undoubtedly on these occasions of separation from Tilamau that Fantan does a good deal of his

philandering, but he tells the story in such a way as to show how attractive he is to women and how they make advances to him. The final story of the trial, however, proves that in this case his wife's specific accusation of infidelity is false. It would seem that Fantan had a narrow escape here. 159x

In the divorce proceedings Fantan is greatly intimidated by the fact that if a final financial reckoning were made—a procedure that is necessary for divorce—he would be in debt and would thus find it impossible to marry again. So he decides to stick to his wife. In other words, Fantan is beaten into submission by the fact that his parents-in-law are so sharp in reckoning that he comes out a debtor instead of a creditor. However, he stays with his wife, and that is really the purpose of such financial settlements.

The vindictiveness of the wife is likewise very clearly shown in this story. So violent are her feelings that she actually places a leprosy curse upon Fantan. This threat would sound very serious to anyone but Fantan, and although he has not the slightest actual fear of it, he professes to be afraid of the curse and insists upon its removal before he is reconciled to his wife. What is important about Fantan's relations to his wife and in-laws is that his difficulties do not in any way interfere with his sexual appetites or interests. The foundation for a healthy sexuality has already been laid, and it is not disturbed by his external difficulties, as was the case with the other three men.

We have in Fantan, therefore, a man whose childhood was noteworthy for good care. The parental imagos stand out very sharply, and Fantan's attitude toward both of them is good. He is encouraged into many activities and receives the unusual advantage of an education, but he does not follow through. He has to brag. He has to try to cover his inadequacies with falsifications. He must lie and give himself the benefit of every doubt. Despite these traits, however, he develops into a sexually mature person, and he therefore finds the financial complications of marriage extremely irksome.

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Perhaps the key to his character can also be seen in his reactions to the ethnographer. In his first dream (November 14) he imputes sexual curiosity about the ethnographer to another man, whom he beats off. However, the incident of peeping at the ethnographer's toilet activities is the replica of an experience he narrates between himself and his sister. The ethnographer therefore stands for a sexual object about which he has much curiosity, but he recognizes that this impulse must be suppressed. If we consider the ethnographer as a sister, then the narrative x159 123 of Fantan's life indicates that his relationship with the ethnographer was not a good one: that he was constantly being punished by her, had his sexual interests in her rebuffed, and finally was cheated by her.

But this analogy with the sister must be translated. First, Fantan does have a sexual interest in the ethnographer. Second, the imputation that the ethnographer is cheating him is merely another way of stating his claims upon her, of saying that he would like to get more from her than she is giving. Whether or not Fantan was being well paid for his work is beside the point. The ethnographer stands to Fantan as a powerful person with endless resources, which he therefore expects her to share with him. Actually Fantan tries to induce her to make various purchases for him, and on one occasion (November 14) he offers a ridiculously low price for an object that he has tried to inveigle her into buying for him. This is another way of proclaiming his poverty and her wealth. In this attitude toward the ethnographer Fantan differs from none of the other male subjects. He does differ in another respect, however: Fantan is the only male subject who had a sexual attitude toward her.

x159 His other dreams are not very transparent. The dream of a stone ball that falls from heaven and misses him (November 16) and the subsequent dream about catching birds, crayfish, and eels (Fantan getting small eels and someone else a big one) seem likewise to refer to the relationship to the ethnographer. Dreams of large, round objects falling are common breast symbols. This interpretation is corroborated by the next dream, which is about hunting for food. The transition between the two dreams, however, contains an important idea: "I would like to have the ethnographer give me things, but I really don't need her. I can do things for myself." But there is a catch to his self-confidence—someone else gets a bigger eel than he does. (The ethnographer was not successful in eliciting material to point up his interest in eels and crayfish or to show why these particular objects should be chosen in connection with hunting.) The actual associations with this dream about being robbed—his brother-in-law's catching the thieves and making them pay compensation—only confirm the previous impression. The ethnographer is by implication a thief; that is, if she does not give him all he wants she is thereby taking things from him, and because of this attitude he is sullen and promises to avenge himself upon her.

To judge from his associations, another dream about pulling an eel out of a water pipe (November 17) may suggest some resentment at his wife's pregnancy. However, one cannot be sure about this. At the

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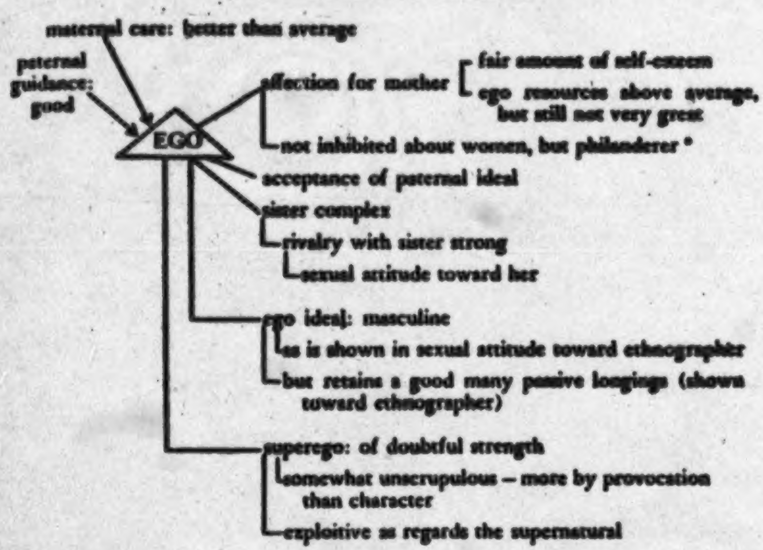
time Fantan was litigating for a divorce, and it is not impossible that he feared another child would make the union more binding.

Fantan's Character Structure


maternal care: better than average
paternal guidance: good
EGO
affection for mother
fair amount of self-esteem
ego resources above average, but still not very great
not inhibited about women, but philanderer *
acceptance of paternal ideal
sister complex
rivalry with sister strong
sexual attitude toward her
ego ideal: masculine
as is shown in sexual attitude toward ethnographer
but retains a good many passive longings (shown toward ethnographer)
superego: of doubtful strength
somewhat unscrupulous – more by provocation than character
exploitive as regards the supernatural

* Fantan's philanderings are in part vengeance, in which case the injuries to his self-esteem by his wife and in-laws are compensated for by reassuring himself on his own desirability.

Chapter 14

Tilapada

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

December 13, 1938

x159 Tonight I dreamed that my soul went to my mother and father. They asked, "Why are you here?" I said, "I have just come to see my mother and father." They said I must go back. Father stayed, but mother brought me part of the way. Then we flew to the boundary of Talemang, where we fell into a treetop. We ran from there to Montoti. In a short time we were at Fanalugi. Then mother turned back and I came on alone.

I dreamed again. I held some rice in my hand and my husband said, "That rice is not good; it is evil spirits' rice. You can't take it. Put it away." I jumped up on a horse [horses were not used here and were very much feared]. It ran up to the village, and when we came to the tumukun's house he said, "Wah! Women may not ride horses." He was very angry and told me to get down. So I got down and the kapitan got on the horse and rode it to the government camp. I went home.

[Early memories?] When I was small I sat with my younger sister, Maliema. We told stories of civet cats. We took ashes and sprinkled [524] them in the doorway. Then we said, "The cat, the cat has come. Oh, already it is here. Oa, oa, ing-ing, kanaley; ang-ang, kanaley [nonsense syllables of children's games]." Then we looked at the ashes, and there were the footprints of a cat. We shouted to chase it away.

We went out. It was rice-planting time. We made holes with a stick as though we were planting rice, but we were only planting earth. A lot of boys were playing the same game. They covered our holes, so we covered their holes. Then we fought, the boys against the girls.

Once we were playing and someone said [in singsong], "Padahaveluluea has come." For this we had to sing a song, which I have forgotten. Then we went outside. The boys and girls began to fight with cornstalks because the boys imitated all we said; they repeated everything after us, so we threw cornstalks at them.

My mother told me that when I was still so small that she was carrying me she took me to Padalang [the mother's kinsman], and he gave us a goat to bring to a feast for the building of Tilalawati [their lineage house]. When I was big enough to remember, we hadn't yet paid for it. Although I was still small, I was married to Likma, and we used [part of]

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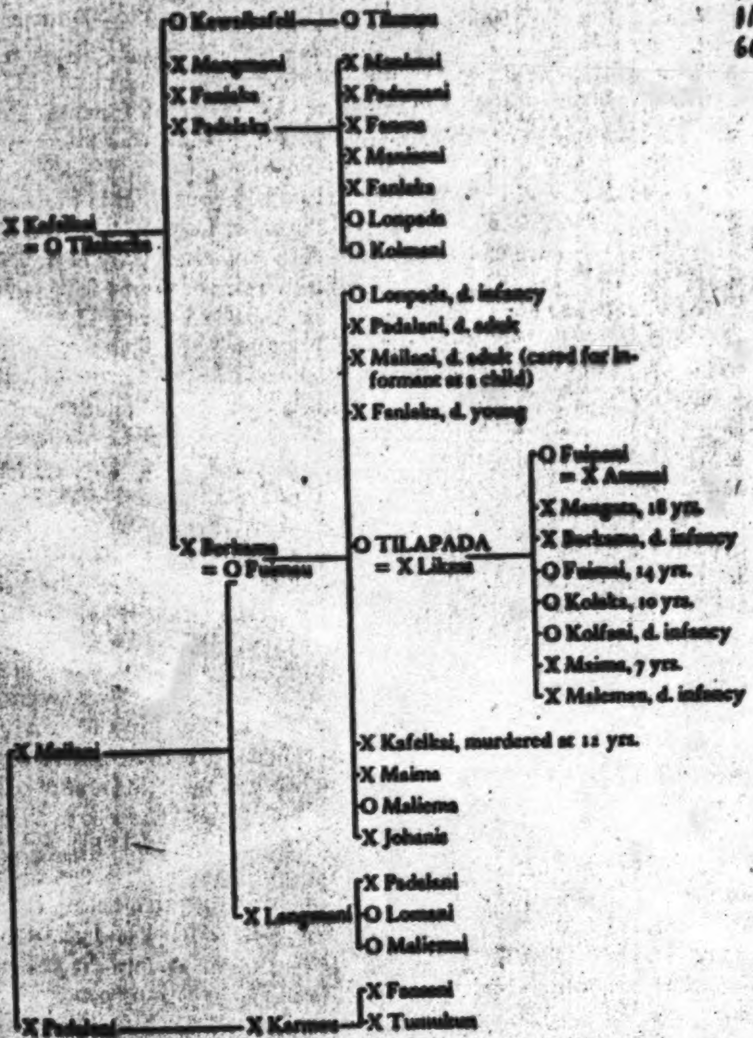
Genealogy of Tilapada


O Kewalkafeli
O Tilamau
X Mangmani
X Fanlaka
X Padalaka
X Manimani
X Padamani
X Fanoma
X Manimani
X Fanlaka
O Lonpada
O Kolmani
X Kafelkai
= O Tilalaela
O Lonpada, d. infancy
X Padalani, d. adult
X Mailani, d. adult (cared for informant as a child)
X Fanlaka, d. young
O Fuimani
= X Asmani
X Mangma, 18 yrs.
X Berkama, d. infancy
O Fuimani, 14 yrs.
O Kolaka, 10 yrs.
O Kolfani, d. infancy
X Maima, 7 yrs.
X Malemau, d. infancy
X Berkama
= O Fuimau
O TILAPADA
= X Likma
X Kafelkai, murdered at 12 yrs.
X Maima
O Maliema
X Johanis
X Mailani
X Padalani
O Lomani
O Maliemai
X Langmani
X Fanmani
X Tuntulum
X Padalani
X Karmau

x159 his bride-price, one Maningmauk moko, to pay for the goat. The eight-eared Makassar moko of his bride-price we gave to my brother to pay for his wife, Kolang. At that time my grandfather died. Likma's bride-price of an Itkira moko, a goat, and a pig we used for his death feasts. At that time I was staying in my husband's house, and we came with his parents and siblings to help with the feast. The tumukun and Fanseni, who were the Male House, said I was just like a man, because I lived in the same village and didn't go off to another. [Likma, her husband, was born in Rualmelang but since childhood has lived in Atimelang.] My heart was heavy when my grandfather died. A Manetati man shot him. Likma went to fetch gongs and mokos. He got a Piki, a Kabali, and a pig. This was a consolation payment [*singnaug*, literally meaning "tears and mucus"] to the Male House for their grief and assistance at the burial.

When Likma made a feast for his father, I went with him to his village. My family gave him a large pig as a dowry payment to help with the feasts. Then my husband built a lineage house in Atimelang. He went for help to my older brother, Mailani, at Lawatika. Mailani gave him a large pig when the house posts were dragged in. When the posts were erected, Mailani gave another pig and rice. When the room framework was erected, Mailani helped; again when the house was thatched, Mailani helped. My brother Mailani got some of my bride-price to pay for his wife, and so he liked me and my husband and gave us many dowry payments. He was pleased with me and gave me much.

December 15, 1938

I dreamed I was on the coast. I wanted to come back but there were two deep pools in the ravine. A path went between them. In front of me the two pools came together and formed one. There was a house up above them belonging to Maipada. I said we had better make a fire in the house and warm our hands. We entered the house, built a fire, and warmed our hands. We were Nitaniel's mother, her two sons called Manipeni and Padaleni, and my two daughters, Fuimai and Kolaka. When we were warmed we wanted to go on. As we set out, the house behind us caught fire and burned up. We said, "Oh, the Kafe people are chasing us." We ran and came to a village of three or four houses with many large bundles of wood. We came to another ravine. We crossed it, but we didn't know where we were going. Suddenly we came to Vitieng [in the vicinity of Atimelang]. Then I woke up.

[787] [Meaning of the two pools?] They may mean that rain or the soldiers are coming. [Of the house's burning?] That may mean that by and by

Lonmai and Maipada will be sick. [Of the large wood bundles?] When 159x 787 I see bundles of wood like that, it means people will come at night to steal my pigs or mokos. [Were you afraid at being lost?] I was very much afraid; people were chasing us. [Why would they want to chase you?] Because we had burned the house; they were shouting and brandishing swords.

Again I dreamed. Four men from Manek were sleeping in the loft of 159x my house. They said they were hungry and asked why I didn't give them cassava. So I asked, "Real cassava or what? Speak clearly." They said, "We are persons with food taboos." I cooked food but they didn't want it; they wanted raw food. So I gave them raw rice. I put part on a plate and part I placed in their baskets. They ate the rice raw. They left to go to Alurkowati. I followed them and said, "Don't go; stay here." They said, "No, you must not follow us; go back." I went back. Maima [her younger brother] asked me, "Did you feed your guests?" I said I had given them raw rice; part they ate, part they carried off. Maima asked why they had not come to see him before leaving. I said, "They have gone. I followed them, but they didn't want me and sent me back."

Last night I dreamed that as I returned from Fuimangfal four evil spirits from there followed me back and sat on my verandah. They had long canine teeth. They wanted to shoot me. My soul cut off their heads. Their heads were rotten when I cut them off. Kolmani [the wife of Langmai and Tilapada's next door neighbor] said, "You have killed *amo bo amakang* [literally, 'a person his human being'; the meaning here is obscure]." I said I had killed them because they wanted to shoot me. Then they came back to life and chased me. I cut off their heads again. Kolmani helped me cut their throats. We hacked their legs and hands and made hash of them. One was already dead when the other three said, "We had better go." We said, "We have killed an evil spirit. Perhaps there will be a litigation. We had better sit quietly and wait." However, no one said anything, and the evil spirits did not return. I woke up.

I think maybe these were the evil spirits of Kolmani the Seeress who were chasing me. No evil spirit would be following just me. Kolmani was in the dream, so maybe they were following her. I think they were her evil spirits.

When I was still small, there was an earthquake. My mother was pouring rice into a storage tube. An older brother, Padalani, picked me up and ran with me. Fanlaka, another brother, couldn't run any longer. He stopped and a house collapsed on him. When people came and released him from the debris, he was not hurt. My mother carried him to Fola-

159 feng. I don't remember this. My mother and father told me about it when I was older.

[First memory?] I remember that when I was very small my mother carried me to the field with her and I sat behind her playing jacks while she worked.

159 When I was little, not big enough to work in the fields, we played
857 house. The girls made bean cones and the boys hunted rats. It was a house that Padalan [father of the tumukun] had made. Girls and boys played together. [She named five girls and three boys. She had difficulty recalling the boys' names.] Another time we played in a field house. Six of us girls played there. We made a rice cone, but a fight broke out, so we hid it and went to watch the fight. When we came back for our rice
159 cone it was gone. Grown men who were hunting rats had found it and eaten it. We said, "Who took our rice cone?" They said, "We did." So we didn't say anything; we just picked up the dish, fetched corn and vegetables, and went home.

[What was the fight about?] Atabiki's first wife, Helangmai, was fighting with his second wife, Lonmale. We were still small and so didn't join in.

December 17, 1938

I dreamed night before last that my soul went to Paiyope, where Letmai [a distant relative of her husband] gave me three large bundles of corn, thirteen small bundles, a gong, and a Maningmauk moko. I carried them home. When I reached the ravine my neck was sore [from carrying so much]. When I set the load down on our verandah, my husband said, "Put the corn in the house; set the gong and the moko in the loft."

[787] This dream means that I will get much food this year.

Last night I dreamed my soul went to heaven [she used the Malay word]. I saw people being roasted, people who were in the wrong. The people who were honest sat in one room on chairs [which are associated with Europeans and status]. In another room they were roasting people. They used dry eucalyptus wood. Maliemai [a woman who had died a short time before] arrived and was seated on a chair. A man with a sword wanted to kill me. Someone said, "You can't kill her; she has not done wrong." Someone took me by the wrist and threw me down from heaven. I fell in the top of a tall tree; another man took me by the wrist and threw me down into the top of another shorter tree, and so on until I was near the ground. Then I climbed down the tree by myself. The tumukun said, "Where were you?" I said, "Perhaps I was taking *Maliemai's* soul 159x to heaven." The tumukun said, "It is lucky you came back. Maybe you have brought *Maliemai's* soul back with you?" I said, "If I had been wrong, they might have burned me; but I wasn't wrong, so they brought me back down." The tumukun said, "Tell me more." So I said, "People who are wrong are probably burned up. Many people saw others being burned." The tumukun said, "It is lucky you came back. Go sit quietly." So I went to my house and then I woke up.

Perhaps I dreamed this because I haven't yet fed my familiar spirit carving. I dreamed of the things about which the native missionary [797] talked. When he was here there was a lot of church, and maybe his words were true. Perhaps I dreamed the truth.

I had another dream last night. My husband carried bamboo to build a house at Vi Natu [the site of the government camp]. I said, "That bamboo is no good." Likma said, "Let us build the house." Then Maugata [Hendrik, her 18-year-old son] came; he was thin. I pounded corn to feed him.

This means that Maugata will be sick. [What does carrying bamboo [787] mean?] This means people will hit Likma with rattan switches. [Why?] Because he may not have enough money for next year's taxes. [Meaning of the house at the government camp?] If the taxes are unpaid many [648] people are beaten there at the camp.

[At this point Tilapada turned to the interpreter and asked how many days her son had been in Kalabahi. The interpreter answered that he had been gone five days.]

When we swung on ropes, there was one for girls and one for boys. We girls fell off first and the boys would drop on top of us. [Giggles.] [757] We fought and fought, boys against girls. We went home to cook and eat, but we returned again and again to play on the rope. A girl who was on the bottom of the pile cried and said her skull was split. We were frightened and tried to pick her up. When we spoke nicely to her, she revived. We then went home.

When I was about eleven or twelve, Fuimai, who was already married, came to me. She said her husband wanted to sleep with her and so we had better go sleep in an empty field house. We went to dig sweet potatoes, which we ate raw. At dark Makalaka came and threatened us with a sword. He asked why we were alone at night. Fuimai answered that she didn't want to have intercourse with her husband and had called me to sleep there with her. Makalaka asked why she had brought a small child like me to an empty house to sleep. Fuimai said her husx159 band wanted to sleep with her and she was afraid. Makalaka stayed with us that night. When he left in the morning, Fuimai's mother and father came to us. They spoke nicely to her. She went back to her husband and slept with him after that.

When I was eight or nine years old, I went to stay in the house of the tumukun's father. Falepang was married to Atamau, who was an elder brother [classificatory] of the tumukun, Fanseni, and me. He wanted to sleep with her, but she ran away. She asked me to go sleep with her in an empty house at Warahieng. The next day some older people, including my mother, hunted for us. Mother asked me if I had brought my older sister [classificatory] there. I said, "No, her husband wanted to have intercourse with her, so she brought me here to sleep. It was dark when she asked me." Mother said, "Now we must go back to the village." Falepang's brother had come also and had spoken nicely to her, urging her to come home. We went back to sleep at the tumukun's house and Atamau had intercourse with Falepang. I slept with the tumukun and Fanseni in one place, and Atamau and Falepang slept in another. I said, "You have slept with your husband, so I am going to return to my village." [This was told rapidly and without pause.]

[593
833] [Do all young women refuse their husbands at first?] Yes, at first they never want their husbands.

When I was thirteen or fourteen, Matinglang [female] and I played together. We went to the garden. I asked for her digging stick, since there might be rats there. We dug for them and caught two big ones. Fanmau and Falepang were there too. I told them to sharpen two spits. Kolpada said, "You are lying," and I said, "No, it is true." So we sharpened two spits and roasted the rats there under the big mango tree. The women ate them all. Some of the older women were busy in the garden digging tubers, so we roasted tubers too. The older ones, Falepang and Fanmau, got the hindquarters. [This duplicated habitual male activity. Rat hunting was not forbidden to women but was not customary for them.] [1162]

Once Matinglang called me to hunt rats. She set her dog on them. [Both informant and interpreter smiled at this imitation of adult male activities.] The dog started a rat, which I clubbed. Then the dog killed another rat himself. There were two of them. We gave them to Matinglang's mother, who cooked them for us, and we all ate them together. Our two mothers were working in the garden while we two played near them until nightfall.

December 19, 1938

Last night I dreamed that my soul went to Hiengmang. The old 159x former mandur's corn was partly ripe and partly green. I started to go through the field, but a man told me not to, so I hunted mushrooms instead. I didn't find any. I went to hunt for wood and got only a very small bundle. This I carried back to our village. As I was coming down the slope, my husband called to me to hurry because Lopada was giving her "verandah smearing" feast. So I pounded corn and took food to her feast. The pig had been killed. They divided the food and we all came back together.

[Meaning of ripe corn?] That means someone will die; it is a bad 159x dream. [Of man forbidding entrance to garden?] Perhaps my soul had 787 gone to the village of the dead and that was the reason I was not allowed to enter. [Mushrooms?] Maggots. [She reacted vigorously and with the one word. Small wood bundle?] That means people are planning to steal from me because we haven't yet paid some debt to them. To pound corn means that one of my children will be sick. [Any other meaning?] No. It is just a dream of sickness.

Last night I dreamed again that Langmai [her neighbor and distant 159x kinsman] and Helangmai [her husband's kinswoman] were walking on a cement strip like a path. On either side was a dark hole like a ravine. It was night. Those two fell off the side of the path into the darkness. I said, "They have fallen off; let us go fast." We went on and reached Benleleng [on the coast]. I said, "If those two are following us, that is good." We kept looking back as we ran but they were not following us. They had disappeared. Finally we reached here and I woke up.

[Who was with you?] Kolpada, the wife of Langmai; Maileta, the brother-in-law of Langmai; and Maipada, the child of Langmai. [Meaning of the path?] I don't know. It is the first time I have dreamed of such a thing. Maybe Kolpada's familiar spirit was leading us. In No- [82] vember and December all our dreams are bad. [Why?] Because the leaves are growing and are green. It is the time when all the people are sick. [Falling into the dark ravine?] This may mean that those two will sicken and die. When I am through talking here, I shall go tell them of my dream.

When we were about eleven or twelve, we were playing at Feba. Maugpada came and said, "I am going to capture you children." He came toward us and raised his sword over our heads. We were fright-x159 ened and ran crying to our house. He followed us. We ran up into the house and pulled up the ladder. He sat on the verandah below. We hid in the house until he left. [The man was probably teasing the children.]

When he left we went down and played outside the house. Lakakalieta came. He had palsy and his head shook all the time. He was wearing a shield. We all ran. The older people told us not to run away, since he had come to kill us. We hid in the bamboo thicket. Lakakalieta came by and saw us. He said, "Don't run and hide yourselves in the bamboo. You'll wound yourselves there." We said, "We are afraid you will kill us." He answered, "No, just go back quietly. I won't hurt you." So we laughed and went back to our verandah. He took my hand and led me back to my father. There he talked to father of gongs and mokos. I was still afraid. I thought he would hide us away, so I hid myself again, this time under a tree. My mother and father called me to come back. Mother fed Lakakalieta and he left. Then we returned to the house.

Another time we were playing in a shallow ditch when Lakakalieta passed by. We ran again and hid in our house. Padalani, my older brother, was sitting on the verandah. Lakakalieta asked him where my father was. Padalani said he had gone to Lawatika. Lakakalieta said he had come to ask him for a pig, but since he wasn't there he would leave. When he left we came out of the house.

Once we were planting corn at Watahieng. There was a rat-run near a large rock. We smoked out the rat. The father of the tumukun told me to hold the torch while he stood guard at the exit. A large rat died right at the opening. We ate it with a rice roll that we had brought to the field.

Matinglang and I were taking turns weeding each other's fields. As we weeded in her field, I cut through a clump of weeds and a rat at one stroke. Boys took the rat away from me. I said, "You are men, but you can't catch rats." They said, "Tilapada gets rats like a man." They took it from me and gave it to Matinglang's mother, who cooked it for us.

Once mother carried me to Lawatika because there had been a murder. Fanpeni [male] had killed Kolfani when she went to fetch water. My mother, father, and elder kinsmen all ran away to Lawatika when they heard this. I was carrying my younger sister, Maliema. [Note the inconsistency.] Fanpeni ran away to Manetati. I and my family stayed in Lawatika to work the gardens there. People from Atimelang sent word that if we did not come back it would be a sign that we approved of Kolfani's murder. So we all came back here. Then people began talking of killing us because Fanpeni was a close relative of ours. But 159x my mother's paternal parallel cousin told us to come stay with him. He said, "If they are brave enough to kill you here in my house, let them try it."

[Tilapada then told another murder story in which her younger brother, a boy of twelve, was shot.]

December 20, 1938

Tonight I dreamed that the lineage house of Faramasang was in ruins. The women all went up there to cook rice cones. The tumukun asked where the women were going, and I told him that the house was to be taken down and its parts stored in a shed. I said that it would be better if Atakalieta [the head of the lineage house] did not dismantle it. The tumukun said that Atakalieta had made the house, so we had better follow his wishes. Then we made rice cones and the men cut them up and divided them. They beat gongs. The tumukun's second wife put some of the rice cones in my basket and in Maliema's [the informant's younger sister]. We all came down home and sat on the verandah. The tumukun said, "Tomorrow or the day after, the house will be taken down." I said, "The house is not entirely in ruins; only the thatch is destroyed. It would be better just to re-thatch it." But the tumukun said it had to be taken down and put in a shed.

In the dream the thatch and rafters were gone; all the rest of the house was standing. It means some older man of the Kolhieta lineage will die—perhaps Atakalieta, Fanseni, the tumukun, or Manipada.

Again I dreamed. I and Falongpada went to fetch water. A big spate came and I said, "Oh, this will wash us away." Falongpada said, "We had better stand here until it has passed by." We stood and it dried up. Then I said we had better go fetch the water and be finished with this, but Falongpada said, "No, wait awhile until the water is no longer muddy." We did and then we got clear water. Suddenly I was at home and went up into my house. Falongpada went on to hers.

[To fetch water?] This is a sign of gongs and mokos. [To see a 159x spate?] That is also a sign of gongs and mokos. We will get as many 787 gongs and mokos as there were water tubes. We are now buying a large gong. We have already paid one Maningmauk moko to Maugseni. [Question.] I was not afraid in this dream.

Toward dawn I dreamed that Lanpada, the chief of Rualkameng, 159x bought a gong. He ordered a boy, Makanma, to tell me to cook and attend the feast. I took food and my husband took a broken gong and a x157 Piki moko to help Lanpada. The women all cooked rice baskets. I took a serving basket of raw rice. The people said, "Pay and be finished with this." So they went to the edge of the village and paid off the gong. The gong was put in Lanpada's house. We were fed at the house of Lanpada's younger brother. Then Likma, I, and my two children, Fuimai and Maugata, went home. I woke up.

x159 787 [Meaning?] We took two gongs and mokos. That is a bad sign. It means the two children will be sick. The buying of a gong was good, but cooking rice baskets was bad. It means someone in Rualkameng will be sick. If Lanpada had sold a gong, his wife would have been sick. Since he bought one, it means that one of the men selling it will be sick.

x159 I dreamed there was a big spate below Manikameng. The water didn't follow its usual course but was flowing alongside the stream bed. Maima, my brother, asked, "Who changed the watercourse here?" Makalamo said, "Atakalieta did it to irrigate his sun corn." Maima and I wanted to fetch water. I said I was afraid of the spate, so Maima said he would fetch the water. The chief, Fanlaka, and he stood in the stream. I said, "Children, a large spate is coming. You mustn't stand there." Fanlaka and the chief said, "Only a small spate is coming, so it is safe." Maima didn't speak. I filled only one tube because I saw the spate coming. Then all four of us returned. We stopped at the verandah of the lineage house, Tilalawati. My older daughter, Fuimai, said, "Mother, where did you get the water?" I told her whence we had fetched it, that the stream had changed its course, and that a spate was coming and therefore I had drawn only one tube. She said, "Put the water here in my house." I did and woke up.

[Entering your daughter's house?] I put water in her house, which means I shall give her a moko as a dowry by and by. [Warning to men?] That is a sign of gongs, mokos, and pigs. I was very afraid of the spate in this dream. [Why is a fear dream a good one? She could give no answer to this.]

x159 857 [She told the following with much enjoyment, laughing heartily at herself.] We went to cut weeds but played instead. There was a new rat-run, in which we caught a rat. Then we made a round pile of stones like a dance-place altar. We roasted the rat there and danced. Then Kolpada I said, "Tilapada is my husband. She catches rats and gives them to me." Kolang [female] said, "Matinglang [female] is my husband." Then Kolpada II said, "Tilafing [female] is my husband and will fetch rats for me." Lonmai was angry with Kolpada I and said,

"Tilapada is my husband." Kolpada I told her to get another husband. 159x
The two fought. Then the "wives" said, "Men, come pile the stones 557
[men's work]!" I called to the other "men" to help me while our "wives" cooked sweet potatoes for us. We shot another rat. Kolpada I said, "My husband has just shot a pig. He comes carrying it. He is a rich man. If your husbands are so big, tell them to fetch pigs. If they don't, I am the only one with a rich husband." [At this point the informant and the interpreter were laughing so hard they were scarcely coherent.] The other wives said, "Your husband is a rich man because he fetches pigs; let us eat them. We shall cook rice baskets." So we roasted the rat, and the wives mashed potatoes and made imitation rice baskets. We used flat stones as serving dishes. I divided the meat. Then I said, "I am a man, so I shan't eat of my feast."

[She interrupted herself to say that she had told her friends about her recounting their play activities. They had laughed heartily together. Her friends had said that they would all come themselves to me.
They had said, "If you use our names our legs will tickle." This was [827]
considered a sign that somebody was talking about one.]

Then we said we should dance. Kolpada I said, "My rich husband must begin the dance." So I began the dance. The men all joined me and the wives joined their husbands, putting their arms around them. Two of the other wives danced with me and Kolpada I said, "You are
taking my husband. Maybe you have already chewed areca with him [195]
[a euphemism for sexual intimacy]." They fought, so I hit them with a rattan switch. After this Kolpada I cooked a large sweet potato for me. Lonmai cooked me only half a one. Kolpada I said, "You are not cooking good food for our husband." Then Kolpada I fought with Lonmai. I said, "Don't fight." Kolpada I said, "We are fighting and our husband is angry with us. We had better stop." Then Kolpada II said, "You are rich and have two wives. They are always fighting. We have only one and have a bit more quiet." Then my two wives cooked for me. The other men said, "Why don't you call us to eat with you?" So I called them to come eat with me. The men ate together in one place and the wives ate together in another.

All this was in one day of play. We had gone to cut weeds, but we didn't work; we just played. Then we decided to cut some weeds. We said, "Each wife must work with her husband." So the husbands and wives worked close to each other. My two wives worked on either side of me. One had areca in her basket and she gave it to me. I split it and divided it. Then Matinglang was angry with Koleng. She said, "My x159 857 wife is poor. She has nothing. Tilapada's wives give her something." So Kolang gave Matinglang some areca she had in her basket. Then Kolpada I said, "If you get rats, give them to your wives." So I caught a [862] grasshopper [which children roast and eat] and I gave it to her. Kolpada I said, "I don't eat rats, so give this to your second wife." Then Matinglang said, "You are a man who knows how to catch rats. If you get any, give them to my wife." The next time I caught a grasshopper I gave it to Matinglang, who gave it to her wife.

[The informant had to be stopped at this point. The behavior in this account was patterned closely on adult behavior between the sexes.]

December 21, 1938

x159 I dreamed that Lopada called twelve people to come to her garden to cut weeds for a wage of ten cents. I went too. Fuipada said she was going to pick red peppers first, so I said I would join her. We didn't pick them one by one but broke off a whole plant. People called us to come. We answered that we had broken off a whole pepper plant and were coming. Lopada asked how many were working and I answered twelve. Lopada invited us to eat. After eating we worked until sundown and then went home. We passed a jack-fruit tree and I climbed it to get a fruit. Helanglang said she wanted one too, so I picked one for her. Helanglang's corn was ripe. She said she was going to look at it, so I left her and went on home. When I reached my verandah I awoke.

x159 787 [Picking red peppers?] This means someone will get a cough. [Who will cough?] I'll probably be the one, since I dreamed of it. [Climbing the jack-fruit tree?] That means that I shall get meat. A party of men have gone off to hunt pigs and they will probably get some. [Ripe corn?] This means someone will die, someone belonging to Helanglang. [People working?] This means that rats will eat up Lopada's corn.

x159 I dreamed that the mother and the father of the nonya came here. All the people took gongs and mokos and went out to meet them. The gongs made no noise. I could not hear their voices. Maima said, "Give me my dress comb." I took my dance anklets and carried them in my hands. We did not dance at the foot of the hill; instead the nonya's parents came here to this house. All the people went to carry cement to build a house here; everyone hunted wood, bamboo, and stones. A new cement floor was made near the kitchen building. Many people came from the government camp carrying cement. The cement craftsman came and said to me, "When I was here before, you gave me food, so now fetch me some again." I gave him a corn bundle. He built a cement wall here. 159x

[*Meaning of the parents' coming?*] That means they or someone is surely coming. Before the nonya came I dreamed that she was coming. 159x 787 [*Meaning of the bags of cement?*] That means the nonya will buy a big moko. [*Gathering stones?*] That means the nonya is accumulating money to buy a moko. [*Giving corn?*] It means I have already given away the soul of my corn, so that I won't have a large crop this year. [*Why were the gongs silent?*] If the gongs don't beat, it means that no one will die, not even those who are sick. [*Maima's asking for her comb?*] This means that by and by there will be a very hot sun and no rain will fall.

We went to cut weeds, twelve of us. We were fighting in play, the 159x boys and the girls. Fuima struck at Fanlang with a cassava stalk. Fanlang fell and hit his forehead hard, so that he had a big wound. He was dizzy. Fuima ran away to her grandparents in Bakudatang. Fanlang stayed in his house for two or three days. Then he said Fuima was to bring leaves of a certain kind to put on his wound. She did and his wound healed. Then we all worked together again cutting weeds.

At that time men were burning over a small area to drive wild pigs. [224] Djetlang of Atimelang was killed by a person from Kalmasbui. They [764] carried his body here, tied it to a tree, and cut the throat [i.e., cut off his head, because no slain person may be buried whole]. Then the villages of Alurkowati and Atimelang made war on Kalmasbui. They killed Lomai. Because of this we didn't go to our garden for many days.

Then the people of Atimelang decided to go make war on the people of Manetati. They went past Luba. The people of Luba had [725] made pitfalls with sharpened bamboo on the trail. Maugiaka fell in and was wounded. He was carried here and died.

[I brought her back to personal anecdotes by asking for relationships with relatives.] We were all cutting weeds. The men cleared a space at the top of the field so the rats could not escape. There were many rats, and each time we got one we would fight about it. We fought because some had rats and the others, who had none, wanted them. We gave them to mother and father each time we caught them. [Question.] Mother and father scolded us for fighting and playing all the time. They told us to finish cutting the weeds.

The next day . . . [here she told a similar anecdote of cutting weeds and rat hunting]. We got a great many, and they were all divided up so that each woman had two to take home in her basket.

x159 [Again I asked for memories of parents or siblings. She related a standardized account of her and a sibling's following their mother to the garden and playing behind her as she worked.] At midday mother told me and my sibling to go back to the village. She said she would be home that evening. We played on the village dance place. We hid pieces of blady-grass stalks, and the others had to find them. The finder pounded a piece of the blady grass and said as he pounded it, "I am pounding your nose, your mouth . . . [she named a series of body parts]."

524 [Again I insisted on personal anecdotes.] Falongpada and I were playing hide-and-seek. Falongpada hid and sang out, "Kilikulu [equivalent to *ready*]." I answered, "I shall bite her leg. I shall bite her hand." When I found her I shouted, "Wah!" Then it was my turn to hide.

December 22, 1938

I dreamed that my soul went to Baletmia. There I saw much betel up in a mango tree. When I climbed up there was none there. So I came down and then saw another tree with much betel in it. I climbed it. When I went up the tree there were no houses. When I came down, I found myself descending into a house corridor. The doorway was closed with wall material and there was no ladder. I wondered how I would get down. I thought I could go down the house posts by one of the rat disks. Then I saw a woman come up on the verandah below. It was Tilapada [a stranger who had come to Atimelang on a visit some months before and whose baby died while she was in the village]. I said, "Oh, it is fine that you have come. I am glad. There is no ladder here and I was wondering how I would get down." Tilapada asked me, "Why do you come to my house?" I said I had climbed down from a tree and found myself in her house. She put up a ladder and I came down on the verandah. I thought the people might suspect me of stealing, so I opened my areca basket for them to see that I had nothing in it but the betel that I had just picked. I offered Tilapada areca and we chewed together. Then Tilapada said, "Mother, you have been gone long; you had better return now." She was eating a big fish and another woman there was eating limpets, but they did not offer me anything to eat [inhospitable behavior]. So I went away, followed the ravine, and arrived at the government camp. There were people gathered there. They asked where I had been. I awoke.

x159
157 [Meaning of this dream?] To pick betel means that I will get wounds, but small ones. Tilapada and that old woman were really in

Sahick [the village of the dead]; that is why they did not offer me food.) 59x If I had eaten there, I probably would have died. [Meaning of the 787 descent into the house?] When I get wounds I'll be dizzy and unconscious; my soul will want to get up to heaven from Sahick, but people will call me back and I shan't die. [No ladder?] This house is probably one of those in which people who died a violent death stay. They have probably had their heads or their spirit birds paid for; so they are shutting themselves in and are not wandering any more. [That is, special [769 ceremonies have been given to placate their souls, and they are no 775] longer malignant ghosts.]

[At this point I tried to get away from the conventional dream in- 124 terpretation by using word associations. The informant did not seem 114 to grasp the idea and insisted on long repetitions of the dream. The associations were as follows: *ladder*—top of waterfall, the place where a slain person is taken to be decapitated before head feasts are given; *mengo tree*—person who has met violent death, or death from a particularly dreaded disease like smallpox; *empty house*—same as ladder; *closed door*—the dead man's door; *areca nut*—a wound; *betel*—a wound; *rat*—came down from the sky, referring to the fact that shooting stars are thought to turn into mice when they strike the earth.]

I dreamed again. I and Kolang cut bark for loincloths. We pounded 159x it but could not make it soft, so we threw it away. I went for more. I saw Fuimai cutting down another tree for bark cloth. When I asked her for some, she said there was not much; there was only that one tree. But in her hands she had many pieces. Fuimai took the bark off the tree and put it in her basket. I woke up.

[Meaning?] Had I not thrown the bark away, the dream would [787] mean that I would commit adultery. Fuimai did not throw away the bark; so that means she will commit adultery. [Fuimai was suspected in the village of sleeping with her young unmarried brother-in-law. Her husband was rarely at home.]

When I was small, my father cleared a big garden. Father carried [592] me between his body and the arrows thrust into his belt. He took me thus to the garden feast. That evening when we came back he carried me in the same way. I cried when father left, but he said, "You stay here in the village; it is wartime." However, I continued to cry, so he carried me in this way. Mother too told me to stay home, but I just cried. That evening when we returned to the house, we ate the meat and rice baskets of the feast. The next day we all went to plant Mailang's rice field. I cried again and followed mother and father, so my

K159 older brother, Padalani, carried me to the garden. I played all day on the threshing mat while my elders planted rice. When the planting was over and they had divided the rice baskets, mother carried the food and Padalani carried me. We got back by midday and I played with my brothers and sisters. We strung grasshoppers on strings and used them as necklaces. At nightfall we went into the house. Padalani hit me. Mailani [another brother] said, "Don't do that." When I cried, Padalani and Mailani fought. [Why was she hit?] Because I spilled some corn that Padalani wanted to parch.

[Who took care of her primarily when she was a child?] Fanlaka was too small; mostly it was Mailani who cared for me. [Whom did you take care of?] Maliema [a younger sister].

December 23, 1938

I dreamed I went to weed. My husband called, saying, "The children will weed; you come and cook." I had placed beans to leach. They were still a little bitter but I cooked them in two waters. Then the beans were good, so I boiled them with corn and fed the children. Toward evening I went home carrying all the raincapes. Then I woke up.

[787] This dream of weeding may mean that the rats will eat up all my corn.

I dreamed again that a large spate came down from Manetati. Likma, Padakalieta, and Langmai ran from it. I sat on my verandah and saw them coming. My husband did not have on his shawl, but one of the children's. They came up on the verandah and I woke up.

[767] This means a big rain will fall and people will run because they won't have their raincapes with them.

[222 224] [Her relationship to her father?] When I was thirteen or fourteen, my father and I went to the woods to get wild beans. Father took a dog with him to help hunt a pig. Father alone shot the pig. He brought the hindquarters and neck back to the village. [Question.] Kolpada and Fuikari were along too. Father cut the meat up into big pieces and divided the meat with his family. Then he invited people to eat at our house.

Once father called me to go dig sweet potatoes with him, and that evening we brought them back to the village. The next day he called me to go weed the sweet potatoes with him. I didn't do it well, so he hit my hands. When I cried he spoke nicely to me, so I went on with the weeding. In the evening I told mother that father had hit me, and mother was angry with father. She quarreled with him, saying, "Why did you hit your only female child?" At that time Maliema was not yet born. Mother was pregnant with her. 159x

After my father had shot a pig, he promised to go hunting five days with some men. They shot one pig. Half of its hindquarters was set aside for the women; it was taboo [*si*]. The men could not eat it. [212 224] Father gave it to mother and said to feed the hunting dogs some of the meat. Mother did not want to. She said there were too many children to feed. Father was angry and said, "That is a good dog and he must get a share of the hunt." Mother and father quarreled. Finally mother said she would not eat any of the meat. She gave me my piece, and I went out to meet my friends but ate the meat before I joined them.

Once father went to Dikimpe to get the souls of my grandparents in order to give a death feast for them. I cried to go along, so father took me and gave me a small pig to carry. After we fed the souls there, we brought them back and gave a feast for them here.

Another time father took a pig as a dowry to Karieta. I went along and carried father's areca basket. At Fiyaipe we rested. Motlaka gave us a small pig and invited us to enter the house. Later he gave us a broken gong. [She went into the details of the dowry payment.]

[She was asked to speak of her emotions.] Once father went to weed. I cried because I wanted to go with him. Father was angry and said the field to which he was going was very steep and I would fall. He chased me with a stick, so I ran back and sat on the verandah. The next day father set out again to weed. I cried to go, and father said I might go with him because he was going to a level field. He took his dog and the dog caught a rat. Father gave it to me to put in my carrying basket. Later mother came, so I gave her the rat. She cooked it and gave me some. It began raining and I had no raincape, so father said I was to sit on his back under his raincape as he squatted at his weeding. I sat on his back under the raincape as he squatted weeding.

The next day father went again to the steep garden to weed. I cried to go. He said I would fall; nevertheless he took me along and set me on a small spot of level ground while the others went down the slope to weed.

[How old when your father died?] I was about thirteen or fourteen when father died. I had already gone to live with my husband, but I had not slept with him. However, Likma and I were roughhousing together [a frequent preliminary to intercourse in Atimelang]. Father died during a good year. He had helped to cultivate a large garden, but x157 he fell sick and could not help with the planting. People said, "Let us hurry and get the planting done, because if he dies we shall not feel like planting." So we went to plant. Some people came running, saying father had died. I cried and cried as I ran home. They brought him to my house to bury him. People wanted to take him to Manek to bury because my cousin Fanpeni had killed a woman in Atimelang. That made me and Likma and Likma's parents feel bad, so we brought my father's body to our house and buried it here.

[Question.] I was with my husband for two years before my father died. I lived with his family and cooked for them, so they would feel like paying the bride-price quickly and buying my mother a strip of cloth [a necessary payment to the mother-in-law before a man may sleep with his wife]. They would want to collect many gongs and mokos to give my father if I stayed with them and fed them.

December 24, 1938

Last night I dreamed that my soul went to see Kolani. She was out of her head. Later she died. I cried and came down to my house. Today Kolani is better. [This was probably a real experience, not a dream.]

I dreamed that I went to Watahieng, where Lakamobi was building a large field house. I saw people cutting weeds and asked why. They said Lakamobi was going to pay them for doing it, so I joined them. That evening Lakamobi did not give us money but said he would pay us the next day. On the way home I met the tumukun, who asked me where I had been. I told him about it and said that we would probably be paid the next day.

[777] [Meaning?] To weed means that the rats will eat the corn crop. [Dream of money?] That I was not paid in my dream means that in reality I shall receive money.

Last night I also dreamed that Fuimau [the wife of Padata the Leper] had a big Itkira moko. She has come to us for many pigs. She said that if we would give her a Kabali moko and the pigs, she would give us the Itkira. I said we had no Kabali moko but we had a gong worth one. She said that would be all right, so I went up into the house to fetch it, but I could not find it. Then Likma went up and he found it and brought it down. Later Fuimau brought us the Itkira.

[787] [Meaning of not finding the gong?] To dream of a gong means the soul of a girl child. This dream means that my dead ancestors will not make my children sick, but since Likma found it, it means his ancestors will make one of my daughters ill.

[I asked for memories of her mother.] It was during the hungry 159x
season and mother went out to dig tubers. I cried to be taken along. Mother said, "This is the hungry time and you will get hungry running around, but come if you want." So we went, and all the good tubers mother dug she put in my basket. When we got home we cooked them, and the good tubers mother put back in my basket. The rest were divided among my siblings. The next day when mother and I went to work in the fields, we took those good tubers along.

Once mother took me to see her brother [classificatory]. He gave us a big pig, which father took home for a death feast. [Tilapada here gave an account of financial transactions.] Another time we went to see him and he gave mother a big bundle of corn and filled my carrying basket with shelled corn.

Once mother set out to get wood. I cried to go along and mother hit
me. Father was angry and said, "Why do you hit this child? She is a [313]
woman and must go fetch firewood too." [She then gave me another account of crying to accompany her mother when she was going off to weed.]

[Did she remember the birth of her siblings?] I remember that mother sat in the privy and that I was in the living room. [How did she feel?] When the child came down, the midwife cut its cord and curled it on the belly. I was sent to get leaves to clean up the child's excreta. I brought them back in a small basket, and mother cleaned the baby when it defecated. [Question.] This was the birth of Maliema. I don't remember the birth of Kafelkai. When Maliema was born, I was about seven years old. When Kafelkai was born, I was about two or three years old. I didn't see that birth. [Attempts to get her emotional reactions failed.]

When I was small, I only fetched wood and played. Mother was angry with me and hit me because I didn't do garden work. Fanpeni [a cousin who lived with them] stood up for me and quarreled with my mother about it. Then I went to help weed in the fields. Mother hit my hands and I cried, saying, "Oh, mother, you hit my hands, and an evil spirit may take me off. It will be good if I die. It will be better if I am finished." Mother was angry and said I must not talk like that. She twisted my mouth for speaking thus. Then mother spoke nicely to me and we went off and dug tubers for me. She cooked them for me and gave them to me to eat.

Mother went to cut green bananas and put them in a hole to ripen. [252]
We went back after a time and two bananas were ripe. Mother gave

x 159 them to me to eat, and the unripe ones we brought home and gave to my younger siblings.

[Was she glad to go to her husband's house to live?] I did not want to go, but father and mother spoke nicely to me, so I went. His house was at the other end of the village. I stayed there from then on. Helangfani took me there. She was the wife of Likma's father's brother. In the household were many people. Likma's parents were dead. In the house lived Likma, his paternal uncle, Maipada, and Maipada's wife, Helangfani. There also lived Mailang, Kolmani, Lanmo, Lakaseni, Atamai, Maraipada, and Atabiki. Most of these were grown up. Kolmani and I were the only children. Likma was already grown up. He was eighteen or twenty. From then on I forgot my family. I went all the time with Kolpada [the wife of Langmai] to fetch wood and water and to work in the gardens. When I went there my husband wanted to sleep with me but I said that first he must buy my mother's strip of cloth. After one year father died. [Note the inconsistency with her previous statement.] Then my husband raised pigs and used two to buy a strip of cloth for my mother. We slept together from then on. Mother lived a long time. [She died about 1931.]

[How long before the birth of a child?] I had been in Likma's house [842 278] six years before Fuifani was born. I took a contraceptive. [That is, she chewed a leaf. She showed signs of embarrassment when she spoke of this subject.]

December 26, 1938

Last night I dreamed that Fuimau [the wife of Padata the Leper] made a feast in Karieta. She came to ask Likma for a dowry payment. He gave her a broken gong. She asked him to add a piglet to it. I said, "There is no pig and no dowry here for you. You come all the time asking for dowry payments." So Fuimau said, "Your bride-price payment, a Kolmale moko, is waiting for you; so add a pig to the broken gong." But we did not want to, so she took the broken gong and we all went to Karieta with it. When we got there, there was in truth a Kolmale moko. When we wanted to take it, the chief of Karieta said, "Add a pig." We left the moko there and went away. Then I woke up. [This was probably not a dream but an actual account of the preceding day's activity.]

When we went there, they were cooking pounded corn. That means [787] someone in the house will die. The dream also means that I shall really give Fuimau a dowry payment and get back a bride-price.

I dreamed again last night that we went out to weed. I was up the [159]x slope and many children were below me. I told them to come up for fear a stone would roll down on them. So they came up the slope and worked. I cooked for them. That evening on the way home a boy chased a bird. I said, "Boys, chase the bird and give it to me." But they did not get it. Then Manipeni saw a rat and caught it. He said, "Mother, here is a rat," and he gave it to me. [Manipeni was the fourteen- or fifteen-year-old, leprous son of her favorite, dead brother, Mailani.] I went up on the verandah and woke up.

The dream of a rat means I will get a stomach-ache. [787]

Again I dreamed. Kolpada called to me, "Mother [classificatory], let us go fetch firewood." I said, "Oh, I'll stay. You and your younger sister, Fuimai [the informant's second daughter], can get wood." So Kolpada and Fuimai set off. I followed after them anyhow. Five of us in all went. I hunted mushrooms and got a basketful. We brought them home and ate them. [This was possibly an actual occurrence instead of a dream.]

A dream about mushrooms is a dream of maggots; that is, a dream of a dead person. The fetching of wood means that someone wants to [787] steal something from me. My not wanting to go means that I shall not want it stolen from me.

I want to talk about the time my elder siblings [classificatory] and I went out to get caterpillars. Fuiakani, Fiyepada, and I went to hunt them.

We climbed a steep stone, and Fiyepada lifted me up by my arm. We spread out mats under an afui tree and shook the branches. The [222] caterpillars fell on our mats and we picked them up one by one, placing them in bamboo tubes. I wanted to pick them up, but I was afraid of them because they were like snakes. Each of the older ones put some in my tube for me. Then we came home and at the water stopped to wash them. We cleaned out their intestines. Then Fuiakani broke off [252] corn in her garden and gave me some. As we got to the foot of the slope, my mother called me from the garden. She said I could come and gather corn, but Fuiakani said she had already given me some, so we went on to the village. On the way home Fuiakani also cut off a bunch of bananas, and she gave each of us a large clump. In the village we [252] roasted the caterpillars and bananas together in a tube. It was like real meat. Mother came home and saw the young corn in my basket. She said, "Have you been stealing people's corn?" I answered, "No. Fuiakani took it from her own garden and gave it to me." Then we divided x159 up the caterpillars. There were many people and each one got only a little.

The next morning Mailani [the informant's older brother] and I
[123] went to the fields. Mailani killed a bird with a stone. He gave it to me, saying that mother would cook it for us when she came. When mother arrived, we cooked and ate the bird together. Then we worked in the field and in the evening returned to the village.

One day mother and my older brothers went to the fields to work, and I stayed home to take care of the children. The children cried. Fuimau, an old woman, called, saying, "Maniakani [equivalent to our bogeyman] is coming." She frightened the children, so they stopped crying. When they cried again I told them to be quiet because Maniakani was near. Just then the village caught fire and burned up. Langmai had been sacrificing to his sacred hearth, and he had not put his fire out properly. It caught in the thatch of his house and it burned up. The whole center of the village with the lineage houses burned, and only the houses at the two ends of the village were left. There were only children in the village, because all the adults had gone off to work in the fields. We stood and cried and yelled to our parents to come. People from Alurkowati and Dikimpe came to help. Kolmani's house almost caught fire, but the people from Alurkowati and Dikimpe climbed up and put it out. All the people took everything from their houses, the corn and pigs, and set them on the edge of the village. We gave all who helped presents of corn. Tilalawati [a lineage house] burned down; all the men were away. Our house did not burn because it was at one end of the village. First a small house caught, and then Molwati [a lineage house] burned, and then the others caught fire and the food in them was destroyed. Kolwati [a lineage house] almost burned, but the people climbed up on the thatch and poured water on it. The corn that people took out of their houses was all stolen except Lonmai's, because his family came to help him, so they did not steal it. Langmai, who was
[672 685] responsible for the fire, paid a big pig for the burning of the Maihieta lineage house [Tamukwati] and for Kolhieta's lineage house [Lonwati]. But he did not pay for Tilalawati because he said he belonged to that lineage house and he would rebuild it. For a small lineage house [*rua kadang*] also called Lonwati, he paid a small pig.

December 27, 1938

I dreamed that Padaboi came to Likma and said, "They are going to feed the Djawa moko in Rualmelang. Let us go." But Likma said, "I had a pig, but I gave it yesterday to Fuimau. I shall follow you in a couple of days." Then they left together. In Rualmelang, Padaboi said, "Let us divine." The divination set the feast day in seven days. Padaboi and Likma came home carrying feast tallies [*djoli*]. I was in the field when they returned. Likma called me. I came and reckoned the people to whom he must give them—Fuimau, Fuifani, and Maliemai. I said that in seven days we must take a pig. Then I awoke. 159x

[Meaning?] This is a true dream. This will come true. [I suspected that she was telling daily events as dreams. A pig had really been given to Fuimau and a feast was due in Rualmelang. I said that I wanted only true dreams. She then told the following.]

Last night I dreamed that the people of Lawatika, carrying clubs, went to seize a pig from Atakalieta of Faramasang. He did not want them to have it. They exchanged blows. Then Atakalieta got a club and hit one of the Lawatika men over the back. I took a long bamboo pole and thrust it between the fighters. I said, "You can't fight with clubs." Atakalieta got a big wound on his forehead. My husband called and told me not to stay there, that there would be a litigation and I would have to be a witness. So I stood off to one side. There was a litigation, and the chief of Atimelang said the Lawatika people were in the wrong because they shot Atakalieta's pig and wounded his head. They had to pay a fine of ten cents for the wound, and Atakalieta got the pig. They went home. I woke up.

[Were you angry or afraid?] I was afraid and stood to one side. I was angry too and wanted to fight with the Lawatika people, but my husband would not let me. He said, "People have received wounds and you will be involved in a litigation."

Last night I dreamed again that I went to Old Atimelang, and there I saw a large ravine. I flew over it and landed in a nabu tree near Lakawati. Suddenly I was in *Manetati*. There Malema said, "Let us go to Manek." I said that it was far and that I had to weed my gardens at home. I came back here. When I reached the big ravine, I could not walk any more. I went on all fours because the stones were so steep. A man there said I should stand up. I did, and suddenly I flew up and landed in a nabu tree in Atimelang. I thought, "How shall I get down?" This man said, "You can get down." Then I could and I went down to Folafeng. I woke up.

[Flying?] When you sleep with your legs stretched out you can dream of flying and walking. But if you sleep with your legs bent it means you can only crawl. 513 827 828 x157 When the village burned [she was continuing yesterday's story], people began cutting house posts and beams. The people of Tilalawati said that Langmai must give much food for its feasts because he was responsible for the fire. [She continued talking about the feasts made.]

[Her age when the village burned?] I was nine or ten. [What did you feel at the time? She started telling what the men did to rescue things and combat the fire. I stopped her and asked again for her own feelings and actions.] All those houses were burning but Tilalawati had not yet caught. The men of Alurkowati and Dikimpe all rushed in and began bringing down corn. I helped by carrying down tubes of rice and beans. We put everything in the bamboo thicket on the edge of the village. Then they emptied Lonwati. The loft was full of food, but we took it all out. The Lawatika people emptied Tamukwati. We were standing near the house and the men were wetting down the thatch. We were afraid and ran. [Question.] My elder brother, Fanlaka, had a headache. He stayed home with my younger brother, Kafelkai, while I was at the fire. I went home and asked whether Kafelkai had cried, and Fanlaka said he had not. He had played quietly near him and then they had slept together on the verandah. The next morning we all went to hunt for things in the ruins. Fanlaka still had a headache and stayed at home. When I returned, Fanlaka ordered me to go get sweet potato leaves. I thought from their appearance that there might be tubers too, so I dug, but there were none. I took leaves only and went home to cook them. Fanlaka and I ate. Toward evening Fanlaka sent me to dig cassava at Faramasang. I brought some back, some good and some not. The bad ones I fed to the pigs and the good ones I cooked. When mother and father came home they ate. Kafelkai could already crawl; so mother said I should leave him the next day with Fanlaka, and go to a level place to dig cassava where they were better. On the slope they were bitter. Falongpada and I went to dig them. We also got mangoes. Part of them we ate and part we brought home. Fanlaka had a cold and was sleeping.

December 28, 1938

I dreamed I was coming from Dikimpe. When I went past Padamakani's house, I suddenly could not walk any more and had to crawl. I went on and was approaching the big mango tree near the government camp when Maliseni came along and saw me. He asked where I was going, and I answered that I was returning from Dikimpe. He said, "We went to get Tilapada [a young niece of the informant] because a pig she owes Kafelofani is still unpaid." [Young Tilapada was married to Kafelofani and then divorced him.] 159x I only said, "Yes." By that time I could walk and I went on to the mango tree. It was very high. Then it sank into the ground until the branches touched the earth. I had to step over them. As I came to the village, I met Maima [her brother]. I said to him, "Maliseni said you fought with clubs. Why did you fight with clubs?" Maima said, "It was not with clubs; it was just with fists. He wanted to drag off Tilapada [the niece]." Then I said, "Why does that girl always come back here? She should stay in her husband's village. If she comes here all the time, people will seize her [for unsettled debts]." Then Maima said, "The child wants to go back to her husband's village [her second husband's village]. I am on my way to the house. I am taking this child back to her village." I went on past the tumukun's house and he said, "You went to Dikimpe and we had a big fight while you were away." I said, "If people fight behind my back, that is good. But when they fight in front of me, I am afraid of being involved in a litigation." Then I went on to Fuimai's house.

[Crawling?] I must have been sleeping with bent legs. [The mango tree?] This means Maliseni is wrong. [Meaning of the whole dream?] If Tilapada had actually gone, it would mean she would get sick and die. But in the dream we only talked of her going, so she won't get sick.

[I asked about her younger siblings. She told about following her mother to the fields in midmorning, carrying Maliema with Kafelkai following.] On the way Maliema cried a lot, so I put her down and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she was quiet. I took leaves and showed her how to make a grasshopper house. [857] Then we caught a grasshopper and put it in the house and shut the door. When we opened the door, the grasshopper crawled forward. I said, "Oh, your chicken is coming." When we went home that afternoon, we played on the dance place and I made a small house like a real one. [Here Tilapada went into the details of house building, feasts, and dances. It seemed that she enjoyed dwelling on the whole episode.]

When Maliema was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I were not angry with her, I would take her along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the small ones. Then we would go together to wash them and I would wash hers for her. [Why were you angry?] Because she was always crying. She cried to go places; she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my x159 knuckles, and then I would feed her. [Why did she cry?] She cried because she was hungry. [This and the departure of the mother are stock explanations for children's crying.] Once we went to dig tubers with mother. Maliema cried, so I carried her home, hurried to light a fire, cooked, and fed her.

Once when mother and father were both gone, I cooked sweet potatoes in one pot and vegetables in another and set them aside for them. When the family came home their food was ready. I was just begin- [857] ning to cook then. I was eight or ten. If mother did not leave food, she would tell me to dig tubers. This I would do, and then I would prepare food for the family. At this age I was doing cooperative work in [857] the fields with my playmates, but I always took Maliema along and she played behind us in the fields. One day it was raining hard, so we decided to stay home and play all day. Then in a year we were big [actually about ten or twelve].

[Were you glad to grow up?] We used to say, "Now we are grown up and we have much work to do. It would be better if we were always children. When we were still small, we played like that [referring [883] to six-year-olds]." When I was about thirteen or fourteen [probably younger] the young men all used to say they would buy me. Fanlang said once, "This girl had better come to stay in our house." I asked him if he had a bride-price, and he answered that they had to make a feast, x159 after which I had better marry his "father," Likma. Then Fanlang 584 asked me to inquire whether Matinglang wanted to marry him. I went to speak to Matinglang, and she said, "Good, that is fine. We shall live all in one house." At this time Likma had already asked Fanlang to act as his go-between. Fanlang and Likma lived in one house. Matinglang and I were friends. At this time I was still small and had not slept with any man. There has been only Likma. When father fed his sacred hearth, Likma brought a pig, and within the month I went to stay in his house. Fanlang also married Matinglang, but later they were divorced.

x159 [Can you remember the first quarrel with your husband?] Likma and Helangmai's husband went off to dun someone for a debt. There was a dance at Rualmasang, and our husbands did not want to go. I and Helangmai went. The next morning our husbands came home and found us asleep on the verandah. They hit us because we had thus secretly gone off to the dance. They were angry that we had gone without ask- [593 562] ing them. [It was proper for a wife to have her husband's permission before going to a dance.]

December 29, 1938

[Tilepada was asked to continue yesterday's story.] After the quarrel I said we would separate, so I ran away and stayed at Tilalawati. I stayed only five or six days, and then father said we would have to go hunt for mokos to pay back my husband. He suggested Padakalieta, but I said, "And who will go to him?" Then father suggested Padakafani [an old man, the father of Rilpada the Seer], but I said, "And who will go to him?" So father said, "The way you are talking you must want to go back to your husband." I said I might. Then my husband's uncle came and asked me to go back, which I did. *My* husband already had a very fine piece of cloth [*lemerieng*] for my mother and a Maningmauk moko for my father. Since then we have not fought any more. 159x

[She then repeated the story of her actions as go-between for Fanlang and *Matinglang*, saying that after Fanlang married *Matinglang* they all four lived together in one house.] *Matinglang* and I went to work our gardens together. She and Fanlang cultivated only one, but I cultivated three that first year. One day someone died, and I came home wailing to find that *Matinglang* and Fanlang had quarreled. They wanted a divorce. They fought because the corn from the field they had worked together had been traded for cloth. Matinglang wanted to give the cloth to her mother, but Fanlang didn't wish this. They separated and on the very same day *Matinglang's* parents returned the Tamamia moko that Fanlang had given them. They had been married three years and had already slept together. [Question.] The divorce did not break up my friendship with *Matinglang*. We have remained friends. For a long time *Matinglang* and Fanlang did not look at each other. Then *Matinglang* asked me to speak to Fanlang, saying she would take him back. I said I would ask him but that I was afraid her mother and father would be opposed to a reunion. I spoke to Fanlang and he said she could come back. However, her parents would not let her, because Fanlang had lied to them [i.e., he had not kept his promise about payments].

Once an old woman died and people asked mother for the cloth that Likma had given her, as a shroud for the dead woman. I thought we had better get mother a new shawl. Likma and I worked together and went to Likuwatang to trade the corn we had for cloth. We gave sixty small corn bundles for it. The next year father died. On the day father died Kolana traders happened to come here, so *Mailang* bought cloth to bury father in. [The coastal people weave; the mountain people do not.] He didn't have enough, so we gave a pig worth a Kabali moko. [439]

x159 [She then repeated that people did not want to bury her father in Atimelang and that her husband brought the body to his house, where the death feasts were given.] When we made the Rolik feast, I brought an arm-length gong to pay Mailang for the cloth he had bought. Then I said to Likma, "We have made the death feasts for my father, so now we must give one for your mother." Then we gave his mother's Rolik feast. The rice field that we were planting when father died yielded abundantly, so we used the rice from that. My brother gave a Piki moko as my dowry, and we used it to pay for Likma's mother's shroud. Then Likma suggested a gong-beating for my father. By this time Fuipeni [her first child] was born. This was three years after my father's death. [Note again the discrepancies in time.]

December 30, 1938

[I asked her to continue yesterday's story.] Matinglang wanted to remarry Fanlang, but her parents did not want her to, so she married Letlani and Fanlang married Lopada. She and I lived in the same house and shared garden work. Lopada's grandmother called her to come home because her bride-price was not being paid. But Lopada said, "I don't want to return, because Tilapada and I are sharing a garden." We went to weed at Hiengmang and lived in the field house there. Then Fanlang's younger brother came and said, "It would be better if my brother divorced this maya [a child who had been bought, a slave]." Lopada cried and cried. She went back to her village and never returned to Fanlang. She left her cooked cassava behind, and we ate it. Then for a long time Fanlang had no wife. Finally he slept with Lomani when a lot of young people were collected in a field house to work. He married Lomani and she gave birth to Tilamau. In a short time she was pregnant again and gave birth to a male, who was born dead. Soon her body swelled and she died. After a time Fanlang married Fuimau. Later he also married Maliema and Tilapada.

December 31, 1938

[Dream?] Last night I did not dream because we were filling rice baskets for a feast all night. But toward morning I did doze and my soul went to the government camp to fetch water, three small tubes full. When I got back Likma asked, "Were you fetching water?" and I said, "Yes." We went up into the house. There Lomani woke me up.

[I asked about her children, but her response was brief. She named them and said that the third child she bore, called Berkama, died of a big cough when he was about one year old.]

January 3, 1939

Last night I dreamed that I came here carrying my water tubes [to the ethnographer's water supply], but there was no water coming. I went up to the spring. On the way back I saw the tumukun and he asked, "Where did you go for water?" I said to the spring. The tumukun said, "I'll drink a tube." So I said, "They are all large. There is just one small one, so drink that." He did. Then I went to my house. Likma's kinswomen [*vi mejoa*] from Kafoi were sitting on the verandah. Likma said, "Put the water aside; pound corn and feed the kinswomen." I went into the house, got corn, and wanted to pound it, when Alurkomai [a former chief] cried, "Oh, mother, a child has fallen." Then I woke up.

[Whose child? She thought it was her youngest, living daughter, Kolaka. What does giving a man a drink mean?] This means that if I give him a bride-price he will give a dowry.

I dreamed again. I saw myself standing in Luba. There the chief had erected an areca pole. He had taken off all the leaves. It was very tall. At its foot were stacked flat stones. I asked Fuilan why the tree was erected. She said the chief erected this for his father. I asked why. She said it was the custom. I said, "I don't understand. I never heard of erecting a pole for dead people." I wanted to return. On the way home I thought, "I shall hunt mushrooms." I did not find any. I thought of wood, but I could not find any. Then I could no longer walk. I saw a woman who said, "Get up and you will be able to walk." I stood up and flew, landing on top of a tall eucalyptus tree at Manikameng. I wondered how I got there and how I could get down. The same woman came and said, "You can get down." So I jumped and floated down to the ground. Suddenly I was standing at Halumia. I saw Kolang [the mother of Atamai, Tilapada's son-in-law] in the garden. Kolang said, "Where have you been?" I told her, and then she asked me for areca. I said, "Oh, I went to Luba but got no areca." Then I awoke.

[This Kolang was not the person of the same name in Tilapada's childhood play stories. I reminded the informant of word associations and got the following: *areca tree*—tie it; *flat stones*—place; *mushrooms*—pull out; *fly*—fall; *Manikameng*—there; *give areca*—do not give; *come down from tree*—to walk here; *chief of Luba*—near him; *Kolang*—talk about.]

When I was still young, a death feast was made for Fuimani. Likma went to Rualkameng to get pigs and gongs. I went to Karmaú [a classificatory paternal uncle] to ask for a dowry in currency and goods.

159 He gave a goat, rice, and corn. I gave him a Piki moko as a token payment. While I was pounding the corn, my husband came with a broken gong. I told him about what I had got. Then I said, "We must feed him." So we gave Karmau a Fatafa pig and some corn to eat [customary behavior]. Then I asked him for another dowry before we paid a bride-price. Karmau said he did not have anything. He said it would be better for Likma to go slowly. He did not want to collect a bride-price just now. Before we paid him a bride-price he died. We wanted to pay the bride-price to Maugkari [his son] but he also died before we paid it.

Then the father of Helangmai [her husband's relative] died and we bought a pig for his death feast. We also went to Mailani, who gave us a Piki pig too. I asked him to carry it for me to my house. He did. Likma then gave him a broken gong worth five rupiahs. At the Hevelaberka feast we went again to him. He gave us another pig, a Kabali one worth three rupiahs. Our own pig we used for a gong-beating memorial, the three-rupiah pig for the Hevelaberka feast, and the five-rupiah pig for the Hevelakang feast.

January 4, 1939

I dreamed that my soul went to Vitieng. The chief of Karieta and his mother, Kolkalieta, were there cooking rice baskets. I spoke to Kolkalieta, saying, "Let us return; don't stay here." Kolkalieta said, "We are making a garden feast [*bata tife*]." We left and on the way met Nitaniel and Stephanus coming toward us. They asked where we had been, and I said I had gone to fetch the old woman because she was cooking in an evil spirit place. They asked for a drink, but I said we had not fetched water. Then they turned and came with us. We went on to Vihamoni. I said I was going to hunt for wood. When the two boys said they would wait, I didn't hunt wood; I only picked up what was alongside the trail. We reached Watahieng and heard people in the Five Villages making a big noise. The two boys said there were many soldiers at the government camp. We were afraid and went by another trail, but Nitaniel and Stephanus went on to the camp. When we reached the bottom of the slope, we met many children shouting, and we asked what they were doing. They said all the men had gone to the camp to receive their tax bills. Falepang came out of her house to fetch water. She asked where we had been and I told her. Then I woke up.

[I asked for word associations and got these: *rice baskets*—fill; *garden feast*—set the pot on the fire; *Vitieng*—there; *Kolkalieta*—accompany her; *Nitaniel*—we together went up; *Stephanus*—we accompanied him; *camp*—soldiers gather there; *soldiers*—papers divide (us); *taxes*—answer, revenge; *Falepang*—I asked her; *carry water*—fetch water.]

[I suggested that she had not yet told much about her children.] My father had been dead five years when I was pregnant with Fuipeni [her first child]. I said we must give a gong-beating for father. After I had borne her and stayed in the house for six days, I came down and we beat the gongs for father. Five years after Fuipeni I bore *Maugata*. I bore him the year after the radjah was killed [i.e., in 1919]. [Did she want a boy or a girl the first time she had a child?] Just before Fuipeni was born I wanted a boy. Then I saw it was a girl and said, "Oh, that is good too." When I got *Maugata*, there was no corn or beans. We went to Kebisi to buy corn. *My* mother saved a bamboo tube full of corn, some wild beans, and one large cassava. When I was giving birth, I said, "What shall I eat? I am getting cold from childbirth and I should like to eat something good." Then mother fetched this food and gave me good food to eat.

When I was almost ready to give birth, I went to hunt mushrooms and got many. I went home and cooked them. After I had eaten part of them, I got a terrible backache. I put the rest in a basket and hurried to Lawatika, where I was to give birth at my mother's house. On the edge of the village I could hardly go farther. But I went on, and every time labor pains came I sat and waited for them to pass, and then went on again. I saw *Mailani* hunting rats. I called him and mother. Mailani also called mother. Mother hurried to finish washing her tubers. I reached the house and hastily dropped my basket and went to the privy. The child had begun to come down. By the time mother reached the house the child was already out and crying. Mother hurriedly threw aside her things. *Mailani* came and mother told him to make a low bench for me. She hurried and cooked. Likma had gone to hunt for tubers and wood. When he came back I was not there. He asked Fuipeni [his five-year-old daughter] where I was. She told him I had gone to Lawatika to give birth. "People say she already has a boy." Likma came right on with his tubers. I told him to save the big one for the tuber feast in the dance place on the next day. The rest we roasted and ate. The next day mother cooked the tuber and Likma took it to the feast, but he did not eat it there. He brought it home for us to eat. It was a hungry time. Likma took half a rupiah [fifty cents] and a necklace to Kebisi to buy corn. For half a rupiah he bought one squash and x 159 twelve ears of corn. For the necklace he got six ears. He brought them to Lawatika. The next day the father of Fanlang was so sick he nearly died. His wife brought a field knife and asked for corn to feed him. We gave her a small dish of corn [about the size of a large double handful] in return for the field knife. The children's bananas were also gone. Likma and I went to fetch bananas. We cut a bunch. Whenever it was steep, Likma carried the bananas for me. I carried them on level stretches.

When we reached home, we heard that Fanlang's father had died right after eating the corn we had given him. Fanseni's and the tumukun's corn was also finished. They went to buy corn in Kelaisi. I told mother about it. But mother said, "Don't beg people's corn. It is a hungry time. Do not beg even your father's [classificatory]." The next day Fanseni brought fifteen ears, five for mother and five for me. He said my five were for the child. Five he gave to Mailani and his wife. My child's body was very thin. All the people were dying. My heart was sad. For one anklet I was able to buy only a coconut-shell dish full of corn. We went to Ajakingliking [a market] to buy deer meat. We ate the heart of banana trees mixed with the jerky. Likma shot a chicken and we fed his familiar spirit [*ia wari*]. After a time my child began getting fat because we gave him salt from Batulolong. [This is ordinary [263] salt but is considered to have fattening properties for both young and old.] We mixed it with his mashed bananas.

By then we had planted corn and the young corn was ripening. I heard that people were stealing our corn. We took the child and went to live in the field house [to guard the crop]. The ears were very large. Everyone was stealing corn. When we planted corn there was no food. When harvesttime came, Fuimau [the wife of Maipada] took care of Maugata and Fuipeni, and I did the harvesting myself. Likma and Atamai were tying corn into bundles. Then we heard soldiers' shoes approaching. Kapitan Jacob had brought soldiers. They tied a rope around the necks of Atamai and Likma. Likma's taxes were paid up, but Atamai's were not. Padamai, the chief of Atimelang, had the receipt, but he had not yet given it to Likma. The soldiers wanted to take the men to Luba. I followed, even though the corn was not finished. Kapitan Jacob asked Likma who his wife was. Then he called to me, "Tilapada, fetch Likma's receipt before you follow." I went and asked the chief for it, and he told me where to find it. I gave it to my brother Mailani to take to Luba. But Mailani did not take it to Luba, because he had work to do on the road. The soldiers returned before Mailani gave them the receipt. Meanwhile the soldiers had hit and kicked Likma. 159x

January 5, 1939

When they brought Atamai and Likma back, Atamai produced his tax receipt, but Likma did not yet have his. So they set Atamai to work making a fence, but Likma they put in jail at the government camp. Then Likma's receipt was brought and he was released. The sergeant was angry with Kapitan Jacob and the soldiers for shutting him up. Jacob excused himself, saying he did not know Likma was from here and thought he was a Mainang man hiding himself here.

We were harvesting the corn at this time. There was much stacked in the house, but no one to tie it. I went out to call three women to help me, but I met Likma and he came back to tie the corn. There were a hundred and twenty large and small bundles. Then we called people to help us carry the corn into the village.

That year the soldiers came and said we had to build our houses near [illegible] the government camp. We all moved down [to the valley]. Likma [illegible] made a big house, and everyone, including the tumukun and Fanseni, came and lived there. There were a hundred people in one house [?]. Then Fanseni's mother died. The gongs were hung in the house. Likma was dancing in play with the children when the house collapsed. The gongs were almost broken. The tumukun was asleep in the loft. Maima was feeling around in the loft to see if the mokos were safe and yelled that a beam had fallen. I thought he meant on the tumukun and began to cry, but Maima laughed and said, "No, it was across the moko." The old man said, "If we are hurt it is nothing, but see if the children have wounds." No one was hurt.

Then Mailang asked us to live with him. We all did except Fanseni and his wife. We stayed there three years, until I was pregnant with Berkama. There was a spirit-bird feast for Malielaka's father. After it Berkama was born. He grew until he could laugh. Then there was a hungry time and Likma went to Kalabahi, where he bought fifty cents' worth of corn at one cent an ear. Kolpada [Langmai's wife] carried it up for him. In a week or so Likma thought he had better return too. At this time I noticed that Berkama was sick, and I stayed in the house with him. Likma said we had better go to see Talkalieta [a seer], so I carried Berkama there and the next day he died. Mailani gave us a shirt [as a shroud] in which to wrap Berkama. Then he asked Likma and me to go live with him in his new house in Lawatika. While we were

[159] living there, I said we had better give Mailani a bride-price. Likma gave him an eight-handled Makassar moko, with which Mailani bought an Afuipe.

At that time Padalani, my oldest brother, died. An evil spirit entered [768] his stomach, which swelled and killed him. At that time I was pregnant with Fuimai. Mailani went to hunt pigs and chickens for the buriers because they had to stay in a field as though Padalani had died of leprosy. They had to bring two pigs and chickens for the Hevelaberka [767 and the same for the Hevelakang feast. When the buriers returned they 468] were paid their "cold pig" [*palata fe*] as extra payment for having had to sleep in the cold field house. We wanted to beat gongs, but the people were afraid and so we didn't. Then I gave birth to Fuimai. Mailani hunted rats for me and played with Fuimai, saying, "Oh, this is my corn with a big voice."

About four months later Mailani died, and Likma hunted pigs for his Hevelaberka and Hevelakang feasts. So we decided to make one feast for all our dead—father and my three siblings. We gave a Rolik feast. We paid on one day a Piki moko for both Mailani's and Padalani's shrouds. On father's we paid a Kabali moko. For Lonberka we paid a Kabali moko too. Likma cried, because he had stayed so long with them that they were like his own mother and father. I cried a great deal too. After that feast I was pregnant with Kolaka and gave birth to her. I said to Likma, "Now we must plant a large field [*pining*] and give a feast for your dead." We pounded twelve baskets of rice. We asked the chief of Rualkameng for a pig. In return we gave two rupiahs in money as a preliminary bride-price. We said we had better get another pig. Riemau and Lanmau gave us another pig as a dowry on me. We gave Lanmau a pig as bride-price, and he gave us a big one in return as dowry. We gave the tumukun two and a half rupiahs in money as bride-price, and he gave us a Tamamia moko as dowry. The chief of Rualkameng brought rice and promised to bring the pig. So I pounded the rice and made sixty calabash dishes full of rice baskets; twenty of these I myself gave—among them three plates of kamo rice baskets, three of pe rice baskets and three of mara rice baskets. Included in the sixty were two of tubers and twenty-five of raw rice and corn. [The mara rice baskets are the usual kind; the *pe* and *kamo* are more ostentatious because they hold more.] Then on the second day the chief of Rualkameng came with the pig.

[Where did Likma get his money?] At that time there was much money. Two ears of corn sold for one cent in Kalabahi. Likma sold

much corn and got five rupiahs, which he saved in a bamboo tube. We 159x
carried down six bundles of corn that time. In one trip we made four and a half rupiahs. [This was about 1926, in the height of the boom days.]

January 6, 1939

[Tilapada was very eager to tell this dream, which seemed to be full of emotional significance to her.] I dreamed that my soul was returning from Hatoberka. We were in the ravine below the village. There Mailang and a man from Alla were sleeping [floating] in a pool. Their heads were out of the water, resting on the bank. Lopada [the wife of Mailang], Tilakari [Lopada's eight- or ten-year-old adopted grandchild], Kolaka [Tilapada's daughter, also about ten years old], Likma, and I sat down there by the pool. Then a wild pig came and bit the Alla man, killing him. The pig just nosed Mailang but did not bite him. We climbed up in a tree. Likma and I came down and followed the stream. Lopada and I had rice baskets and rice rolls. Lopada called me to help roll the rice rolls, but as I pulled them out they all broke. When we opened the rice baskets they were all made of white rice. I gave Lopada the broken rice rolls and a rice basket. Lopada had given me two rice rolls and two rice baskets. I gave her back part of a rice roll and a rice basket. Lopada's rice baskets were good, but mine when opened were all loose [i.e., were not packed into a shape]. Then we followed the ravine. I said, "Since the rice rolls and baskets are crumbling, we had better throw them away." Lopada was not willing. I said we had better collect wood to carry back to the village with us. We could not find any, so we went on. Near the government trail we found a little wood. Also Mailang set his dog on a wild pig. We were afraid the pig would bite us, so we rushed on to the government camp. I fetched a small tube of water and came on here. Then my son Maima hit my chest and I awoke. [Tilapada still slept with her son Maima, who was about seven.]

The meaning of this dream is that a big smallpox epidemic will come 159x
and the Alla man will die, but Mailang will only be sick, not die. I do 757
not know who the Alla man is. Hunting the pig means that Mailang's familiar spirit [*timang*] was hunting an evil spirit [*kari*] in the forest. Fetching water is a sign that I will receive gongs. Rice baskets and rice rolls are a sign of illness.

[I asked whether she had ever lived through a smallpox epidemic, 159x
and she said no. The fear of smallpox was apparently traditional. She 175

x157 175 had heard tales from her mother and asked if I would like to hear them. She was an infant at the time of the epidemic, which must have occurred between 1895 and 1905.]

When smallpox came it was from Kalmaabui. Kafalang's mother and father said they were cold and their bowels felt as though they were full of cold water. Then they went up into the house and slept. The next morning they had a rash, and in two or three days their bodies were covered with sores like those of yaws. They were hot and delirious. Kolang's family was afraid and left Kalmaabui to come here to Atimelang. Then Kolang's mother developed smallpox here. A seer named Mauglani had been sleeping with her for a long time, although he was not married to her. He wanted to treat her and came to her. He slept with her even after she was ill, and he too caught smallpox. The woman got well but the seer was still delirious. When he wanted to go to people's houses, they shut their doors, threw him off the ladder, and poured hot ashes on his head. He went about wailing. He died. Kolang's mother was pregnant by Mauglani. She married Manima and gave birth to her child, Ataboi.

Many people here had smallpox and many died. [She named many who were ill; six or seven died, five recovered.] The Kolhieta lineage did not catch smallpox, but when a dysentery epidemic comes the Kolhieta lineage dies off right away.

The sick were all sent to live in field houses. They would wail for fire, food, and water, and people would bring them. They put the things down at a distance, beat a stick of wood [as a signal to the sick], and then ran away. The sick persons would come to collect their supplies. When they died, people who had been sick and recovered had to bury them. People who have had smallpox once don't catch it again. Mauglani went to bury my grandfather Letseni, who died in a field house. Mauglani was already sick when he buried him. Later Mauglani died.

January 9, 1939

x157 Last night there was a frog croaking under the altar in Lakamani's house. Then I went to sleep and dreamed that my husband was standing there weeping where the frog was. I asked him why, and he said, "I'm just crying." He had his weapons and was holding a small pig. I looked at him and wept too. I took the pig from him. I saw that pig lice were eating its eyes. I wanted to pick them off, and the pig's skin peeled off. I said, "Perhaps this pig will die." It was lying on the ground. In a little while it got up and was well. So I put it in the pen.

Later I saw two wild pigs coming. I caught them both. Then suddenly 159x I was near the hunting camp of Dikimpe. Mailang was hunting at this time and had shot one pig, which was red. Fanlang then saw a large female pig coming. He shot at it once and killed it. I was standing holding the two small wild pigs I had caught. The female was rushing toward me. She had almost hit me when Fanlang shot her. Then we went to Vihamuni and roasted all the pigs—the two I had caught, the one Mailang shot, and the one Fanlang shot. When we were cutting up the meat Fanlang said, "When dogs hunt they are given the backs of the necks of the pigs they catch, but you caught these yourself, so you get them." Then I went home carrying the two necks and the two hindquarters. When I arrived, Kolang asked where I had got the pigs. I told her and gave her some of the meat. [This Kolang is a childhood playmate and the wife of Atafani.] Then I asked Likma to cut up the meat and divide it among our siblings and affinal kin. We gave some to Kolpada [the wife of Langmai], Lonmai [the wife of Maileta], Helangmai, Kawaimani [the wife of Alurkoma], and Tilamau [the first wife of Manifani of Dikimpe]. They all got meat. Then I said, "Oh, Maima [her younger brother], if he had shot a pig, would give us meat, so we shall give him some of ours." Then the little that was left we cooked. I went up into the loft to fetch corn. Maima [her six- or seven-year-old son] kicked me and I woke up. I said to him, "I was dreaming. Why did you kick me?" When I awoke a pig was eating the corn I planted near the house.

[Meaning of the dream?] The pigs were evil spirits. When the trees all have new leaves and the young corn is growing, there are many evil [221] spirits wandering about to make us sick. [Her participation in the hunt was most unfeminine behavior. Women were supposed to stay away [224] from places where men were hunting wild pigs, and during the communal hunt they were definitely forbidden to approach the camps.]

Once when we were cutting a field at Hiengmang I went on ahead of Likma with my dog. We saw a wild pig and its piglets. The big pig ran, but the dog chased a little one and I killed it with my field knife. Maipada [then a boy of about fifteen] was along too. He chased the other piglet but didn't get it. If he had known how to shoot he probably would have got it. I hung my pig in the field house that we had built. We wanted to take the pig to Manipada's death feast at Rualmelang [her husband's village], but there was a big spate and we couldn't get there. We brought it back and fed it to Lanmakani [a familiar spirit].

X159 [Meaning of Likma's holding the pig and crying in her dream?] The pig was probably the soul of one of our children, and he was fondling it. [Why was he crying?] Because he hadn't yet made Lanmakani's altar. It wasn't really Likma crying; it was his familiar spirit, Lanmakani.

[Tilapada came for several days after this, but of her own volition she gave only descriptive ethnography and myths, saying she had not dreamed. She seemed to have run down on personal material.]

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

This woman seems to be a well-adjusted person in so far as this society permits. She is a woman of about forty, coming from a family of six brothers and two sisters. She is married, has five children living, and has evidently been able to make quite a success of her marriage, to judge from its stability. She differs from several of the other women in that she is more than usually affable, is self-assertive, and has been accustomed for a long time to take an active share in the running of her household.

The following facts emerging from her life story are the most significant. During her childhood she was cared for chiefly by her second older brother, and the treatment she got from him was apparently quite good. She takes her induction into household duties with considerable grace and marries at about sixteen. It is quite evident from her story that the bulk of her childhood was spent in the company of other children, chiefly siblings, and episodes concerning her parents occur less frequently in her autobiography than in the others. In relating these she has more to say about beating and punishment than about favoritism and kind deeds. However, her story is not devoid of pleasant encounters with her parents. Punishments are mentioned chiefly in connection with her mother, though the father is also occasionally mentioned as a disciplinarian.

Several things stand out prominently in this autobiography. First, Tilapada seems to have been an unusually assertive child, and she evidently got what she wanted by sheer persistence and doggedness. Second, food occurs a large number of times in her associations and dreams and evidently is one of the constant anxieties of her life. For this there seems to be little rational basis. Third, although it was her brother who looked after her, it seems that from childhood on her relations with boys were on a bad basis. All the quarreling seems to have been partly the result of boys' insisting on her female role, while she wished eagerly to participate in masculine activities. In fact, this wish is the most dominant trend in her life; she is constantly doing forbidden, that is, masculine, things. In childhood she kills rats; as an adult she dreams of hunting pigs or riding horseback, which only the kapitan does. In her games she shows a decided tendency to play the man—and that, with a vengeance, taking care of two wives at once.

The fourth outstanding fact is her constant resentment against household duties and responsibilities and her constant hostility toward her children. She shows this in the illness fantasies about her children and in her sense of guilt about not feeding her guardian spirit. Since this is such a bagatelle, one wonders why she procrastinates, so much that she is not mobilized into action until she has several dreams of guilt. She further shows her resentment to her present duties by quite frequently and naïvely dreaming and fantasying about the good old days of childhood—which really weren't so good at all. She is always dreaming of being sent away, of being abandoned, reproached, and robbed.

Notwithstanding her apparently successful marriage, there are many indications of her rejection of the feminine role. There is also substantial evidence of sexual difficulties. Men are represented in her dreams as brutal, predatory beings of whom she is afraid and from whom she is in constant danger of being killed and devoured.

The sexual problem in Tilapada raises the question of what route she pursued in her efforts to attain a masculine role and what is its content. There are two possibilities. First, she may have come to it by way of identification with her second older brother, who was her guardian; she saw much of masculine activities through him and so may have wanted to be like him and do the things he did. The second possibility, one much more far-reaching, is that her pursuit of the masculine role stems from her deeper unconscious sexual attitudes. If the latter is the case, then the conclusions about sexual development in childhood as they are drawn in Chapters 5 and 6 are incorrect.

There is much to support both these views. The story of Tilapada's childhood games, in which she makes her "wives" do the chores while she pretends to shoot a pig and plays at being rich, supports the first view, that the problem is purely a question of status. For the other point of view, that there is a great deal of sexual repression in Tilapada, there is also considerable evidence. In addition to the indications of sexual difficulties listed above, she deals with sexual temptations by accusing another woman of adulterous intentions toward a man and feels very self-righteous about it (the second dream of December 22). This in itself does not give us much information relative to repression. No x159 one can tell whether or not the ethnographer's influence was responsible for it, or whether, free from the responsibility of telling her thoughts, she might have dealt with the problem differently on another occasion. In her associations with the dream she speaks of a strong attachment to her father. She then speaks of making errors and of being punished. It is quite likely that there are implications of an Oedipus complex here. This is further confirmed by the fact that on the following night she dreams of being a good mother, of cooking food and feeding her children; that is, she satisfies the adulterous, incestuous wish by identification with her mother. The same dream also satisfies the wish for atonement.

Tilapada also makes frequent references in her narrative to how abstemious she was with her husband before the latter had met his bride-price obligations. This speaks strongly for repressive measures in dealing with sex, and the bride-price obligation appears to be merely a rationalization for a more deep-seated unwillingness to accept intercourse. There is no way of telling from her account whether she is sexually potent or not.

There is another explanation that satisfies both possibilities, and it is one that derives from the relation to the mother. The frequency with which food enters into Tilapada's dreams is quite remarkable, but it is undoubtedly typical for the culture. In this connection the dream of December 22 that precedes the dream just discussed is revealing. The mother appears definitely as a frustrator in the matter of food, and the motif of desertion and being alone is also basic. The dream confirms strongly the conclusions reached in the derivation of the basic personality structure. (See Chapter 9.) The longing expressed in the account is not necessarily for food, for there is normally no acute food scarcity in the culture. However, apparently in childhood the constellation was formed of a food scarcity created largely by the mother's neglect.

Furthermore, the significance of food in these dreams and memories is expressive of a hunger for affection rather than for nutriment. The importance of this cannot be overemphasized, because it seems that the whole pinching of affectivity that is so prominent in Tilapada's story is rooted in the inability of the child to respond to maternal care. Children do not know anything about love. They measure it only in terms of the gratification or frustration of impulses and appetites. A woman who unconsciously regards herself as a rejected, that is, unfed, person cannot meet the sexual situation fully. The masculine fantasies may therefore be compensations for this incapacity. Paradoxical as it may sound, the masculine attitude may really be a cover for the wish to be a protected child. And this is really not such a far-fetched conclusion in a society where the woman exercises the role of food provider for her husband.

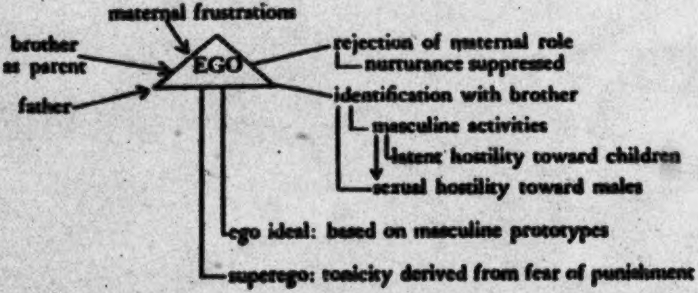
Tilapada's fear of rejection is also corroborated by her constant death fantasy, if we may judge from the frequency with which she dreams of visiting the village of the dead. In the associations with this dream we note that all her responses to stimulus words refer to death or injury (pages 410 and 411).

It must also be noted that in a woman of forty who has five children it is very strange indeed that the most vivid memories and those that are the most highly tinged affectively pertain to her childhood. She shows a great deal more concern over the death of her brother than she does over the death of her own child. In fact, references to her children are almost conspicuously absent. Her resentment toward maternity is clearly shown in her refusal to have children in the first years after her marriage. She takes contraceptives and is embarrassed when she is obliged to talk about it.

Tilapada's autobiography is very striking in the almost complete absence of affectivity; no amount of coaxing by the ethnographer was able to elicit any. Very few positive feelings are listed. There are avarice, greed, resentment, fear of being isolated, punished, wronged, and deserted, and, in addition, a very strong feeling throughout that the things Tilapada does are done largely under the pressure of fear, rather than through strong positive feelings.

It may not be an accident that Tilapada, who is essentially masculine and whose affectivity is free in some directions at any rate, is the most articulate of the four women studied. It is also noteworthy that she does not regard the ethnographer as a mother and does not indirectly solicit gifts. Nor does she magnify her powers, as do all the men.

Tilapada's Character Structure


maternal frustrations
brother as parent
father
EGO
rejection of maternal role
nurturance suppressed
identification with brother
masculine activities
latent hostility toward children
sexual hostility toward males
ego ideal: based on masculine prototypes
superego: tonicity derived from fear of punishment

Chapter 15

Lomani

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

March 11, 1939

x 159 My father died when I was small, so I don't know him. Then mother took us to Padavi [a fieldsite]. We lived there and then came back to Hiengmang [another fieldsite]. Then we went to live in Old Atimelang. We made a lean-to [*tolang*, a very poor sort of house] at Kamangmelang. Mother herself made the house and put a little thatch on it, and we slept there. Mother raised a pig for my grandfather's death feast. After we had given the feast, mother died. When we were a little

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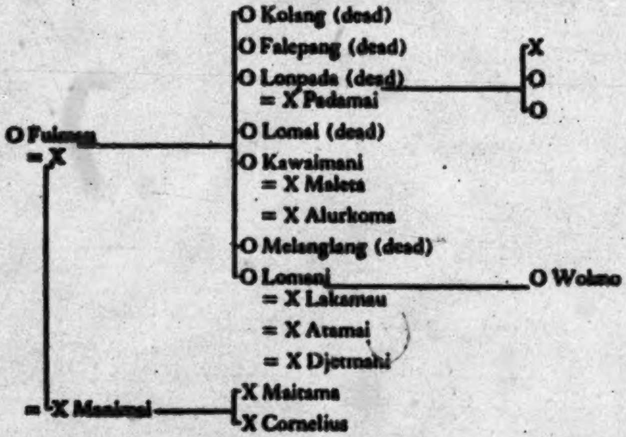
Genealogy of Lomani *


O Kolang (dead)
O Falepang (dead)
O Lonpada (dead)
= X Padamai
X
O
O
O Fuimau
= X
O Lomai (dead)
O Kawaimani
= X Maleta
= X Alurkoma
O Melanglang (dead)
O Lomani
O Wolmo
= X Lakamau
= X Atamai
= X Djetmani
= X Maaimai
X Maitama
X Cornelius

* A complete genealogy was not recorded.

bigger we hunted husbands. Then I went to my husband's village and he died. Next I married a man from Kalmasbui. I went to cut weeds and made the garden feast all by myself. He didn't come to help me, so I ran away and came back here to Atimelang. Djetmani said I was his wife, so we married and stayed together until Djetmani married Falongmau. He said he didn't want me any more, so I was left. Then people wanted me to marry again, but I said no, that it was better that I stay []73[]

here and work, because my child was still living with her grandparents. 159 x
When she is older she will have thoughts and will come to me, or when [736]
my heart remembers I can go to her. [All this was told in a monotone without pause or comment. The informant then came to a stop. Question.] The child lives in Rualmelang with her grandparents. Now my child stays there, but when my heart remembers her I can go there and cut weeds at her side. [She came to a stop again.]

[Very first memory?] When they killed the radjah, soldiers were hunting people, and mother took me to Makangfui near Bakudatang. Mother carried me and set me down between the roots of a *tame* tree. Mother said, "Sit here. The soldiers must leave before we return to the village." At night we went to sleep in a house, but by day mother hid me. [Question.] My sister Kawaimani was there too. Cornelius' father [Manimai, Lomani's father's younger brother] took me, mother, and Kawaimani each day to hide us in the tree roots until the soldiers left. We were there a month. Then he took us to Raugfui. We stayed there and then Manimai said, "My two children and my widow, don't get shot." Falepangmai [the tumukun's first wife] was with us too. Manimai took us to a thorn patch [*alokai*]. Falepangmai was still small and she twisted her words. She called thorns *takolokai* [snail]. She would get pricked by a thorn and say, "*Adiye, takolokai.*" [Here the informant laughed.] She called the soldiers *trang berka.* [Literally, bad storage tube. The usual term was *walangai*, meaning green and referring to the color of the soldiers' uniforms. Another term used was the Malay word *soldara.*] She was little and she twisted her words. Manimai, my
uncle, stood on a stone and watched the path for soldiers. The soldiers [648]
were going everywhere, hunting for people who had escaped from Fungwati [the village in which the radjah was murdered and the population of which the government had largely exterminated]. We stayed there until the soldiers didn't come any more. Then we lived at Raugfui in a field house and Manimai went to live in Feberka. [Question.] There were two fields at Raugfui. We lived in one and Maipada [the husband of Fuimai] and his family lived in the other some distance away.

When we lived there, I and Kawaimani were out getting greens and cassava one day. We started home. A dead stump was standing there. The clouds were black and it was dark. The stump looked like a man with a shield. We were afraid. Kawaimani said, "A man is standing there with a shield. He will shoot us. It is probably Manife [a notorious killer of the vicinity]." We cried and ran, then we turned back to look x154 again. It was still there. So we hid until the rain stopped, and then we saw it was only a tree and went back to our mother. [Question.] We were about ten and fourteen at the time.

In a few days we went back to get greens. Kawaimani said, "Oh, that man is still standing there. If we go he will shoot us." So I ran away crying and Kawaimani followed. We went to mother. Mother came and looked and said, "Oh, that is just a dead stump; don't be afraid." So we went to fetch the greens.

One day we played in the ravine, I and Fuifani [now married and
living in the Kafoi area]. We wanted to get crayfish near Padavi. When
we got down there we saw Karmau [the son of Padamai of Folafeng,
who later left the village because of adultery charges and had been in
Pantar for six years] and Maugfani [deceased]. We took off our loin-
[857] cloths, both the boys and the girls [very immodest behavior], and put
on banana leaves and played in the water together. I was about ten or
eleven. The boys made believe that a banana trunk was a boat. Then
they went in the water again. They went under the water and pulled
open their mouths and their eyes and looked up at us. We said, "Oh, a
[857] cat sleeps in the water." [This is a game in which the thumbs are put
into the corners of the mouth, pulling it up into a grin, and the corners
of the eyes are held down with the index fingers. The grimace is fur-
ther distorted by the water, and the human being is then thought to
resemble a cat.] We played together until evening; then I and Fuifani
went back to Raugfui, and the boys went back to Padavi.

After that we went every morning to the ravine to play, and in the evening we came home. Finally Manimai said we must return to live in the village [Atimelang], so we did. [I asked whether this was a chaperonage move. She said no, that came long afterward, when she was about fourteen. The move had nothing to do with her playing with boys in the ravine.]

When we lived in the village, Manimai said our lineage house was making us sick and we would have to feed it and make a new roof on the shed where the posts were stored. The pig of a Lawatika man came and rooted up our garden, so Manimai shot it. He said we should use it to feed the lineage house and then we would all move down here to the level ground [the present site of Atimelang, which was established at government order].

When we moved down, Padamai [the son of Talkalieta] made a house and we lived there with him. It was tax time and Padamai hadn't paid his. Manimai was chief then, and he came to the house and took all our corn and rice to pay for the taxes. We cried, but he didn't give it back. We were hungry after that. I, mother, and Kawaimani went to 159x the fields and built ourselves a small house in order to guard our corn. Every morning we would go out and find that people had come at 159x night and stolen it. We cried, but people went right on stealing it. We 685 had to eat very young ears, husks and all. Manimai didn't sleep at night. He would just watch the field. He would call, saying, "Children, are people stealing your corn? Every morning we see that people have come and stolen corn. Every morning we cry, but people have no pity and steal anyhow." [This public announcement was to produce shame [626] in the thief, but care was taken to make accusations anonymous.]

[The accounts in this whole session were given in a serious, expres- 159x sionless monotone. The only emotional expression was laughter over Falepangmai's mistakes. This was definitely the story of a person of little standing in the group and was told without effort to conceal the fact.]

March 12, 1939

[I asked whether she had dreamed last night and she told the following.] You were about to return to your country, and all the women wept. So you said, "I shall come back in two months; I am going for only two months." All the women said, "Oh, you are only lying to us. You had better stay here." Then you went away. [I doubt that this dream is authentic.]

When I was about fourteen, I and Kolata played together a lot, and whenever we were hungry we came back to the house to eat. We played and ate, played and ate. The two of us lived in a garden house, just the two of us. We slept there. At night we were afraid and slept through [i.e., did not get up to cook and talk as is usual]. One night someone must have come to our house while we slept. They ate up the corn that we had prepared and left in the pot. They put back the husks and covered the pot. We didn't know who. This went on night after night, and we were afraid. So we decided to sleep in the loft and take the pot of food up with us. In the morning we came down to eat in the main room.

Once Kolata and I went to play at Falingfokung. Djetmani came 159x along beating a piece of metal. He said, "This is a moko for the bride- 857 price of the two of you. I am going to buy you both. Tonight come to my house and cook for me and I shall eat." We were angry and told our parents. Our mothers were angry with him and said he could not play with us any more. But Djetmani came back to play with us anyhow, and our parents were angry and said we could not play with

Y159 boys, just with other girls. So we stayed near our field house and
857 played.

Once I and Falepangmai, Kolata, Kolmau, and Sinalang all played together at Fuida. There were no boys. We ourselves built a field house there. We played all day, but if our mothers called us in the evening, we went home to sleep. If we were not called, we spent the night there. Kolmau said, "I am the chief of the women. I am going to buy an Aimala moko." She broke off a kameng fruit and stuck it in her hair [as a plume] and danced challenge. We beat bamboos and said they were mokos to help with the purchase of the Aimala. We split sweet potatoes and laid them on leaves, which we used for dishes. We said that part were for the chief and part for the people who helped beat the gongs. When we were hungry we ate. In the evening we decided to sleep there.

The four others were bigger than I. They made bows and arrows and said they were going to hunt wild pigs in Sinalang's garden. They gave me a bow and arrows and I followed along. In the field they shot grasshoppers and put them in their baskets. Then we carried them back to our house at Fuida and cooked them. That evening we slept there. Then the next day Sinalang said, "Let us go back to my garden. There are many wild pigs there." So we went back and shot grasshoppers. Our small baskets were full and we hung them on a tree. Then the tumukun and Alurkomai came along. They wanted to play with us. The tumukun already wished for Falepangmai, and Alurkomai wanted Kolmau. The tumukun asked who had made our bows and arrows, and we said we had. Then the two boys said, "Oh, we had better make them for you. We are your husbands and we shall make them." So they made some and gave them to us, and we went to shoot grasshoppers. The two men stayed behind and hunted rats. They got four. They put them in our baskets, which hung on the tree. Then they roasted sweet potatoes there where our baskets were hanging. The two boys said they had given the rats to us to eat. So all of us went back to Fuida. We girls cooked and the boys roasted rats. We cooked the grasshoppers too. We played until evening and then went back to our village. In the morning we went back to play. This went on day after day. Then Manimai came and spoke to us. He said we shouldn't play with boys. "If you play together, the boys will desire you and you will desire the boys, and they will sleep with you." But we said, "Those are not our husbands; they are our brothers."

x159 [Here the informant said she had finished the story of her life. I smiled and said nothing. After a pause she asked whether she could talk 159x about when she was grown up, and I said she might talk about anything that occurred to her.]

We were living at Kamang. Mother said we were always staying there, so now we had better go live with our kin, Padamai and Padalani. So we went to live with them. Mother's eyes were sick and she couldn't see very well any more. At this time Malelaka was saying that a Good Being was coming [1920]. He ordered people to build a house. All the women of the Five Villages cut thatch, and the men all went to get wood and bamboo. I helped carry in the thatch that the older women cut. Then one day Malelaka said this was the day for the Good Being to come. He said we must all go to our houses and kill all the pigs we [668] were raising for death feasts, and everyone must make his death feast. But he said no one was to eat the food for that feast. [Close kin of the dead were not supposed to eat at death feasts.] He said we were to cook the rice but were to take the meat and the rice and throw them away. Many threw their feast food into the ravine and no one ate it.

At that time a pig bit mother's thigh at Padalani's house. Mother said, "We had better go back to our own house. Things are not good here. We have been here only a short time and a pig has bitten me." So we went back to live at Kamang. Shortly after that mother died. We made the Hevelaberka and Hevelakang feasts there at Kamang. Mangma and his first wife came to stay with us. I and Kawaimani stayed there a short while and then decided to go up to stay with our uncle Manimai at Folafeng. That year as the corn was ripening Manimai died. At the time of his death Lakamau of Rualkameng came with a pig for the death feast. He said it was a free gift [*pungbe*]. He wanted to marry me. So when Manimai's Hevelakang was finished [the ninth day after death], I went to Rualkameng to carry Lakamau his share of the food. I stayed on there after that until I was pregnant and had a child. When it could just sit up, its father died. His mother and younger brother said I should go to my husband's uncle and stay with him. So I went to Kalmaabui. I slept with him, but he didn't want to help me and give me food. When I worked in the gardens, he did not help me. Neither of us wanted to stay together, so I came back here.

March 13, 1939

[Lomani said she hadn't dreamed and seemed to have difficulty getting started. I asked about the first quarrel she remembered. She said, "Oh," and her face brightened.]

x159 857 When we were still small, I, Fuifani, and Kolata went off to play together. Fuilang was living with Johanis' mother in a field house, and we went there to play. Fuilang said she was a man. Fuifani said she was Fuilang's wife. I and Kolata said, "No, we two are married to him. He is our husband, and you can't marry him." We fought with Fuifani. We said she couldn't marry him. Fuilang said, "If you three are happy together I can marry all three, but if you fight I shall marry only one." I and Kolata said, "Fuifani can't marry you." Then we pushed and fought with Fuifani. We fought and fought in play until we were hungry. Then we dug sweet potatoes and went into the field house and roasted them. After eating we went back out to play the same game and went on fighting until evening. Then we went back to the village. The next day we played the same game. On the day after that Fuilang came to play with us. We played at making a death feast. There were four of us, so we said each one should have a feast in turn for four successive days. We said we would have to finish the feasts before playing at something else. [Note that Lomani had given no account of her own aggressions yet and when solicited she told a play anecdote. I asked for the first angry quarrel she remembered.]

x159 My eldest sister, Lonpada, and I fought over a carrying basket. She took my basket and went to Alurkowati and didn't bring it back. I had stayed home to take care of her child. We fought with words and fists. After that I didn't take care of her child any more. I said, "You have thrown away my basket and now I won't care for your child any more." Then Lonpada made me a new basket, and about a week later she brought it to me and spoke nicely, saying, "Now I have made you a new basket, so you can come and care for your child." [Question.] I was about fourteen then.

[I suggested that she must have fought before this.] When I was still small, I fought with Tilamale. Tilamale said I was her elder sibling. I said, "I am not your elder sibling. You have a younger sibling and I have not, so how can I be your elder?" We fought about it until I ripped open Tilamale's loincloth in back. Tilamale's father came with a stick, and I was afraid he might kill me, so I ran to Manimai's house. I thought, "If he follows me, those two killers [*liki*, the title of a man who has killed a person] can fight together." [Question.] I was about eight or ten at the time. I wanted to go home that night, but Manimai said, "You have already opened someone's loincloth. If you go down this evening, someone might shoot you. You had better sleep here and go down to your mother tomorrow." So I did. When I went down the next day, mother said, "You can't play with other people. If you want 159x to play with people, ask them here; don't go to their houses." So Kolata and I played together, pounding earth between stones and making believe it was corn. We said our husbands had gone and we were cooking for their return. We played at that until midday and we were hungry, and then we went into the house to eat. Then we said our husbands were near and went back to play at cooking. We used leaves as plates and set up three stones as a tripod. When we had cooked, we said, "Oh, maybe our husbands are sleeping someplace. Perhaps we had better throw out this food and go to our houses." So we went home, and the next day we played the same game; we played at cooking for our husbands. Then we went to hunt for grasshoppers and brought them home and really cooked and ate them. We went back to play at cooking for our husbands. [These children actually knew how to cook, but in addition they also played at it.]

March 14, 1939

There is something I haven't told about the soldiers. When I was about four or five, they came to collect taxes. All who hadn't paid they [651 dragged to the government camp. They took my mother and Kolata, 642] many of us. On the way my mother escaped and ran off to hide in the brush. Letlani had already paid his taxes, but the soldiers had taken his wife, Matinglang, and his children. So he followed us and showed the soldiers his tax receipt. He said, "This is my wife and all these are my children." He pointed to me and Kawaimani too. The soldiers said, "All right, you may take your wife and children, but the others must stay." So we started back to Atimelang. On the way we met mother, who had made four rice pats for us to eat on the trip and was bringing them to us. So we all went back together. Kolata was with us, and she cried and cried because they had carried off her mother. She cried a great deal. Then mother said, "I had better go fetch some corn so that Letlani can take it to Kolata's mother." So she did and gave Letlani corn to take to Kolang [the mother of Kolata]. Then the soldiers took her away. Many women and men too were taken. They took them to some place in Mainang and put them in a pigpen along with pigs for six days, and then they let them go. There were infants in arms too. They had only mangoes to eat.

When I was about six, a big sickness came [the influenza epidemic [731] of 1918]. Many people died, one or two in each house. There were plenty of pigs for their feasts, but not enough corn. People fetched

X159 People fetched mango pits and soaked them for three days, then we ate them pounded
[252] up or whole. We took banana stalks and roots and mixed them with mango seeds to make the death feasts. One time Fanlang and Lampeda went to buy sweet potatoes, cassava, and corn at Fuifoka near Kelaisi. They took knife blades, necklaces, and anklets with them to buy food. They bought the whole cassava plant—leaves, stalk, and roots. For a knife blade they got only two or three cents' worth of corn or cassava. For a big necklace they got just ten small ears of corn. Many people had to share just a little corn mixed with many greens. When the men came home, they said, "Now we are hungry, and there are many people sick because of it. Save seeds and plant the cassava stalks." We cut the cassava stalks and the sweet potatoes into small pieces for planting. We
[241] planted cassava stalks and sweet potatoes, and as soon as they were large enough we cut more shoots for planting. We kept planting corn too until there was much of all foods and people were filled up again.

[I asked how she herself reacted to this.] During this time mother wanted to cut weeds at Raugfui. Before she left she cooked some corn and put it in a basket for me. She said that she and Kawaimani were going to cut weeds and that I must stay behind. I said, "I had better go too because people will come and deceive me and eat my corn." But mother said, "Oh, if people come and deceive you, your father [Manimai, really her uncle] is a killer and he will come and kill them. You stay. Kawaimani and I will go cut the weeds." When mother left, all my playmates came to play with me. [Question. She was staying at the time with Manimai and his large family. Although the family with
[574 whom she was staying would have fed her, her mother said it was
576] proper during a hungry time, or at any other time, to leave food for a child with the host's family.] While we played, we talked of the cat's coming. [Here she repeated the children's story of the cat's coming
[857 nearer and nearer. She gave all the place names from Likuwatang to
538] Atimelang until the cat entered the house and the children screamed. This was a favorite scare story for children. Lomani had heard it first from her mother, but this time the story was being told by Marata, an older girl. Question.] I was not really afraid of the story; I just pretended to be frightened.

[I asked whether she remembered being very sick. This was an attempt to get the story of her badly scarred mouth.]

When I was small I wasn't sick. I got sick after I married, when my husband was already dead and my child was still small. I wanted to come back here, but my mother-in-law said, "No. I am your mother

too. I also come from Atimelang. We shall divine and feed whatever/ 59 ×
spirit is making you sick." So they divined and hit a dead man and his wife. She took a chicken and some rice to feed them. Everything I wanted to eat, my mother-in-law fetched for me—sugar cane, cucumbers, rice, boiled corn, coconuts. Whenever I said my spittle was bitter she would cook rice for me. Finally my spittle was good and I got well, so that I could go to work in the rice fields. My body was thin and my hands were all bone. [Question.] I was sick for about a month. My head ached, then my stomach ached, and I defecated only water. [758]

When we worked in the rice field, we got twenty cans. Part I sold in Kalabahi, part I paid for the raising of a pig, part I gave to people so they would give me a moko, and part I carried here to help people who were making a Tilalawati feast [her lineage house].

March 15, 1939

[I asked whether she had dreamed and she said no. She didn't seem to be able to start, so I asked about the death of her mother and siblings.]

When I was about four, my oldest sister, Kolang, went to marry Lakamau in the Aila area. She had one child and then her husband died, so she came back here. Then she married again with Fanma of Makangfui. She called me to go with her to Makangfui. I went and stayed there. Kolang cut one field for me. She said I was to plant corn there. I was about six years old. Then I planted corn and we went together to weed. She would cook for us and feed us at noon. When the field was about half weeded Kolang got a headache and said we had better go back to mother. So we came back here. Kolang was sick for four days and then died. That same month another older sister married Fanseni Longhair. She lived with him two days and died. [She stopped. I asked how she died.] She went to fetch wood. She met an evil spirit with a hair cylinder, just like a human being. The evil spirit slept with her, but she said it hadn't. [Who did she think it was?] She thought it was Maiwoni, son of Talkalieta, now dead. [Question.] The proof that she had slept with the evil spirit was that she was dead in two days. Then mother said we couldn't stay in Feba any more because all the children were dying, and we had better go to Old Atimelang. There we stayed with Lanpada. He was very clever at hunting rats and getting meat at feasts, so that there was always meat hanging over the fireplace. Mother thought we had better not go on living there, because we children always kept looking at the meat and people might be angry. In their x159 mouths they were not angry, but one doesn't know what thoughts people have in their hearts. So we went to live at Kamangmelang after a month or so. Mother made a lean-to [*tolang*] and we lived there.

Padamai [the husband of an older sister, Lonpada] came and said, "Oh, my mother-in-law and my younger siblings are living like this. I had better build them a field house [*tofa*]." So he began to build us a field house at Maihieta. At that time my older sister Falepang had sores all over her legs and couldn't walk; she just crawled. Her body was emaciated. She died before Padamai finished our field house. [Question.] She was a full-grown woman at the time, but she had never married because she had had sores ever since she was small.

At the time Falepang died, Padamai said to my older sister, "Let us go stay with your mother and younger sisters." So they came and stayed at Kamangmelang. Then Lonpada had her first child, Padamani. Those two [Lonpada and Padamai] went to make a garden at Padavi.
x159 Later they had a second child, Talpada. Then Lonpada was pregnant
761 again and gave birth to Fuimau; but she had another child in her stom-
854 ach, the child of an evil spirit, and she died of this [i.e., in childbirth]. [Question.] The human child they were afraid would die too if we tried to bring her up. So Malielani said she would take the child to Alurkowati to raise it. When she came to get the child, we all shouted, "Oh, a hawk has carried off this child." Then the child wouldn't die. Malielani had to take the baby out through the thatch instead of the door. This is to fool the evil spirit or the spirits of the dead people who want to take the child. Malielani cared for the child until it could laugh
x159 and almost sit up; then it died. At this time Lonpada [the daughter of
853 Padatimang of Dikimpe], who was a relative of ours, wanted to bring it
854 up. Atakari, who was the husband of Malielani, heard of it. He said they were kin too and Malielani had a small child of her own, so that she had better take it and raise them together. She could suckle them both. In the Three Villages people are luckier than in Atimelang in bringing up infants whose mothers have died, so we thought we had better give the child to someone in the Three Villages.

x159 [Pause. I said we hadn't yet heard of Melanglang.] One of my grandmothers was called Melanglang, so mother named one of her children after her. [Here Lomani went off into a confused genealogy establishing her relationship with Melanglang and other persons now living. I asked her again about her sister.] I never saw Melanglang. She lived long enough to talk, but I never saw her. I wasn't born yet and so don't remember her.

[I asked whether she knew her husband at the time he brought a 159x gift to her uncle's death feast. See Lomani's story on March 12.] No, I 159x had never seen him before. [Did you want to marry him?] Djetmani wanted to marry me. His kinsman Lakamau came to stay with him one night, and Djetmani said, "I have a woman, but someone else has hidden my shawl [meaning that Malielmai, who later became his first wife, was in love with him and wanted to marry him], so you had better marry Lomani. We shall go and get a pig for her uncle's death feast, and you can have her." Then they went together to Rualkameng and got the pig and brought it here. They went to Fanlang and asked what he thought. Fanlang called me and asked me if I was willing. I said it was all right. I said my uncle was the one who would have got my bride-price, and if Lakamau wanted to give a pig for his death feast, it was all right with me. So I went to him. He never paid a bride-price or received a dowry before his death. [This was qualified in the next day's story. Here was an account of a cheap marriage, both for the man, who got a wife with only the gift of a pig for a death feast, and for the wom- [583] an's kin, who were rid of an orphaned female without a dowry. This does not mean that later bride-price and dowry exchanges were wiped out, but the arrangement made it obvious that the marriage was a poor one, not a money-making investment.]

March 16, 1939

[Again I asked for dreams. Lomani said she had none, so I told her 159x where she left off yesterday. There was a long pause. She seemed each morning to have difficulty in starting. Hoping to start her talking on the sibling about whom she seemed so reticent, I asked whether her sister Kawaimani was already married when she herself married.] No, Kawaimani was not married. [Why not?] She was all wounds—her legs, hands, and face. [Where was she living?] She lived in the little house that mother built at Kamangmelang. [All alone?] Yes, but Malinglang and Letlani had a house right next to hers. [She again came to a full stop. The interpreter here interfered and told her to talk more.]

When we made Manimai's Hevelakang feast, Maitama and Cornelius [two sons of Manimai, who were about her own age] gave me a pig and corn to take to Lakamau. The corn was for Lakamau's mother. His mother was harvesting corn when we went. Maitama and Cornelius went to Rualkameng with me. When they left to return, I stayed and helped my mother-in-law with the corn. After a long time Lakamau [583] didn't pay a bride-price, so the chief of Atimelang and his younger

X159 brother, Atamai, came and said I had better return with them. They
686 took me back, but on the way I ran away from them and hid in the grass. They couldn't find me and turned back to Rualkameng and told my husband he would have to pay, since I didn't want to leave and he had already taken my heart. The chief sat and sat in the sun [an embarrassing dunning procedure]. Then my husband promised that if they came back in five or six days he would have something for them. In five or six days they didn't come back. Lakamau had already got a Kolmale
X159 moko, so he said we had better take it to my kin. We took it to Maitama [instead of to the more distant kinsman, the chief of Atimelang, who had less right to it]. Maitama shot a hen and gave us some corn and rice, which we took back to my mother-in-law. So I stayed on and on until I was pregnant and gave birth to Wolmo. Before she could crawl her father died. [Pause. I asked how her husband died.]

My husband wasn't sick, but he kept going and going until his body was thin and his bones stuck out. At that time people were calling a Good Being at Lakfui. Mopada was doing it. All the people went to drink the water of the Good Being in order not to die. Lakamau went too. When he came back to Rualkameng, they said his body was thin because the evil spirit of Akanfala was following him. There was a dry tree there with a vine growing in it, and the tree had fallen over into Lakamau's garden and he had cut it all up. For this the evil spirit followed him. He planted rice in the field. Even though he drank the water of the Good Being, the evil spirit followed him, and when his rice ripened and it was harvesttime, he died.

X159 At the time my husband died, Atamai, the younger brother of the
768 chief of Atimelang, had come with a pig for the harvest feast. He said we had better go back together, because there was no one now to pay my bride-price. My mother-in-law said, "I am still living here. I am a woman, but I can pay a bride-price for her." So I stayed there. My mother-in-law said that Fanlang had taken twenty cans of her rice for a carabao feast and he would pay for it with a moko. We could use the moko for a bride-price. Fanlang paid with a Maningmauk moko, and my mother-in-law gave the Maningmauk to Atamai as a bride-price.
X159 Then my mother-in-law called a man of my husband's Female House,
587 also named Atamai. She said, "If you come and stay with us here you can marry her. But you must live here and you must follow my debts." So this man came and stayed with us. He slept with me and made a house. Then after a while he said, "Let us go to my uncle." [This differs from her account on March 12, in which she implies that she married

her husband's uncle.] Once we were there, a large pig of his died, so he 157
used it to give a death feast for his parents. He divided the rice to be 587
pounded between me and his first wife. I began pounding it, but his first wife came and fought with me. She said I couldn't stay there, that we could not share a husband. She said I was from a strange village and I should return to it. So I didn't want to stay any longer and ran back to Lakamau's mother. Atamai's first wife still followed me and fought with me. I said, "Your husband doesn't bring anything to my feasts, so I don't want to stay here." Then I came back to Atimelang. [What did your mother-in-law say?] She said, "My daughter-in-law lives with me, yet you always come to fight with her. So now she can go home to her village. She can marry a man there in her own village if she wants to. If she doesn't, she can always live there and work in her fields."

At that time the rice was not yet ripe. I came back to Atimelang 157
with my child. I wanted to help with the rice harvest, so I went back 764
when it was ripe to help with the crop. By then my child could walk. 855
When the rice was finished, my mother-in-law said, "Now that your child can walk, you can go back alone to your village. If you feel like it, you can come back here to see her. If the child is happy with me she can stay." So I came back alone. [Did you want to leave the child?] My mother-in-law said, "Your husband was my only child. Although your child is a daughter, she can take the place of her father. If the child goes to Atimelang, she will learn another dialect. If you take her away, every two or three days I shall be coming to see her and bring her back with me." So I said, "Good. I could stay here with you, but every day people would be coming to me and wanting to marry me to this man or that. So your child can stay here, and I shall go back." [How long ago was this?] This was two years ago. [Do you see the child often?] I have just cut a field of sun corn at Rualkasaang and I take corn and beans to my child, and every morning she comes early to me and eats and stays on through the whole day with me. [Was this the first time you've seen her?] When I first came back here, I went all the time to see her. I always took her food—rice, beans, tubers, corn—but I didn't sleep near her. I was going to see her all the time. When my heart remembers, I must cook and take her food. She is about five or six now. [Rualkasaang is about an hour's walk from here. Lomani has a garden there in her own right.] Five days ago when we were talking together, I had food already prepared in my house. When I left you, I took it to my garden. Padamo's mother had gone on ahead, and we two worked there that day in the fields.

x159 [Question.] When I came back here I stayed with Kawaimani, and
587 I have stayed on with her ever since. Then Djetmani came to me. He
768 said, "I am also your husband because your husband was my older brother [classificatory; i.e., he is referring to levirate principles]. I could give a pig as a free gift [pungbe, the smallest of the bride-price payments]." So Djetmani gave a pig as a free gift for the Tilalawati feast. [Tilalawati was Lomani's lineage house, which was being rebuilt at the time. Djetmani as house-building partner should have helped with pigs. He was killing two birds with one stone.] Kawaimani and I pounded rice for the feast. After that he came and lived with me in Kawaimani's house.

[Did you love all three husbands or did you go to them just because your family said you should?] If my first husband had not died, I wouldn't have married the other two. They were his younger brothers [classificatory] and they said I had to marry them and couldn't marry other people. [A nice example of Alorese indirection. She implied that she was fond of her first husband only.]

March 17, 1939

z169 [No dreams; nor did she start of her own accord. I asked about her first memories of her mother, their quarrels, and their pleasures together.]

When I was still small, we were the Male House of Atakalieta of Malhieta. I, mother, and the others were staying at Kamangmelang. Atakalieta built a verandah for his death feast. He told us to fetch wood. So mother said we were to go fetch wood while she pounded rice. I, Marata, and Kolata went for wood while mother pounded rice. Loopada was to weave a wall for the verandah, but she wasn't clever at it. She got a busoti [a kind of basket with an upright warp] and showed it to Falepang and told Falepang to copy it in weaving the wall. Then mother went to tie a big pig [i.e., contribute a pig to the feast]. Atakalieta tied even a larger pig. Mother said, "By and by my children will stare at other people's meat. I had better give a pig so they will get meat of their own." So we tied a pig, roasted it, and cut it up; we pounded rice and cooked it. The people who carved the meat put a pig's leg in my small basket and in Kawaimani's. That evening mother, I, and Kawaimani went home to Kamangmelang, and the Malhieta guests came home with us.

[Lomani still had not referred to discipline or to any ill feeling between her mother and herself. I probed again for hostility toward the mother.]

Once my mother went to dig tubers. She returned in the evening 159x and cooked them. She was angry with me and hit me. I ran away and didn't want to sleep in the house. I climbed a mango tree and wanted to sleep there. Then Koleng, the mother of my friend Kolata, spoke to her daughter and said, "You are two girls, so go call your sister to come sleep with you." Kolata came to the mango tree and called to me, saying, "Your mother has hit you and you have run away to sleep in a mango tree, but come instead and sleep with me. You can't sleep in a tree." So I came down and slept with her in her house. Mother didn't call me to come home and eat. She didn't save food for me. She just said, "Oh, she has run away." Early the next morning mother came and spoke nicely to me, saying, "I have cooked, so come eat." I went home and mother said, "I don't have boys. You are all girls. Other people have boys. If you go to other people's houses and their boys bring [867] home rats or their men bring home meat, you stare at it and that isn't nice. Maybe they don't say anything, but maybe in their hearts they are angry. You must not go to other people's houses." Then she gave me a tuber to eat. [She had omitted telling why her mother was angry with her. I asked why.] When mother brought the tubers home, I wanted to take one and roast it right away for myself, but mother said, "You aren't the only one. There are your siblings. You must all eat together and share them." I said, "If that is so, I don't want to eat." I went outside and sat by myself. When mother called I didn't come. Mother was angry and came to me and struck me.

[The informant looked like a hurt child at this point. I asked if she had had to work hard in the fields as a child or if other siblings had done the work.]

When I was still small, my mother gave me part of a knife blade with which to cut weeds. I worked in the early morning, and then I saw my friends playing. I threw down the blade near mother and went off to play. [I asked whether she or Kawaimani did more garden work.] Kawaimani worked more. Mother and Kawaimani would cook for me before leaving and then go off together to work. They let me 159x play while they worked in the fields. [I asked if she disliked garden 868 work or didn't get on well with her sister and mother.] No, when I wanted to work, I just cut off the tops of the weeds and didn't do it well, so mother said, "Oh, you don't know how, so you had better fetch wood and go off to play. I and Kawaimani will cut the field." [Now you know garden work. How did you learn?] When I first went to cut weeds with mother, I just cut the tops and in one small x159 868 place. Mother saw that I had cut some and others I had left, so she didn't want me to work. Then I watched mother and saw that she cut right down into the roots. The second day when I tried, I cleaned the spot and cut two large heaps of weeds. The next time I cut three or four heaps of weeds. Then mother said that by and by I would be clever. Finally mother divided the field between us, and we could each cut a part.

x159 When I knew a bit how to cut weeds, Kolang, Kolata's mother, said, "You two can both cut fields now, so you two work alternately in each other's gardens." Then Kolata took pots, plates, and food and we went to her garden. She said I was to cut weeds and she would cook for me. So I worked, and at midday she called me to eat. Then we went to play swing. When we saw the sun going down we worked a little more and in the evening went back to our houses. The next day I took pots, plates, and food and cooked while Kolata worked in my garden. At midday I called her to eat. Then we swung, and when the sun was going down we worked a bit more in the field and then went home in the evening.

[Was Kolata the same age?] Yes. Her mother gave birth to her three days after my mother bore me. [I asked which of the two friends married first.] I did. [Whom did Kolata marry?] First Padakafeli gave the chief of Atimelang [her brother] a Maningmauk moko for her, but Kolata said she would not marry him, and they did not sleep together. Then she married Padalang. When Padalang wanted to sleep with her, she didn't want to. One day Padalang went off and he saw an evil spirit that looked like Kolata. She [the evil spirit] called to him to cut wood and tie it up for her to carry home. Then Padalang went up the hill and slept with this woman. After he had had intercourse, he cut and tied the wood. He called for her to come and carry it, but the woman had disappeared. That evening when he came home he had a headache. In the night he couldn't talk any more, and just before dawn he died. So his moko was given back. After that Padamai married Kolata. Kolata said, "My two older brothers [the chief of Atimelang and Atamai] are
[581] always fighting with my mother, so I want to marry a man who is an orphan, who will come home and live with me and my mother and be a son to her." So she married Padamai, who was an orphan. He went to her mother, built a house, and lived there.

[How did Kolata die?] She and Padamai went to Yefala near Lawatika to make a garden. They built a nice large field house there. One day Kolata was working in the garden when a kalatup bird came and perched on some brush and made a noise. After a while Kolata looked 159x and saw that it wasn't a bird but a person who was approaching. When he reached the garden boundary he disappeared. At this time her first child could sit up and she had been pregnant for two months with her second. She gathered up all her things and went to Lawatika. [Here the interpreter interposed that she had probably slept with the evil spirit, something Lomani had definitely avoided saying.] Her husband was sitting there, and she asked him if he had just come to the garden. He said no, he hadn't, that he was minding the baby. Then Kolata began to cry and said her stomach hurt. She went up in the house to sleep. In seven days she was dead. [Question.] This was two years ago.

[Did their friendship end with their marriages?] I lived far off. But [572] when I came here, Kolata always cooked for me — corn, eggplant, beans. She called me to come eat with her. This was just once in a while.

[Did you too not wish to sleep with your husband at first?] When I went there and my husband wanted to sleep with me, I would say that he had to pay my bride-price first. Once I ran away as far as Kaiyang, and then my mother-in-law called to me and said, "I too am your mother. I am from Atimelang, so come back." I went back, and that night he tried to sleep with me again, but I didn't want him. Then he got a Kolmale moko and we took it to Maitama and Atamai. So after that we slept together.

[I asked why she went to live with her husband if she didn't want to sleep with him. She laughed — one of the few times during all the interviews.] I wanted him to pay his bride-price first. [I asked why she didn't go on living with her family until he paid it.] I wanted to stay home until he did, but my family said I had to go. Besides, his mother was harvesting corn and needed help. My kinsmen said if I fed him and cooked for him he would want to hurry and find a moko. [I asked if her husband was the first man with whom she had slept. She answered yes.]

March 18, 1939

[Again no dream, and again she had great difficulty in starting.] Once I was playing. Then I went to mother and said, "Mother, that corn you put in my basket was eaten up by my older brothers [classificatory] and I am hungry. I didn't eat it myself and I want some more." So she cooked some more and gave it to me. [Who ate it?] Fanma and Maitama. They said, "We shall eat this and then you go to your mother and ask for more. You eat your share in the house and

x159 bring us some more in your basket." [Did you want to?] Yes. They
were my elder brothers, and so I said I would. [What did your mother
say?] She said that since my elder brothers had eaten it, I had better
take them some more.

[I asked whether she felt that they usually had less food in their
[261 home than others had in theirs. She didn't seem to grasp the idea.] If
476] one is hungry and hasn't food, one can work for another person and
will be given a bundle of corn in payment. Or if one hasn't enough, a
[572] friend may help by inviting one to come dig in the garden for tubers.
[Did your mother have such a friend?] Yes, Kolangkalieta. [The mother
of her own friend, Kolata. The mother is also called simply Kolang in
this account.]

[Long pause. I told her to go ahead. She sighed heavily. This was the first time she had permitted herself this sort of emotional expression.] Occasionally, if Kolangkalieta sat all day and didn't go to her garden, mother would put tubers she had dug into a calabash dish and give them to her. When Kolangkalieta went to File, where she had a garden, she would bring us back kanari nuts and give them to us to eat.

[I asked about the elder sister, Falepang, who was sick.] Once when
I went playing, Falepang and mother stayed in the house. When they
cooked, mother said, "Don't save any for Lomani; eat it all up." [Why?]
[861] Because mother told me to wait until the food had all been served before beginning to eat and said I should eat with my sisters, all of us
together. So I said, "If that is so, I don't want to eat." And I went away.
Then Falepang took one spoonful for herself and the other she put
aside for me. She ate every other spoonful; she hid the half she had
saved for me, so mother would not see it. Then when I came home
Falepang called to me to come up, and she gave me the food she had
saved. She said, "Mother is often angry, and she didn't want to save
food for you, but here is some." Then Falepang sent me for greens.
We added them to what Falepang had cooked, and we ate together.
Then Falepang said I should go fetch some bamboo so that she could
make me a basket. When I went out, Falepangmai and Kawaimani
wanted to come too; so all three of us went. We brought it back, and
Falepang wove us baskets. She made big ones for the older ones and a
[285] little one for me. She overlaid them with tua bamboo. She knew how
to overlay either the whole basket or only the top and bottom. She said,
"The big ones are for you, and you can fetch corn and greens in them.
The little one is for Lomani, and she can fetch grasshoppers."

Once there was a dance in Alurkowati. The day before, Falepangmai and Kawaimani wanted areca, betel, and lime to take in their baskets. 159x They didn't have real areca, so they used the bark of the mango instead. They didn't have lime, so they made ashes from bayorka bark. At night I wanted to go too, but they said they were not going to the dance, but were going to sleep. They lay down to sleep and I did too. In the middle of the night I woke up and saw they had gone, so I cried and cried. Falepang said, "Don't cry. Maniakani [the bogeyman] is near. Don't cry, or he will hear you and come." So I was afraid and went to [865] sleep next to Falepang. At dawn my two sisters came home. I said, "Last night I cried. The next time I am going too." They said, "Don't cry; we have brought you the 'wing of the dance.'" I asked to see it, and they gave me a coconut leaf. [This was a culturally standardized deception of small children.] I said, "Oh, you have deceived me. Another time I am going. You went secretly this time, but next time I shall sit up all night if you go."

The next time there was a dance it was at Lawatika. I sat up and sat up, playing and watching those two. They didn't sleep. Finally they slipped away secretly. I cried and ran after them. Then they waited for me in the middle of the path and said, "Don't cry." They took me along. After that the three of us went to dances together.

[I asked who were her favorite sisters.] Falepang and then Kolang. If I was away playing and people gave them food, they saved some of it for me—even if I hadn't seen that they had received a gift. When I came back to the house, they would cook it for me. But mother never saved anything for me. [Kolang died when Lomani was about five or six, and Falepang when she was about eight; she was thereby deprived of her mother-substitutes.] When mother was away, Falepang was the one who took care of me. [With whom did you sleep? It would have been customary for her, as the youngest, to sleep with her mother.] When I was still very small, before I could walk or talk, I slept with mother. I don't remember that. When I was a little older, I slept with Falepang, and with mother too if she was there. When she wasn't I slept with Falepang.

[I asked how she felt about Falepang's sores.] My elder sister was always good to me, so even if she had sores I slept with her. [How long had Falepang had these sores?] When she was still small she got them. Mother said, "Your older sister has had wounds ever since she was little, and so she won't find a man." Ever since I can remember she had sores. [I asked whether she ever contracted the disease.] When I was still with my family I didn't get sores, but after I went to stay with my

x159 husband I broke out with sores like those my sister had. Then I went to Kalabahi for injections. [Question.] I went with my husband. First the doctor came here. My husband took him a big chicken to pay for the injections. The doctor said I would have to come to the hospital for injections, so he gave us a letter to take there. We went. I wanted to sleep in the market place, but the doctor said I had to stay in the hospital. I was there a month and a half. [Question.] My husband stayed all this time in Kalabahi, sleeping in the market. [Question.] I had injections every third day. [Pay?] My husband gave that large chicken the first time. That was worth fifty cents, and before I left he gave the doctor fifty cents more. [Where did your sickness come
x159 from?] Father died of these sores. After he died Falepang took his
753 place. After she died and I married, I got them too. [Kawaimani, the elder sister with whom she was living, also had been badly afflicted, but she was not included in Lomani's account.] This illness is called *fiyai*. It is supposed to come from poison made with taboo kanari nuts. [I asked how it started in her family.] Father had some friends in Lakfui, and there he bought this *fiyai-awaibuku* poison. He used it here to protect his garden from theft, but someone sent the poison back against him and it infected him. [How?] If a person is smart at stealing, when he goes to take something, he reverses the bamboo stick with the poison in the cleft, thrusting the end that holds the poison hard into the ground. Then the sickness returns to the original poisoner.

March 21, 1939

x159 Last night I dreamed I was talking to Lonmobi. She said, "The small pounding stone is over your head. Be careful it doesn't fall on you. That is the stone Djetmani used to pound medicine." [Question.] I don't know what medicine. Then a mouse bit my finger and woke me up. I looked at the pounding stone and it was near my head.

[I asked her to tell me all she remembered about Lonmobi.] She is from Alurkowati. Once I and Kawaimani fought with her over fields that had a common boundary. She cut weeds across her boundary into our fields. We quarreled because she wanted to use part of our garden. We said she couldn't come any more to work there. She said, "This is my mother's field, and I must come from time to time to work here." So we said, "Well, if you do come, follow your own boundary." So after that she did. [Did you see much more of her?] No, we were in two different villages and didn't play together. Later, when I was married to Djetmani, Lonmobi said, "Djetmani is my husband's brother and you are my child, so we can work together." When my child was sick, 159x I didn't go out to the fields; I just stayed with her. At this time Lonmobi dug tubers and picked greens to help me. [Was your child in Atimelang at the time?] Yes, I had gone to File for beans. Wolmo [her child] returned with me and got sick. Then we went to live with Kolmani [a seeress]. Lonmobi came and stayed with us at Kolmani's house. [Kolmani was Lonmobi's mother's brother's son's wife.]

[In the midst of this Lomani digressed to tell the interpreter that as soon as she had finished she was going to get a pig to give the chief of Atimelang, who was divorcing his second wife. The pig was wanted [693] by the chief to feed the judges and litigants.]

Once Mailang of Folafeng litigated because Senmani stole his gong. [This was less than a year ago.] Djetmani told me to cook corn for the people. I asked where I was to get the corn, so he told me there was a bundle in his loft and to use it. So I took it up to Folafeng and pounded and cooked it to feed the litigants. [Note how rarely she spoke of partaking in feast activities.] When I finished the corn, I sat down with Lopada. She said that it would be a long time before Senmani paid and they would probably have to make another litigation, so we could go back to our garden work and do other things meanwhile. After that we came back down here to Atimelang. It was the time that Djetmani wanted to make a feast for Maliemai [his first wife]. So Djetmani went to Kafe to ask for pigs. When he came back he was sick. Lonmobi and Maleta said that Djetmani had better come live with Kolmani the Seeress to be treated by her. So we went there to stay. He vomited and sweated a lot and didn't get well fast. Then Fanseni [783 Longhair said it was because his nera house [wealth-bringing spirit] had 782] to be fed, so Djetmani took a hen there and fed the nera spirits. We stayed with Fanseni two days. Then I went back to stay with Kawaimani, and Djetmani went back to Maliemai, his first wife. They decided [757 Djetmani had been poisoned, and so Maleta called Maugkari to bring 278] a poison antidote. Maugkari went to Afaberka for the right roots. He gave them to Djetmani to drink. Then Djetmani got well. He wanted to go out. He went to bathe. When he came back he stayed with Maliemai. He made the verandah for his Rolik feast and told me to go and stay with his Male House kinswoman, Tilaleti. While I was staying with Tilaleti, he came over one night and spoke with her, saying he didn't want me as a wife and I had better go away. At this time he was already staying with Falepangmau [who became his third wife]. But I remembered the rice for the feast, so the next morning I went to pound x159 it. There were three baskets, one for me, one for Maliemai, and one for Lonmobi. I pounded mine and Maliemai's and was going to start Lonmobi's when Djetmani went up into the house and said [so that she heard it], "Tell her to go home. I don't want her here." So I went to Tilaleti's house, took all I had there—my pots, baskets, sleeping mat, and rice—and went to Kawaimani's to stay.

At that time Kawaimani's husband got a pig, and she told me to take it to the chief of Dikimpe, who was giving a Baleti feast for his wife's kin. [This occurred quite recently.] So I took it to Kolmau [the wife
x159 of the chief of Dikimpe]. When I came home in the evening, Cornelius
426 [her paternal parallel cousin] had come and taken the shirt he had left
578 with me in pawn for seven cents I had given him. At bedtime I picked up the basket in which I kept the shirt and felt that it was light. I looked in and it was empty. So I was angry with Kawaimani. She had said nothing to me about it. I said, "Perhaps you gave him the shirt? Did he give you the money for it?" She said, "I thought he had paid you the money and that was why he came for the shirt." I said he
x 159 hadn't paid me. I said, "Perhaps you gave it to him? Why didn't you
578 ask him for the money?" Kawaimani said, "Perhaps he gave you the money and you don't want to admit it?" Then I swore an oath, "If I have received the money, let us take an oath. If I got the money, may my stomach stone grow big and the string long. [This seemed to indicate a swollen abdomen.] If not, may this happen to you." At this time Tilamau [next-door neighbor and a distant kinswoman whom Lomani called mother] called and said, "You had better come stay with me. You two are sisters and must not fight all the time. Come make your pigpen under my house." So I went to stay with Tilamau.

x159 [She reverted to the earlier situation.] When I was leaving Tilaleti's house, I passed by Kolangkalieta's house and saw the chief of Atimelang sitting on the verandah. I told him what had happened and what Djetmani had said. So the chief ordered Djetmani to come to him, but Djetmani said he didn't want to. He said I could go home. He said he wouldn't count the free gifts [*pungbe*] he had given for me, and if I wanted to marry anyone else, it was all right with him [i.e., he was renouncing all financial interests, which were not very large]. Then in three days Falepangmau's husband, Alurkofani of Kafakberka, litigated to divorce his wife [accusing her of unfaithfulness]. The chief and the tumukun asked her with whom she had an agreement, and she named Djetmani. So Djetmani was called and he paid a Rula Fehawa moko to Alurkofani. After that he was married to Falepangmau. When I heard about this, I said, "Good. Djetmani and I have already said we don't 159x want to marry, so he is free." [Actually a few days before, she had joined forces with Mallemai, Djetmani's first wife, in attacking Falepangmau. This was the equivalent of insisting upon her status as one of Djetmani's wives. Her kinsmen dragged her away from the melee, saying that she was not one of Djetmani's wives, since he had never paid a legitimate bride-price for her.]

March 22, 1939

[No dreams. The usual difficulty in beginning. I asked her about tooth blackening, often a period of license for adolescents.]

First Manimai said, "Lomani and Marasta, you must have your teeth filed." So we went to Atafani, who took a file and cut our teeth. I began when the sun was just rising, and by midmorning I was finished. Then Marasta had hers cut. It was early afternoon when she was done. Then we each paid Atafani five cents. We got the money ourselves from selling corn in Kalabahi. Marasta had bought the file for thirty cents. Atafani told us to boil corn, and when the water came to a boil
to put in the greens, and as soon as the greens were done to eat the [252
corn while it was still a little hard. "This makes your teeth stronger." 325]
So we went home and did as he told us. We ate the corn to strengthen our teeth. That evening people said they were going to start blackening teeth the next day. The following afternoon all the young men gathered; Maitama, Fanma, Padalang, Padalani, all went to Alurkolohu to stay in a field house there. The boys told the girls to boil the fruit. We said, "And what shall we use for a pot?" They said, "Use half of this broken pot." So we said, "What shall we use for wood?" They answered, "Use cornstalks. If you use cornstalks, our lips won't get sore
from the dye." So we cooked the fruit. Then we got kong kong and 159x
banana bark. The fruit we mashed, taking out all the skin and fibers. 386
Then we mixed it with earth and made a cone of it. We cut off the top of the cone, just a little piece, and Fanma, one of the boys having his teeth blackened, tossed it in the air, saying, "Air [*abaling tama*, really midspace], do not let our mash be insufficient." Then he took another bit and tossed it on the ground, saying, "Sahiek [village of the dead], do not let our mash be insufficient." Next we cut and measured the banana-bark strips so they would fit our mouths and put the dye paste
on them. This we did for seven days. The boys hunted rats and the 159x
girls pounded corn. When it was over, we went to bathe. We got arrows and pennies to pay the maker of the mash. There were fifteen

x 159 girls and fifteen boys. We all slept at the field house. [I asked about intercourse. She denied it.] We slept boys and girls together. Marata and Padalani exchanged shawls and slept side by side. I slept alongside Kolata [girl]; then Maitama [boy] slept next to me. Then there were Fuilang [girl], Djetlang [boy], and Maimakani [boy]. Only those two exchanged shawls. [In telling this she had a more animated expression than usual. She seemed to enjoy this whole tale and laughed once or twice.]

When we were there, Fanma talked all kinds of funny ways. He said that he was a seer and that his familiar spirit was rising in him. [She laughed.] So we all began laughing. We sat up and took out the dye strips from our mouths. We said, "Now we have to go dance [supposed to be bad for tooth dyeing]." We said, "We all have to go, and whoever stays here will be got by the evil spirit of Alurkolohu." We set out. Maimakani wanted to come too. He was a small boy who was with us to mind the fire. We told him he had to stay behind and guard the house so no one would come and get the smoked rats, which the boys were saving for the final feast. He went back and we all went on to Alurkowati to dance. We came back early in the morning, put the dye strips back in our mouths, and slept. In the afternoon we woke and said, "Oh, we haven't yet cooked anything for the boys. We had better go get some peas and corn." So we did. The boys hunted rats. They shot two or three. We girls ate the hearts and stomachs. The [251] boys smoked the meat to keep it until the final feast. After the final feast we all went back to our own houses. For a month after that we drank only through bamboo tubes. The older people told us we had to do that to protect our teeth. After that they said we could eat hard things, drink as we wished, and not have to be careful any more.

[Pause.] Three days ago after leaving here, I went to cut weeds. There was a thick dense patch that I came to after I had cut one pile. I slashed into it, and then I saw I had cut a snake in half, so I called Atafani to come and finish killing it. [She told this as though it were a very exciting event.] Later it rained very hard and Atafani, who was mending the field house, picked up our baskets and took them into the house. We all went in to sit down. There was a spate and land slumped. Kolangkalieta's garden was destroyed by sliding earth and stones. We said, "Oh, this is our corn now. If the corn were still standing we would not dare take it, but now that it has been knocked over we can take some. It will only dry up if it is left here." So we took enough to eat right then. That evening we all came home, and the next day we all went back again, seven of us, to help cut Kolfani's 159x garden.

[Question.] This year I have two gardens of corn and one of rice. The two cornfields I share, one with Kawaimani and one with Maliemai. The rice I have alone. One field is right here near the village, and the other two are just beyond Faramasang. The field I have near Rualkameng I didn't plant. I am only now cutting it for sun corn with the help of Kolfani and Kolang. This last garden my father gave me; from mother I got the other three. Kawaimani received a large field [*pining*] from father. Mother gave her three gardens also. This year I am storing 159x my corn with Tilamau [a kinswoman she called mother]. Last year 251 and also the year before, I stored with Kolangkalieta. I cannot store in Kawaimani's house because it has no rat disks. Kawaimani stores her food with Tilamau every year. We give Tilamau a small corn bundle as a present, not pay. Tilamau also stores in her own loft, so there are three of us with food there. Tilamau stacks her corn on one side of the two central posts in the loft; then I and Kawaimani also have our stacks. So each person has her own pile.

March 23, 1939

[No dreams. The usual block about starting. I offered no help. 159x Finally the interpreter told her to talk about anything, and he listed many local activities. Her face brightened and she poured out this tale at great length.]

When I was seven or eight, Kawaimani was already married to Maleta. [Note the contradiction of her statement on March 16.] Mother said we should go to Talmang to make a garden. We were to share it with Maleta and the mother of Lonalurka. So we three went. Kawaimani stayed here with Falepang because she had a bad leg wound. So we went to Talmang and cut weeds. At that time we went back and forth. Then when it was time to plant, we went there to stay. When the corn was about eight inches high, Lonalurka said we should go to hunt for bamboo grubs. I, mother, and she went to Bunghieng [222] to hunt for them. That evening we brought them home and said we would cook them. I said, "I don't know how. Perhaps old people do, but I don't." So Lonalurka said, "I'll do it." She made a fire and put the grubs in a young bamboo tube and put the tube near the fire. When [153] they were roasted we ate them with corn. Then a big rain and spate came. Maleta said he was going down the river to catch crabs and shrimps that were washed down with the spate. He got many. He x159 brought them to us. Part he saved for Kawaimani. He told me and Lonalurka to take them to her. I said, "I can go, but the older people say that Manife [a noted killer] is accustomed to hide in the high grass and kill people." So Maleta said, "No, you and Lonalurka go together." We went and gave the crabs to Kawaimani. Then we picked beans and corn and started back to Talmang. We were near Kalangfati when Manipada [the father of Lonalurka] called to us and said, "Lonalurka, who is that child with you?" She said I was Lomani. He said, "It is already evening. Sleep here tonight and go on tomorrow." I didn't want to. I said, "No, I don't want to. If I stay in other people's houses, I might be killed." He said, "Are you coming down from the mountain [Atimelang] or coming up from the garden [Talmang]?" So Lonalurka told him. Then Manipada said, "I am your father too. Your mother is my sister, so we had better sleep here together tonight." But I said, "No, I must go to sleep near my mother or people may shoot me." So we went on to Talmang. When we got there mother had already finished cooking crabs, corn, and beans. Mother told us to pound some corn in a large mortar Maleta had made. We did and cooked our own corn and what was left of the crabs. Then we ate.

The next morning Lonalurka said we had better go down to the ravine to fetch kanari nuts. There we met some Aila people. They looked at me and said, "Oh, that is a child from the mountain. We had better catch her and take her to our village." Thus they deceived me, and I cried and called to mother, "Mother, mother, Aila people want to catch me and take me to their village." Mother called, "Oh, they won't catch you. Your father has kin there. They are our friends. You and Lonalurka can go. By and by you can return." But we didn't go.

Then after a while we wanted to go back. Lonalurka suggested that we make bows and arrows and shoot grasshoppers. At that time there were very many, and they were eating up all the corn. So we made bows and arrows. Lonalurka knew how to shoot grasshoppers but I didn't. Lonalurka said, "If you shoot them in the morning they all fly away, but if you go in the afternoon they don't." So the next afternoon we went into the cornfield. I rustled leaves and the grasshoppers all flew away. Lonalurka said I was to stand quietly and she would shoot them. One after the other she shot them and dropped them in her basket until it was full. I said we should roast corn to eat with the grasshoppers, so Lonalurka picked four ears, two for me and two for her. [Pause. How long did you stay there?] Until harvesttime [i.e., they lived in the field house at Talmang for several months].

We stored all the harvest in the house of Lonalurka's mother in Kalangfati—the corn, rice, millet, everything. Then mother and I came back here. Maleta said, "I don't want Kawaimani. She is sick. I don't want her as a wife. She has sores all over her." At this time Maleta had already made friends with Lomani [not the informant but another woman of the same name], but he didn't marry her after all. He married Maliemai [not the first wife of Djetmani but another of the same name]. Maleta had given us a Maningmauk moko and pigs as free gifts [*pungbe*]. He took all the food we had stored at Kalangfati, so mother didn't pay him back his marriage costs. [Did they quarrel?] When Maleta came and asked for his expenses back, mother said, "Go fetch the food we share in storage in Kalangfati, and then we can divide it." But he didn't bring it here. He took it all and then did not come back again to mother for his expenses. [I asked how she, Lomani, felt about the matter at the time.] Maleta was very industrious. He fetched wood and water and worked hard. He always helped us, just like a woman. He fetched tubers and greens. He helped us a lot. I thought he had better not leave us; but he had already found another woman, and he did not want to stay. In the village he didn't fetch water, but out in the fields he was always the one who got it. I liked him and felt sorry for him. He also knew how to cook. If a woman was slow in getting the food started, he would do it himself.

[How did he happen to marry Kawaimani?] When Maleta was small he worked in his field, which was near ours. He would come to stay with us and bring us wood and greens. Mother fed him. He was nice to mother, so mother said, "Oh, he is as industrious as a woman. He can do everything like a woman. It would be better if he stayed on here and married Kawaimani." So she told him to go fetch a Maningmauk moko. He got one and gave it to mother. After that he slept with Kawaimani. He was married to her about two years. [Was Kawaimani already sick?] No. When Maleta married her she had just one sore on her leg. After that it spread. Soon her arms and legs were covered and then her face. After that Maleta didn't want her any more. [I asked which one she felt had been more unlucky, she or her sister, in regard to their illness.] Kawaimani, because her face was covered with wounds. When her legs were sick, she went to Faramasang and broke off some of Atakalieta's sugar cane. He had put up a poison to protect it. She came back and broke out all over. [Lomani had attributed her own sickness to inheritance from her father. She attributed Kawaimani's to misdeeds.]

March 24, 1939

x159 [No dream. The usual block. The interpreter listed local activities, including selling trips to Kalabahi. At this her face lighted and she told the following.]

x159 465 When I was still small, about twelve years old, Manialurka, Karmau, and I went to Kalabahi with four people from Alurkowati whom I don't remember. The policeman told us to come weed his garden. He said to come the next morning. We started early the next morning and halfway there decided we didn't have food enough, so we ran back and hid in Kapitan Jacob's garden house. The policeman came there and asked why we had run away, and Kapitan Jacob said, "They came to sell food in the market, and they didn't have enough left to eat for a work period." So the policeman said, "All right, come tomorrow with some cassava. In the evening I shall cut bananas and in addition shall pay you fifteen cents. But you must come tomorrow morning." So the next morning we took some cassava and went to work. I worked all morning and at noon we ate our cassava. There was just a little of it. Then I worked all afternoon and was hungry. We went to the policeman's house, and he cut a bunch of bananas and gave us some papayas, and we ate. We had only seven pieces of cassava at midday. We planned to sleep in the shed outside, but the policeman told us to sleep in his house. He slept in one room with his family, and the rest of us slept in the other small room. He gave us fifteen cents a day, and each day he gave us a bunch of bananas. So it went. We worked ten days, and each one of us got a rupiah and a half. Then we wanted to go home. That day all the people from the mountains had come down for market. The policeman said all right, but to help him part of that day still and go back in the afternoon. So we worked a little longer. He gave us three cents each to buy food to eat on the way home. We went to market to buy it. I bought cloth with my money. The men also bought cloth and loincloths. By that time it was late, so we slept in the market that night. Early the next morning we went back home.

x159 [I asked whether the family had not been worried at having her leave with two men and four strangers and not return for ten days.] Mother didn't want me to go, but Karmau and Manialurka said, "Oh, she is our sister. We shall take care of her." Two of the Alurkowati people were women. The women said, "We must watch over our younger sister." So we three women slept together and the men slept together. [Why did Karmau and Manialurka want to take you?] I had

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dug some sweet potatoes and asked who would go with me to Kalabahi [530] to sell them. Those two said they were going to sell betel catkins and we could go together. [Question.] We were about the same age. [Was your mother angry or worried at your long stay?] Mother asked, "Why were you gone so long?" So I told her what had happened. Mother asked what I had bought. I said I had bought cloth. Mother said, "Oh, I was angry because I thought you would come back empty-handed." [Was it your first cloth?] No. For my first shawl I pounded rice and Lonpada took it to Likuwatang, where she exchanged it for cloth while I cared for her son. That first shawl was worth one rupiah and twenty-five cents. Lonpada had given me this rice to pound in the first place. [Did you spend all your rupiah and a half on cloth in Kalabahi?] Yes, I spent it all on a shawl for myself. The sweet potatoes brought only five cents, and I spent those to buy cassava to eat while we worked. [Did you work for the policeman because you wanted to?] We didn't want to because we were afraid of being hungry. He [468] carried a stick and we were afraid he might hit us if we stopped at midday when the sun was hot. We didn't want to work, but we were afraid not to.

After I had worked in Kalabahi I stayed home about one week and then went back to sell some more things. On the way home we stopped at Benleleng, and there were boys there who said, "Let's play cards." They were Nicolas and Djetmani. There were three girls—I, Kolata, and Fuifani. [All unmarried boys and girls.] The boys knew 159x how to play cards, but we didn't yet. We put our money down and 525 they took it all. Then we fought about it. We spent the night there and went on home in the early morning. As we walked they asked for water and areca, but we wouldn't give them any. We said, "If you want water, pay for it." When we got back to Laling Mountain, the boys said "We had better give them some of this back." So they gave each of us one cent. We had each lost fifteen cents.

When we got home, we said, "When we play cards, the men take our money. Let us go into the field and play with corn and beans as money so we can learn how." The boys gave us the lower cards of the pack and they kept the face cards. We girls played together in the fields, betting with food, and if we were lucky we would even bet our bracelets and anklets. [Do you still gamble?] No, I don't want to play cards any more. When a girl is single she can, but when she marries she doesn't want to any more.

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

x 159 124 In this autobiography the subject never reveals herself. Her attitude toward the ethnographer is shown in her dream after the first interview. The ethnographer is about to return home—but Lomani qualifies the fact by saying "only for two months." This is her masked way of saying that she finds the interviews disagreeable and wants the ethnographer to go away. In two months her interviews will have been finished. This is conveyed, however, under the guise of flattery about how much she, the ethnographer, will be missed. In other words Lomani finds the situation distasteful but acquiesces in it limply, flatters the ethnographer but conceals her real affect. The narrative that follows bears out only too well that the situation was difficult for her. She is rarely spontaneous. She must be urged and prompted.

x 159 This is not a matter apart from her personality; it is in fact very consistent with her character, in so far as we are able to make it out at all. The situation is too much for her because it is a call to tell about herself. She has a low opinion of herself. This would not of itself deter her, but she has difficulty in acknowledging any kind of feeling, be it hostile or friendly. The blocking is complete, so that she has only a limited range of indifferent subjects about which she can talk. She deprives every statement of its affective coloring.

Perhaps the chief reason for Lomani's blocking in her human relations is that she cannot mobilize any aggression. The reminiscences of childhood quarrels disturb her, and when she is questioned about them she shunts the conversation to play activities. This is, of course, a contemporary picture. As a child Lomani was capable of becoming angry enough to tear off another child's loincloth. In Alor this was extreme behavior. That the avoidance of hostility was a repressive process is clearly indicated by the fact that in her recent life she complains of no one.

The dominant trait is therefore an all-pervading anxiety about everything. Lomani evidently has never succeeded in establishing a center of gravity about which her personality could be organized. Her refusal to make judgments about anything or anyone is not merely a repression of hostility; it is rather a lack of emotional orientation. Her anxiety is diffuse and clouds even her thought processes.

In certain situations, however, she is capable of affectivity. This is usually associated with receiving gifts. The description of her relationship with her child also shows a good deal of feeling. This may well be on the basis of an identification with her young daughter, of whom she says, "When my heart remembers her I can go there and cut weeds at 159 her side." During the period of the interviews she went almost daily to visit her child, who was staying at the time with her grandmother at Rualmelang. In Lomani's entire life the pleasantest and most meaningful relationship that she describes is with Kolata, a companion of her childhood. This friendship persists until the death of Kolata. Toward her first husband one senses a certain feeling of gratitude for his care of her during an illness. On the whole, it is not so much a lack of emotional sensitivity as a lack of emotional drive that characterizes her account of human relationships.

The reason for this emotional impasse can be found in the few facts that make up her biography. She is the youngest of seven girls. Her father died when she was an infant; her mother when she was fifteen. During that time all but one of her sisters died, and the survivor was so deformed by a skin disease that her nose had completely disappeared, thus rendering her chances for marriage poor. Lomani grew up, therefore, in an environment made up predominantly of women. Furthermore, that environment was constantly shifting, since they moved frequently from one place to another. The family was not actually starving; they had enough vegetable food, but meat was scarce. Since there were no men in the family, pigs and mokos were hard to come by. They were poor, in wealth and in connections. After her mother's death Lomani went to an uncle. Within a year he died and she had to shift again. She married, and her husband died shortly afterward. Twice subsequently she married shiftless characters. She was constantly surrounded by poverty, sickness, and death.

These are not the conditions under which an integrated personality can develop in any culture—least of all in Alor. Lomani never could develop trust or any organized feeling about anyone, and hence her attachments are at best passive. She had three nephews and two nieces who lived in her village, but she paid no attention to them. Nor did she make any effort to establish relationships with two paternal cousins.

Under such conditions she could not contract an advantageous marriage; there was no one to collect a bride-price, and she had no dowry. She had, therefore, to contract a cheap marriage or be exploited by men who wanted to cheat on the financial end of it.

There were a few childhood episodes of petulance with her mother, but for the most part she was obedient in a limp sort of way. Her mother told her not to play with boys, and she didn't. Even at the tooth blackening, which may be used as a period of license, she slept with a

159 girl and not a boy. She has a mortal dread of men and fears being killed by one. In her games with girls she never took the lead; she always followed. When she got a man and another woman claimed him, she gave up without a fight. When her husband died, she allowed her mother-in-law to talk her into leaving the child with her. Lomani gave in, though she had some *feeling* for the child. The *other fellow* is always right, and no wish or desire of hers has any claim to realization.

She is ridden throughout her life with all kinds of anxieties; she has a constant fear of being robbed, of having nothing, of being killed or kidnapped. When on rare occasions she does anything aggressive, she fears the most violent retaliation.

She seems, in part at least, to be dogged by fate. At the time she tells her story she is alone, having refused opportunities to get married again. At twenty-six she is through with life. In truth it can be said that *for* her it had never begun.

Lomani's story is not one of poverty alone, for this was not the most destructive influence in her life. Being surrounded by endless disasters in the form of illness and death, having no opportunity to build strong relationships because of a constant change of environment, her personality has solidified into an amorphous block of anxiety, which overshadows every situation she meets.*

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* Dr. Kardiner found it impossible to diagram Lomani's ego structure from the autobiography. (C. D.)

Chapter 16

Kolangkalieta

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

March 25, 1939

When I was about twelve or fourteen, my mother and father gave 159Y a large death feast [*Ato*] for my grandparents.

I played with Tunmai, Fuimai, Kolmani, and Maralaka [all girls]. Once Tunmai said her beans were more than mine in the bean game, so I fought with her.

I also fought with Kolmakani over a bean game, because I won more than she. She started to fight with me and I got angry and said, "It looks as though you were brave." We started to exchange blows. My mother came and said, "You must not fight," and grabbed me so we stopped. I was the older.

[These data were all in response to questions. Kolangkalieta was having difficulty in starting and in giving details. The fact that she began with quarrels is not to be overweighted. They were one of the things mentioned and were perhaps overstressed by the interpreter in [24] describing the sort of data wanted.]

I and my older sister, Maramani, went to pick kanari nuts. We gathered many and then wanted to pound them up. Maramani said I should help her pound hers first. I said, "No, I'll pound mine and you pound yours. You are my elder sister; I am the younger; but each will pound her own." So she began to fight. She hit my forehead with her hand so hard that I was almost wounded. My forehead was swollen. I went home and told father. He struck Maramani. We weren't real sisters. Our fathers were brothers. The two fathers were angry with Maramani and hit her, saying, "You are two sisters. How does it happen that you fight?"

When I was about twelve or fourteen, I fought with Kolpada. Our two fields had a common boundary. Kolpada in cutting weeds didn't follow her boundary carefully. She went over the boundary into my garden. I was angry and said, "This isn't the boundary. You have come over into my field. Go away. You can't work here." She said, "You go away." I was angry and we fought. Kolpada told her mother and father, and they said, "You fought first." They hit her for fighting.

Once Manilang and Mailang [two younger brothers] fought. Mani-

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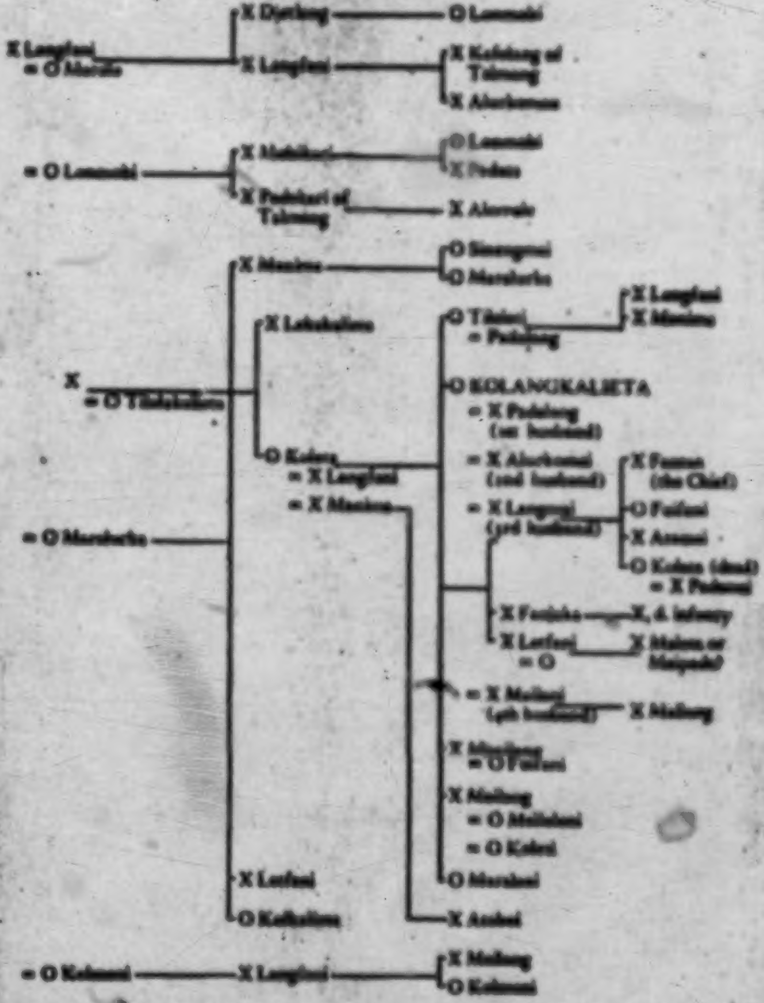
Genealogy of Kolangkalieta


X Langfani
= O Lonmahi
O KOLANGKALIETA
(1st husband)
(2nd husband)
(3rd husband)
(the Chief)
O Kolaen (dead)
X, & infancy
(4th husband)
X Langfani

lang was making a bamboo arrow and *Mailang* took it. They *fought* [illegible] together. *Mailang* shot *Manilang's* finger. I *fought* with *Mailang* and then I fought with *Manilang*. *Father* came and hit me. I said, "These two were fighting and I came to make them stop. Why do you hit me? You don't make arrows for the children, so they make their own and fight over them. When I try to stop them, you strike me." Then mother came and fought with father. In the struggle mother's forehead was wounded. First father's hand was hurt, so he hit mother and wounded her forehead. Mother said to father, "You have wounded me." With that they stopped fighting. [How did you *feel*?] I was afraid they would divorce each other. I said, "Don't fight." [Your age?] I was about twelve or fourteen.

[In a quarrel who usually came to your defense?] At that time we were living in a field house all alone. When mother fought with me, father helped me. When father fought with me, mother helped me. My siblings were still little, so I didn't fight with them. I had one older sister, Tilaleti. I was the second child. Next came two brothers, Manilang and Mailang; my sister Maralani was last. One is dead and four are still living. We all lived there together, apart from other people.

Once I was playing jacks with Sieangmai and I won more than she. [illegible] She said, "Every time we play with you, you get more than others." We fought. I hit her head with my fist and she hit mine. Then our two fathers came and said, "You two are sisters, so you must not fight." They grabbed us and we stopped. My father, who was the younger brother, grabbed Sieangmai, and her father, who was the older brother, grabbed me.

At that time my two fathers [her mother's two husbands] built a village at Lakfui, where there were big trees. First they cleared the fields. There was much blady grass. Then they built houses. When we were ready to make the death feast [*Ato*] for my grandparents, we went to our village [Wailafeng]. We had much rice and many pigs for the feast. It was very nice. My father had six brothers [classificatory], who all died in one year. This was the second year after the feast. There was a big epidemic [influenza, 1918] at the time. Maralani [her youngest sister] was small; she was still nursing. We all came up here to Atimelang to live in a field house. Father had died and Tilaleti [her oldest sister] had married Padalang in Atimelang. She had given birth to Langfani and Maniera.

When we came here I looked for a husband. We worked and worked, but it was no good. Our father's village is our village; our

159 mother's village is also our village, and we can work in either one. [Her mother was an Atimelang woman. Her father was from the Hatoberka district.] The epidemic came and so we moved here to Atimelang. My legs were heavy [i.e., not strong], so I stayed on here and married here. Now I live here all the time. I give my parents' death feasts here. Now I don't go back to my father's village of Wailafeng. I don't go there because all my family died there. When there is a feast, I wait for my Elder House [*fing fala*, i.e., the children of her father's older brother] to call me, and then I take a pig as a free gift [*puugbe*]. Once my Male House, Lanpada, gave a feast. I and my son [the chief of Atimelang] each took a pig, but when we gave a feast, Lanpada did not come. So now we don't go to him any more. However, we still attend the feasts of my brothers, Mailang and Ataboi, in Hatoberka.

March 26, 1939

Last night I dreamed that the chief of Atimelang [her oldest son] built another house between his own and our lineage house Tilalawati. I went up to look at it. It was very close to the other houses. I said, "You must not build here. If it catches fire, all the houses will burn. Take it away. Take it away." So they did. I came down to my own house and turned to look. The lineage house Tilalawati was burning. I said, "Who set fire to it?" Other people said, "Oh, it isn't burning; it is just a fire under the house that is smoking." I went back up the hill. The house was really on fire. I said, "Hurry, put it out. We had much trouble getting the timber and many expenses giving all the feasts." So they put out the fire. Half the house had burned; the other half had not. [Question.] It was the male half of the house that burned. Then I went down to my house and from there set out to fetch corn. I had picked it and was nearing the village at dusk when I awoke. [The house of which she dreamed had just been finished after several years of building. It has been her son's largest ceremonial undertaking to date. In January the houses alongside the newly finished lineage house did actually burn. Ti'alawati was saved with difficulty. For the significance of the male half see page 10.]

[Meaning?] That dream will come true. Once in Old Atimelang I dreamed that a house would burn, and it did.

Once mother and father went to cut a field at Talmang. They harvested a hundred baskets of rice from it. We divided them among the five people sharing the garden. We brought our rice down to store at

Lakfui. Ten of our baskets we used for the death feast [*Ato*] and ten /159x
we used to help buy a carabao at Hatoberka.

We went to Hatoberka when the carabao was killed. We returned to Lakfui and made a garden. We got a lot of food and with it bought a Taksuing gong. We didn't make a feast for the gong and didn't feed it. Because of this my father died.

We worked one year at Talmang and then moved back to Lakfui. We didn't have a good garden that year. It was full of blady grass. We made a small field house near the garden. I and Tilaleti [her older sister] worked in this garden. Mother and father stayed in the larger house at Lakfui. Each night father went to guard the field, but wild pigs came anyhow. So Tilaleti and I said that he should make a house at the foot of the garden, and we would live there to guard it; he could guard the top of the field. Each night we stayed awake to chase wild pigs. This went on until the corn was ripe and we could gather it.

At this time Mailang [a brother], mother, and father slept in the main house. After the harvest we two sisters returned to the main house. A man came and wanted to marry my sister. I said, "Elder sister, if you marry, I shall have to guard the field alone. We had better guard it together." But Tilaleti said, "No, a man has come and I must go. He does not want to stay here; he wants to go back to Atimelang." So those two went to Atimelang to live.

After that there was a smallpox epidemic. My siblings were all sick. First Mailang was sick. We were sleeping in the house one night when an owl came and beat the thatch with its wings. We thought perhaps it was a kinsman who had come to ask us to join him in Hanungmia. When we went there, many people chased us away because Mailang had smallpox. Then we went to Fuinangfana, but the people there also chased us away—I, mother, and Mailang. So we decided to live in a remote field house at Hanungmia. Lakakalieta and Kafolema said we were their relatives and that they would not chase us away. They built a field house for us to stay in. I, mother, Mailang, and Maralani went there to live. While we were staying there, a man from Kalmaabui, who also had smallpox, came to live with us. He died. Lonmani of Feba also was sick, came to us, and died. Melanglang also came to us because he was sick. I and Melanglang buried Lonmani. [It is not customary for [185
women to bury the dead, but Kolangkalieta had had smallpox and was 764]
known to be immune.] Lonmani's brother-in-law came to help us and bring us food. He stayed with us and slept with mother. Later mother was pregnant. He caught smallpox too. He was afraid and ran away to

x 159 Fuinangfana, where he died. I and Melanglang had recovered from our attacks and were able to bury people, so we went to Fuinangfana and buried him. Then we returned to Hanangmis. At this time two men came to warn us that people were planning to kill us. [They were considered a menace to the community. The warning was an act of kindness.] That night we didn't dare sleep. Before dawn we went secretly to an empty house in Fuinangfana. We borrowed fire from a neighbor, who was sick with dysentery. We lived quietly in that house, making small fires by which to cook. We closed the door and pulled up the ladder so people would not know we were there. One day Karmale came to fetch bamboo and saw smoke rising from our thatch. He wondered who was in the house and told Kolmani to go up and see. Kolmani came up and there we all were—we with our children and Melanglang with his. She said, "You don't have to be afraid any more. It is the dry season [when there are supposed to be fewer illnesses]. Come down; don't be afraid." So we all came down and the children played outdoors. When we went there, Maralani [her youngest sister] was still nursing and could not walk. Before we returned to the village she could run about.

[Question.] First smallpox afflicted Mailang, then me, then Melanglang, then his daughter Fuimau, then Maralani. Melanglang and Fuimau joined us when they felt sick. During this time Padalang, the husband of my sister Tilaleti, brought us food. He set it down at a distance and we would fetch it. He gave us a very large basket of shelled corn.

After that I worked in Atimelang [where her sister lived] until Langmai asked me to marry him. We gave feasts together. When he gave a feast, I would help him. Then he would help me give a feast for my family. He fetched pigs for the building of Kolwati [her lineage house]. [Long pause.]

When we lived at Lakfui, there were no other people there. We cut weeds to help mother and father. Every day we worked in the fields—I, mother, and all my siblings. Father minded the babies. I didn't play with or see many people until I came here to Atimelang. There in Lakfui whenever Tilaleti or I thought of kanari nuts we could go fetch them. [There are none near Atimelang.] But we didn't think often of picking kanari nuts. We stayed near the house. We thought only of the fields and of picking beans. We didn't think much of playing. When I was small and we lived at Lakfui, I remember only working in the fields. We went early in the morning and stayed on until evening. My Elder House [i.e., the children of her father's older brother] didn't think of the gardens. They played. My uncle would say to them, [54]x "Look at your Younger House. They remember the fields. Their father doesn't have to hit them even once." At that time I had a long, wide garden all my own. Father shot a big pig there, and we used its meat for the new corn feast.

March 27, 1939

[Kolangkalieta had danced all night and was very sleepy. I suggested that she wait until the following day, which she seemed eager to do.]

March 28, 1939

Last night I dreamed that my soul went to a field to pick young corn and greens. I went also to see how the rice was growing. On the way back I felt very sleepy in my dream, because I had danced the night before. When I reached home I cooked, ate with the children, and went to sleep early in the evening. I dreamed I woke the next morning and went to pick beans. After taking them home I went to another field to cut weeds. In the evening my soul came home and slept. The third day I went again to the fields and picked beans. I worked all day, returned to the village, cooked, ate, and then went to fetch water. After returning to the house with the water, I set out again to pick beans. My soul went to my gardens to look for them. When I came home with them, I didn't shell them but just put them all in a pile. Then Langmai's father called from Folafeng, asking me to take care of Manimai [her newborn grandson]. I sat there awhile, but then I thought, "It is almost dark. I had better go home and fetch some beans." So I went to pick beans again and filled a large basket. I decided I had better pick all the beans in that field. Then I came home and slept. The next day I went to my field to cut weeds. On the way home I decided to gather beans and corn. When I got home people were calling me again from Folafeng. I said, "Why do you call all the time? Why don't you come down and speak to me?" I went up. It was time to bring Manimai out of the house for the first time after his birth. I helped give him his first bath [customary when a child is taken [84] out of the house for the first time]. In the evening I went back to my house, cooked, and searched for beans near the house. Then I woke up. I slept from early evening until dawn. I didn't sleep all day after the dance, so I slept hard last night. [I doubt that this was a dream. It is, however, an excellent example of her daily routine of life.]

[Meaning of the dream?] We are always going to the gardens for x159 corn and beans, and so we dream what is true. [Long pause. I asked for her earliest memory.] My father built a house at Sungfalak. We lived there. Mother gave birth to Manilang, but I don't remember that, although I remember that I held him later. Then we went to Lakfui to live. I remember that I took care of Manilang when mother gave birth to Mailang. I was old enough to take care of Mailang when he was first brought out of the house. When mother and Mailang were still in the house [during the postnatal seclusion of four to six days], I held him only when mother had to urinate. When father cut weeds, I cared for the child. When mother cut weeds, I went with her, and father took care of the children.

[I asked again for her earliest memory.] First of all I saw a feast, after the birth of Manilang. They roasted a goat and a pig and cooked rice baskets and paid wealth. I remember too when they made the house at Lakfui.

[She is very talkative but vague and incoherent this morning. She mutters while the interpreter is translating, as though she were talking to herself.]

When we lived at Lakfui, father and I would hunt kanari nuts together. Father would look up into the trees. Sometimes he saw rats, the kind that live in trees. He would shake the tree for nuts and then climb up to shoot rats. He gave them to us. He would crack the kanari nuts and give them to us. He went to the ravine to hunt crabs and crayfish. He gave them to me and also to my younger siblings, who followed him.

Later father went for kanari nuts and I followed him. He looked up in trees. If he saw rats, he shot them and put them in my basket, and I carried them home to give to mother and the younger siblings.

Then there was a hungry period. One of my father's sisters had married a man near Awasi. We went there. Mother, I, and my aunt went to hunt banana stalks. We peeled, cooked, and ate them. Father stayed home alone. When the new corn began to form, we ate it, husks and all. Gradually the new crop came along and we ate our fill once more. Just as the peas were ripening, the big earthquake came. Everything was broken. All the pots fell over and were cracked and broken. The ground everywhere slumped. We thought many people would be killed. Two men disappeared. They were probably carried away in the landslides. At this time we were staying at Lakfui.

[She was still muttering, half asleep. I asked whose birth she saw first.] I saw mother give birth to Mailang. It was when we were living alone at Lakfui. We went to gather rice in a field we were sharing with

Letma. We had a small field house there. We were sitting there, mother and I, when mother suddenly gave birth to the baby. [How did you feel about it?] I was glad to see a younger sibling. [Was your mother sick?] Yes, but mother was adding to us, and I was glad. [Age?] I was about ten or eleven then. 159x

A little later father left to work in another rice field, near Talmang. Mother and I stayed home with Mailang. Mailang developed a fever, and I went all alone to Talmang to call father. The baby's soul had followed father to Talmang, where father was threshing rice. The baby was sick because father was working. Father took some of the first rice he had threshed, told it not to make the child sick, and then threw it away. After that the baby got well.

[Why do you not remember the birth of Manilang?] That happened at Sungfalak. I was little and didn't see it. I was in the house, but it was at night and I was asleep. When I awoke I saw mother was holding a new baby. [Were you surprised?] I don't remember clearly. Yes, I guess I was surprised. [Had you stopped nursing at that time?] I don't remember nursing. I think I had long ago forgotten the breast. [Who cared for you most?] Father was the one who cared for me. When Manilang was born, Tilaleti cared for him. When Mailang was born, I was big enough to care for him.

March 29, 1939

I didn't dream last night.

When I was about eight years old, my mother and father went to Kalmati to help cut the beams of our lineage house. I took care of Mailang. He cried and cried. Toward evening we sat watching the path for our parents to return. They didn't come, so we began to cry and cry. Then Lakakalieta [her mother's older brother] went to the privy, took up some dried feces, and put it in Mailang's mouth. We said, "Don't. You must not do this." But he did anyhow. He said, "This child cries a great deal. This will make him stop." It was dark and mother and father had not come. Finally we went in the house to sleep. The next day it was noon before they came home. We said, "Mother, you have been gone a long time. Your breasts must be swollen and painful. You had better be nice to our younger brother and nurse him." [She stopped. I asked if they told their mother about the feces episode.] Yes, I told mother, but she said, "Your younger brother cried a great deal. That was all right to do." [165]

After that people gave a death feast for my maternal grandmother at Wailafeng. We all went there for the feast.

159 After my maternal grandmother's death feast, Lakakalieta [her mother's older brother] gave a feast for his grandparents. We took a pig to Atimelang for it.

[She was having difficulty talking. I asked who was her favorite sibling. There was the usual confusion and hesitation about expressing a preference in a case of this sort, but finally she said it was her older sister, Tilaleti.] When we had smallpox, Tilaleti and her husband were the ones who helped us with food. When I gave a feast she always helped. [Didn't your brother help?] When Manilang was still in Hatoberka, he never came to see me. After he died I went to Mailang in Hatoberka, and he gave me a big dowry payment. First Mailang married Malielani. When I went [to visit them], Malielani never gave me anything. Then he married Koleti, and Koleti always gives me something when I go there. When Manilang was still living, his wife Fuifani never gave me anything, even when Manilang told her to. She always quarreled about it. Now Ataboi's wife gives me things. [Ataboi is her half brother, by the same mother but a different father.] Fuifani and Malielani never gave us anything, but the other two [sisters-in-law] always give us anything they have. Mailang and Ataboi have made many dowry payments on me. My son and his father exchanged bride-prices often with them. Lanpada of Talmang isn't strong any more. He doesn't give us much, so we don't go to him any more. We just go to Hatoberka for feasts. Alomale of Talmang is my Elder House, but he doesn't give us much food. He is nice, but he doesn't know how to work and doesn't have much. I don't want to go back to Talmang and Wailafeng because the earth is infected. We had much sickness there, and I don't want to remember the place. [These were the informant's villages and the places where her six uncles died of smallpox in one year. Pause.]

When there was a death feast at Folafeng for Makallaka, mother and I took a pig. [Note how she listed feasts when she blocked. I asked about the death of her mother.]

[648] When mother died, wars were being stopped by the government. I had already borne my oldest child [the chief of Atimelang] and Fuifani when mother died. [She stopped. I asked how her mother died.] My mother died because she picked the squash of an evil spirit. She had planted the squash herself, but this squash had two stems for one fruit. Mother picked, cooked, and ate it. Then the evil spirit followed her and possessed her. People came to tell me and Tilaleti that an evil spirit had possessed our mother and that she was probably al-

ready dead. So we went with our children to Hatoberka, where mother 159x was staying. When we got there, mother was still talking, but the human being in her was dead. It was just the evil spirit talking. We went up into the house and mother said, "Where are all my grandchildren? I want to see them before I die." We said, "There are five of them here." I and Tilaleti cried and cried. Mother said, "Don't cry. I am going away. Don't cry here. All the Wanghieta lineage has already come with pigs and food. Go down and take their food from them; offer them areca nuts and betel to chew. Go take care of your guests." So I said, "People came to us and said you were dead; therefore I am crying." She said, "Yes, I am going. I am going. But you must not cry." Before mother died all her Elder House had gathered. We women all set to work to pound corn, not rice. Then Ataboi's father said, "I see that the women are pounding corn only. We had better go to the dead person's Male House." They all went to her Male House, who gave eight large baskets of rice, one pig, and one Tawansama moko as death gifts [*bangpil*]. I was given one large basket to pound. That night they beat gongs all night. I ordered people to go fetch a pig of mine to feed the gong beaters. The next day we buried her. That evening we beat gongs again. Then we went right ahead and gave not only the Hevelaberka and Hevelakang but also the Rolik feast. For the Rolik feast my husband brought a Piki moko, a Kabali moko, a small gong, and a Tamamia moko to help pay off the death obligations. The Tamamia moko was used for a payment on the death gifts to the Male House [*tubui*]. It went to the chief of Fungatao, who was mother's elder Male House [*nawas fing*]. The Piki and Kabali mokos and the gong were used to help pay for the shroud. At this time Ataboi [who was only fifteen or sixteen] and Mailang [her young brother] went to ask for a shroud in Aila. My husband and Padalang [her brother-in-law] also offered a woman's heavy shawl [*lemarieng*] as a shroud. [Which did you use?] Father died during an epidemic and we just buried him naked. [This happened when there were not enough [183 764] shrouds to go around.] So we buried mother with two. One she was to give father to wear.

Eighteen people came to bring gongs, mokos, and pigs for mother's death feast. We used all of them to pay for the death feast gifts [*bangpil*] of the Male House and for the shrouds. We brought home only one pig. Manima, Ataboi's father, spoke to me and said, "How does it happen that all the Female House gathers to bring gongs and pigs?" I said, "It is because I always remember to give them things to eat.

x159 They get much food from me; therefore they have to remember their Female House." We gave the large pig we brought home from the death feast and three baskets of rice and seventy small corn bundles to pay for the Tamamia moko [worth 8 rupiahs] that my husband brought to the death feast. The pig was one of those the Female House brought to the death feast. It was given to us to help pay for the Tamamia moko. Padalang [her sister's husband] only brought a Kabali moko [worth 3 rupiahs] to help pay for the shroud.

Now when they give a feast in Hatoberka, the Female House gives my son many gifts, but he never brings anything back with him. He uses them all to pay for the feast right there. He said to me, "Mother, how is it that people give me so much, yet I don't bring anything home?" I tell him, "It's because you are like your father." [Note this grown man's obvious bid for praise from his mother and his mother's response by comparing him to his father.]

[At this point I had to leave for about five minutes. I returned to find Kolangkalieta and the interpreter discussing recent births with smiling animation. On March 17 and 21 Kolangkalieta's two sons each had a son born to them. On March 23 the interpreter had also had a son. It is customary to say that people who are born at approximately the same time will grow up to be friends.]

March 30, 1939

Last night I dreamed I went to Habang to help people cut weeds. When I got there I found they were not cutting weeds after all; so instead I hunted kanari nuts and then went to Hatoberka. When I got there I thought I had better see how my rice field was getting on. I found that rats had stripped it. I stopped to clean the weeds all around the boundary of the garden, and then I returned to the village. It wasn't very late yet, so I decided to come home to Atimelang. First I went to the fields to pick corn and beans. When I got back here I woke up.

I went back to sleep and my soul went to Kalmaabui [near her native village] to hunt kanari nuts. I found only a few. Then I thought I'd cut some rope fiber. After that I returned here to the village and woke up. It was getting light when I awoke.

Then I dreamed I went with Corlini [a twenty-year-old neighbor] to cut weeds. We passed through woods only. We didn't come into any villages. I asked, "What is the matter that we go through woods only and don't see villages?" Corlini said, "Oh, this is all right." On the way back from the field we roughhoused and hit each other in play. When we reached here we thought people were dancing on Likma's dance place. We went down to join in the dance but found they were only playing. We went back to our houses to sleep. [Long pause. Incoherent comments.]

[I asked about the period when she was a neighbor of Lomani's mother, Fuimau, at Raugfui. See Lomani's autobiography.] At one time I and Fuimau shared a field. We got twenty baskets of rice from it. Each of us got ten. My share I divided with Matingkalieta, who helped me. Matingkalieta took hers away, but mine I stored with Fuimau here in Atimelang. That year I also had a field that yielded twenty-five baskets of rice. Padakalieta took fifteen of these baskets and paid me a Makaughabara moko [worth 10 rupiahs] and a Piki moko [worth 5 rupiahs]. I stayed at Raugfui for only one year, but Fuimau and her children were there a long time. [Note how much more significant this period of neighborliness was to Lomani.]

The rice that Fuimau and I had, we contributed to the Baleti death feast of Lonkalieta at Atimelang. [Lonkalieta was Fuimau's mother's mother and an older sister of Kolangkalieta's husband.]

Next I went to Lefui and stayed three years. Wolmau came and fought with me there because her husband, Letfani, wanted to marry me. Letfani was my dead husband's younger sibling. Wolmau did not want him to marry me. She came and said, "You can't marry my husband." I said, "Good." She said, "You can't stay here. Go away." So I went to stay with my brother at Hatoberka. When Wolmau died, Letfani sent a messenger to say I had to come back to Atimelang. He sent a gong to my brother. He said I was not to sleep with other men. I said that before I returned to Atimelang he had to pay for a pig that Motlaka had given our family. However, I returned to Atimelang. Motlaka went to Kapitan Jacob to litigate about the pig. Letfani came while I sat in litigation and paid for the pig for me. That night I went back to Atimelang to live with him. Letfani thought that if I stayed with my children in Hatoberka for a long time they would grow up to speak another dialect. That is why he sent a messenger to fetch me.

That was a rat year. I planted a field at Kidasau. The next year was a good one. I planted at Kelamasi, but it was a hungry time, so I planted corn. I got a big crop. After the harvesttime I brought the food here to Atimelang. [This was a sign of loyalty to her husband.] When I got back, the soldiers had arrived to gather up people who had not paid taxes. Letfani had not paid his, so the soldiers took me. First they took me to Dikimpe for two days and then to Mainang for four days and nights.

After that I cut a very large field. Although the crop did not sucx 159 ceed very well, we got forty baskets. Then Alurkaseni litigated against me and Fuimau because we had not paid for Matingkalieta's shroud. I used some rice to feed Alurkaseni. Then the former chief of Atimelang ordered me to go to Atafani and ask for the moko that he planned to sell for taxes. I was to promise to pay his tax for him if he gave me the moko. When Alurkaseni started to litigate, I called Atakalieta and Fanmai at Raugfui, saying, "We are only women. It is better if our menfolk come talk for us." They said their share of the death obligations had been paid and that Fuimau and I must pay for the shroud for Matingkalieta. I came back and told the chief what they had said. It was then that he told me to go get the moko from Atafani. I went to Atafani, and he gave it to me. I brought it back and gave it to the chief, who gave it to Alurkaseni. But Alurkaseni continued to stand there. He said that the owners of the shroud had not yet been fed. So I said, "Yesterday when I went to get the moko, you complained of being hungry when I returned. Then I brought down five corn bundles, and two of them I pounded and cooked, and the others I cooked without pounding. You ate only the pounded corn. Now if I go off and gather together the owners of the shroud so they can be fed, you will get hungry again." So he said, "All right, give me the food, and I can go give it to the various owners of the shroud." So I gave a serving basket of rice, and Fuimau gave one of corn and one of rice. He took the food to the owners of the shroud.

[I asked where her son was during these difficulties.] Oh, he was just a child. Letfani's son, Maipada [by another wife], was at Hiengmang when I went there for Atakalieta and Fanmai. Maipada also did not help me call people. Letfani was already dead. I had no husband at the time. Alurkaseni thought, "Now she has no husband. This is a good time to litigate for the payment of the shroud. Furthermore, if Fuimau dies, her children [all girls] will never pay for it. I had better get it now." That is what he thought.

March 31, 1939

I didn't dream.

When my oldest son was about seven and his brother Atamai was still small, I went to cut weeds. I didn't come back till dark. My husband, Langmai, was very angry, because he was minding the children and it was so late when I returned. He hit me with a club on the legs and thighs. Then I wanted to take Atamai, but my husband wouldn't let me. He said, "Sleep alone. I'll mind my own child." So I slept alone [563] and he slept with Atamai. Only I couldn't sleep. I sat up. Finally I thought I would run away. I went to Kolfankalieta and her husband, but I wasn't happy there. I thought, "My husband may come and look for me here. He may hit me again." So I ran to a place in the jungle and slept there on a rock. As I sat there I heard the noise of a shield. There was much warfare at the time. But it was my husband and my sister Tilaleti who were coming. I hid. Then I heard them at Hatoberka; they were asking for me. My brothers said I hadn't come there yet. After looking for me they turned back to Atimelang. At dawn I went to Wolkalieta's house. I said, "I am going to cut rope material." Wolkalieta said, "No, I shall cook before you go. Maybe you are hungry." I said, "You can cook, but while we are eating people may come and beat me." I went on to cut rope material and then returned to my hiding place on top of the rock. I began thinking I had better go to the field house in my brother's garden. I went there to sleep. There were many bats flying about. I was afraid but I stayed there until dawn. I was hungry. I had eaten only two raw, unripe ears of corn and a few raw sweet potatoes. I thought, "If I stay here, people will surely come to this place to look for me." I went to Talmang. My cousins Alomale and Alurkomau were sitting on the verandah. Their wives said, "Maybe you are hungry. We shall cook and then you can eat." So I hung my basket on the eaves and went up into the house. As I sat there, Manilang came and asked whether I had been there or not. The other two said, "No, we have not seen her." Then Manilang noticed my basket and said, "That is my elder sister's basket." Alomale and Alurkomau said, "No, she isn't here." But Manilang came up into the house anyway and saw me sitting there. He spoke to me, saying, "When I go back, I shan't say that I have seen you. You can stay here." Then he returned to Hatoberka. Langmai [her husband] burned Mailang's field house where I had stayed the preceding night. The corn planted near it was scorched. The next day Langmai and Mailang came. I heard the noise of their shields. I said, "Who told you I was here?" Langmai said, "I have burned Mailang's field house and corn [implying it was her fault that he was doing desperate things]. I said, "You are the one who hit me. If you had not hit me, I should not have run away. Perhaps I should still be sitting in Atimelang." My cousins had said before Langmai came, "If he hits you and then pursues you, we had better pay back his bride-price. You two had better be divorced." However, when Langmai came, he spoke nicely to them and to me. He said I had better go back with him.

As we sat talking, Padafani of Talmang, who was an enemy of my husband and whose village was at war with Atimelang, was plotting to kill Langmai. Alomale's wife heard about this, so she gave Langmai weapons. Then Langmai said out loud for all to hear, "If someone wants to shoot me, I shall kill Mailang and my wife, who are returning to my village with me [i.e., use his wife and brother-in-law as hostages to thwart the plot of their village-mate]." We three set out together. The others were ambushed in the brush, where they could shoot Langmai without making any noise. However, when they saw Mailang and me with Langmai, they didn't shoot. When we came to Wailafeng, Mailang, in full armor, climbed a coconut tree and then an areca tree. He put the coconuts in my basket and divided the areca nuts between me and Langmai [a very conciliatory procedure, especially in view of the fact that his field house had been burned down]. Then we went on again. As we passed my field near Atimelang, I saw that many of my beans were dry or were rotten on the vine. I put the coconuts under a tree and stopped to fill my basket with beans and young corn. I took them home and returned the next day for the coconuts.

When we reached Atimelang, the people there had heard that the people of Kewai and Lakawati had killed their co-villager, Maniseni. Langmai immediately called his male kin to wage war on Kewai. But we learned later that Maniseni had not been killed. He himself had shouted that he had been shot, because he saw Kewai people assembling on the trail. Some Atimelang men and some Alurkowati men went to fight the Kewai people. There were not many men, only seventeen or eighteen, because the others had all gone off to sell a human head in the Kafoi area. However, the Atimelang and Alurkowati people chased the Kewai people for about half a mile. They fought until evening. The Kewai people said that they were not trying to kill Langmai and his brother Letfani, since they were kin of theirs. They said they had aimed, not at them, but to one side of them. Toward evening both sides went home [no one having been killed]. When Langmai reached home, he said, "Have you something cooked? We are hungry and we want to eat." I dished up boiled corn for them. [This indicates that they were reconciled.] That night we all slept.

The next morning Mangmani went out to weed the boundary of his rice field. He saw that Kalmaabui people had gathered and wanted to kill him. He shouted that the Kalmaabui people had shot him. All the Atimelang people ran up and saw the Kalmaabui men sitting there. The people of Kalmaabui ran away. The Atimelang people came home.

April 1, 1939

Last night I dreamed that I went to Talmeng with a boy whose name I forget. Oh yes, it was Fanlaka. We went to get coconuts. We didn't pick our own; we took Malehieta's. Fanlaka said, "These are not ours; these are Malehieta's. If we take them, people will litigate and we shall be blamed. Let us go to our own garden to pick them." So we went there instead. He climbed the tree and picked some coconuts. Part of them he husked and we ate; part we put in our baskets to take home. We went down to Makaug and then up to Kunna. There I told him to wait while I cut rope material. When I finished, we went on. We came to my field. I said we had better pick beans and corn. It was late afternoon when we reached home. I awoke.

Once I had a fight with Lonmale of Alurkowati. [Pause. What about?] It was about a man. Alurkomai [her second husband] had died and I went to live in the Lonwati lineage house [with her maternal uncle]. Langmai [who was to become her third husband] came to me, and his first wife, Lonmale, was angry. She fought with me [as was customary for a first wife]. One day I wanted to go gather rice on a field near Bakudatang. That morning Lonmale came to fight with me. I said I had to go gather rice and that we could fight another day. She said, "No, you can't go. We must fight and play until evening." So Lonmale began fighting with me and I fought back. I kicked her and then went to fetch my carrying baskets to take to the fields. Lonmale followed me, pulling on my baskets. She followed me halfway to Bakudatang and then turned back. On my way back people said that Lonmale was lying in wait for me and that I had better take another trail home. I said, "She is used to fighting me and hitting me. I shall just follow the accustomed path." So I went on, and Lonmale was standing on the path. She pushed and pulled me. We fought from there all the way down to the village. That night she was still fighting with me.

Langmai came once and I said, "Your wife is always fighting with me." Langmai said, "Oh, that first wife did not bear me children and now she is barren. If she had begotten children, I might be sorry for her, but I don't want to follow that barren woman."

In time I was pregnant; then Langmai stayed with me all the time. He didn't live with his barren wife. After I had a child, Langmai didn't come to help me with the field work, so I went to fight with Lonmale. I said, "How is it that you, who are barren and whose one child is long dead, are helped by our husband? Why doesn't he help me, who bear children?" Then we fought all the time, but Lonmale had begun to

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157 like me. She would come to fondle my child. I would say to her, "Why do you always come to fondle my child?" It was I who fought with her. She liked me by then. When we fought I said, "If it hadn't been for me, perhaps your husband would not have had any children. We are both women, but you had only one child and it died. How is it that our husband doesn't help me work in the fields? If he wanted to help me, he would care for the child so that I could go work in the fields." My child fell sick, so I went to stay at the Lomtawati lineage house with Lakahalieta and Kolhalieta [a maternal uncle and his wife]. I stayed and stayed, until the child was a little better. Then I went to stay with Padahalieta. After that Langmai built a field house in Old Atimelang, and we lived there together.

Before my child was sick Langmai built a field house in Atimelang. Fiyehalieta and Lanhalieta came to stay with me there. One day Lanhalieta set our house afire [by mistake]. As a result the village burned
[593] down. I paid a large pig for the destruction of Kolwati [a lineage house]. For another lineage house I also paid a large pig. I paid for all the large houses. [Compare Tilapada's account, December 26.] When Langmai wanted to make me another field house in Atimelang, the people said, "You have burned the village. If you stay here, you will get sick." We said, "Even if we are sick, we are going to make our house here. This is our village." But we didn't get sick.

While we were living in Atimelang, Langmai was sick and almost died. His first wife, Lonmale, took him to Rualmeneng, but he didn't get well fast. So Lonmale took him to Alurkowati. Padamai took my son, who was still small, to see his father. Langmai wept and wept when he saw his son. Late in the evening Padamai brought the child home. I said, "How is it that you come home when the sun has almost set, and haven't brought the child in a carrying scarf but only in your bare arms?" I was angry with him. After this Langmai was no longer happy in Alurkowati. He thought, "Perhaps I shall die here before seeing my wife and child." Then Langmai moved to Puorkaivi, where there was an empty field house. I was there cutting woods. I didn't know he was near, and he didn't see the smoke of my fire. That evening I went back to the village. People told me that Langmai and Lon-
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158 male were there at Puorkaivi. That night Langmai dreamed. Someone
735 came to him and said, "People who fall from high areca palms must die.
[77] However, your medicine is at the root of the eucalyptus tree near Manifala. Go fetch it, pound it up, soak it in water, and drink it. Then you will urinate. In a day or two your body will be as strong as usual."

He did what the dream indicated and then he did indeed urinate. His 157
sickness was that he couldn't urinate because a lump of lime closed the 755
opening of his penis. When he urinated after drinking the medicine, he saw that stone come out first. He saw that his urine was black like charcoal. He said, "Oh, it is true. I am urinating charcoal because I burned the village. That is why I am sick." After that he began to sweat. He felt better. He returned to the village and lived with me and the children.

April 3, 1939

Last night I dreamed that I went toward the coast with Maliang 154
[her youngest son] to cut weeds. [Here Kolangkaliets listed a series of place names; she went to her garden and saw that rats had eaten much of her rice; she weeded to the edges of the fields and rescued the remnants of the rice crop. After going home she set out again to get corn and beans. I asked if there was any other content to the dream. She said no. I asked for early memories.]

When Fantan [her eldest son]* could just crawl, I and my husband went to Likuwatang to buy a Pisiengis moko [worth 55 rupiahs]. We took much rice and corn in addition to gongs and mokos. The coast people met us. We made the exchange and started back. [She stated just where they stopped en route to eat and where they danced that night.] The next morning we divided the top of the moko in half with a line of lime and named half of it Padakafeli and half of it Atamaeing. [I interrupted to say I wanted personal anecdotes. She was blocked. I asked for anecdotes of her daughter Kolata. For other references to the daughter see Lomani's autobiography.]

There was a feast and we took threshed rice to it. Lakakaliets and Langfani [maternal uncle and father respectively] were talking together that night. As they talked, enemies of my uncle from Kafakberka came. They saw the two men through a hole in the wall. They shot at Lakakaliets and hit him near the ear. Blood spurted out all over the rice. Mother and Tilaleti [the informant's elder sister] took the bloody rice and threw it away. Tilaleti was already married at the time. We used the rest of the rice for the feast. After the feast we went home. Before long the smallpox epidemic broke out. Maralani [her youngest sister] was sick first. Then I fell ill. We came back here to Atimelang. People who were sick all came to our place. After my

* Not to be confused with Fantan the Interpreter. This Fantan was the current chief of Atimelang.

x589 father and male kin had all died, we decided we had better move to mother's village.

[Kolangkalieta thought that my request for anecdotes about Kolata referred to her mother, not her daughter; both of them had the same name. Is it significant that she thought of her mother rather than her daughter? I again asked for stories about her daughter.]

Shall I tell about her search for a man? The tumukun wanted to marry Kolata, but his second wife fought with her all the time. Therefore Kolata said she didn't want to marry a man who already had a wife, because she would have to fight all the time. She said she wanted to marry a single man. At that time she and Padamai had already reached a private agreement. The tumukun was very angry and said, "Why do you want this man? He is nothing [a very insulting remark]." He boxed Kolata's ears and hit Padamai over the head. Kolata said, "No matter how you talk to me, I don't want you." The chief of Atimelang [Kolata's older brother] didn't want her to marry either the tumukun or Padamai. I wanted her to marry Padamai. The two young people said it was over between them, but in their hearts they still wanted each other. Even after the tumukun hit him Padamai continued to live in our house with us. I told Padamai he was our Female House and we were his Male House, that our home was also his and he could live with us. Padamai was a seer. He cured a man and was given a large pig in payment. Padamai brought the pig to my house and kept it there. At that time there was a feast in Hatoberka. I and my son were hunting for a pig to take. Padamai said to me, "Elder sister, don't search any more for a pig. You can use mine." I said, "Good, but this is a debt, and later we shall pay it back." Padamai answered, "No, just use it." We went to the feast and Padamai did not eat. [This was a sign of affection for, and relationship with, her dead kin.] On the way home I asked Kolata where we would find a pig to pay back the one we had received from Padamai. She said, "Oh, we don't have to pay it back." [That is, it would serve as a bride-price payment.] Later we talked the matter over with my elder son, the chief. Padamai had hidden himself up in the mango tree to eavesdrop. The chief was angry and said, "Why do you two like this man who has no gongs and mokos? Why do you accept his pig? Perhaps he has given you a shawl?" [It is customary for the bridegroom to give his mother-in-law a shawl as a token [589] of payment and an engagement present.] I said, "I wear a shawl, don't I? Is this of cottara leaves? I too have a shawl." The chief was very angry. Kolata said, "I want a single man. Whether or not he has any gongs and mokos, I like him." The chief said, "Perhaps you are buying a husband and the husband is not buying you?" Then the chief went up to Folafeng and took a pig that Padamai was raising in partnership with another man. Mailang and Ataboi [Kolata's uncles] said the chief could not accept a pig and that Padamai would have to pay in gongs and mokos. So the chief told Padamai that *if* he could find a Kolmale gong he could count that toward his bride-price. Padamai went off and returned that same evening with the gong. The chief accepted the gong and returned the pig he had taken from Padamai. Then Atakalieta of Folafeng said, "Now you have married a woman, so you must roast a pig for us." So Padamai shot Kolani's pig and roasted it for the people involved in the litigation. I cooked corn, beans, and rice for them. Then the chief said, "All right, you have married my sister and you can sleep together." So they did, and thereafter they worked together in the fields. Then Atamai [the younger son of the informant] said he had to be given a bride-price payment. Padamai gave him a Yekaning moko. He also got a Tamamia moko for a pig he was raising. This he gave to the chief. [She continued with a recital of Padamai's bride-price negotiations.]

[Why did you want Padamai as a son-in-law?] Because he and she were both my children. [What is Padamai's relationship to you now that your daughter is dead?] He still works in the fields for me. I remember him. [Since his wife's death about two years before, Padamai had not remarried. He lived with the informant, who took care of her granddaughter. I asked why the informant wanted Padamai for a son-in-law in the first place.] Because Kolata said, "Mother, if I marry a man with a mother and father, I must live with them. It will be like throwing you away. If I marry an orphan, I can stay with you." I too wanted Padamai to marry her. After they married, Padamai contributed not one gift but three or four to building our lineage house, Tilalawati. Thereafter the chief also liked Padamai.

[I asked how Padamai happened to be in the tree and overhear their conversation about him. The informant said, without any show of indignation, that he had come to hear what they would say. I asked if that was all right. She obviously didn't grasp the idea that there might be an ethical question involved. She answered that it was night, so that he could hide in the tree without being seen. Later he had run home and stayed with her and Kolata that night. He didn't speak of what he had overheard. It was much later, after he had married Kolata, that he told of listening to this conversation about him.]

April 4, 1939

x 159 [Kolangkalieta began with another rambling account of fetching food and inspecting her gardens, which she told in the form of a dream. She then paused and said, "Now let me think what I should talk about. I remember that once I went toward the coast to fetch kanari nuts." I asked her to continue with anecdotes about her daughter.]

Before Kolata married Padamai she was married to Padalang. She wanted to go to Kalabahi. She was busy sewing a sleeping mat, so she asked Padalang to roast some corn for her trip. Padalang had a headache at the time, but he was not very sick. He roasted the corn for her. Then an evil spirit appeared to Padalang in the form of Kolata going to fetch water. But it wasn't Kolata. It was an evil spirit. Padalang had intercourse with this spirit, thinking it was his wife. Then he looked about and saw that the water tubes and the woman had disappeared. He returned to the village. In three days he was dead. On the day that he thought he had intercourse with Kolata, she had left for Kalabahi. On the day he died Kolata returned. She came home and called to me, "Mother, let down the ladder. I shall come up for a while before going to my husband." She didn't know her husband was dying. I said to her, "All right, I'll let down the ladder, but you had better hurry because your husband is dead." Fulfani, who had accompanied Kolata to Kalabahi, had gone on ahead to the house. When she got there Padalang was still moaning. When she lifted his head he died. [Question.] Kolata had slept with him once. When he wanted to sleep with her again, she ran away from him. He used to watch the spring so he could grab her when she went for water. Probably the evil spirit heard of this and came to deceive him.

[I asked again about the informant's relationship to her daughter. It was extremely difficult to make her talk about herself.]

x 159 593 My husband, Langmai, slept with Falepangmale. His brother Letfani was angry. He told Langmai he had better not live in Atimelang any more, that he had better go live in my village or stay in a camping place. Other people had slept with Falepangmale too. Letfani said, "If you don't leave now, I shall cut the strings of your side shield and your back shield." [This act was a symbol of rejection.] Still Langmai didn't go, x 159 so Letfani cut his shield strings. Then Langmai went with me to Hatoberka. When the soldiers came to Atimelang to carry off the people who hadn't paid taxes, they bound Letfani and took him off. They came to Hatoberka with him. A man told Langmai, who was sick at the time, what had happened. The man said they had better pay Letfani's taxes so he would not be put in jail. Langmai said, "Good. There is a big pig. Perhaps the soldiers will accept that. Or if not, there is also a carabao. My older brother has driven me away, but I won't let him be carried off to jail." So they took my pig and paid Letfani's tax. Langmai went back to Atimelang, and when the prisoners returned there was a dance for them. At dawn a big pig was killed for the chief and the mandur; there was a feast. When Langmai reached Atimelang he was dizzy and almost died. Letfani, his brother, fed their sacred hearth with rice and chicken. Langmai recovered. [In relating this adultery episode, the informant completely omitted her reaction to it, which was strong, as the subsequent paragraph shows. Why was there this persistent avoidance of herself as a participant? The mention of the feast and rice led her to the subject of garden work. She spoke of the fields that she and her husband had planted together, how many baskets of rice they had harvested, and how these were used. I asked how she felt about her husband's unfaithfulness.] 157

All the men slept with that woman. She was pregnant. She was like Fuimai [an immoral woman in the village at that time]. My husband was sitting on the verandah talking to other men; he told them that he had slept that night with Falepangmale. I was up in the house and heard it. I was very angry [literally, scorched within]. I flared up [literally, took fire]. I went to her house and burned it. I went to her field and chopped down all her banana trees. I hunted for her all over but couldn't find her. Then someone said she had gone to Lawatika, so I went there to look for her. She was hidden in Maugata's house. He too had slept with her, but she wasn't ashamed to hide in his house. Maugata's house was very high. He closed the door and sat on it so I couldn't get at her. She had gone to his house to have an abortion. When she was stronger, she came back here. One day I saw her leaning against a tree. I said, "We had better fight. If I don't fight with you, I may forget about it." Then two women said to me, "It was your husband who went to sleep with her. She didn't go to your husband." Falepangmale also said, "Yes, it is the men who come to me." I answered, "Yes, but you tug at a man's loincloth first. If you didn't, no one would come to you." Then we fought. She fell and I kicked her. People seized me and held me, and we stopped. [Did other women fight with Falepangmale?] A woman went with me when I hunted for her in Lawatika. But when Falepangmale came back, I fought with her alone. [Were you angry with your husband also?] Yes, I was very angry. I fought first with my husband; then I went to burn down Falepang-

157 mai's house and destroy her banana trees. [How long were you angry with your husband?] I was angry with him for two days or more. I was angry until we left for Hatuberka. I wouldn't sleep with him. I wanted to go to my kin in Hatuberka. I said, "Your older brother has ordered you to go away from your village. He has thrown you away. I am still angry with you; but if I throw you away as your older brother has done, who will cook for you? We had better go to my village." So we went.

April 6, 1939

Last night I dreamed that my soul went to Old Atimelang. The Mol-wati lineage house was there. Many people now dead were there with my mother-in-law [Langmai's mother]. I said, "Oh, I have made a mistake. I have come to the village of the dead. So I returned to New Atimelang. I called to my children, "Have you already cooked food?" They said they hadn't, so I went up into the house and boiled corn. Then I woke up.

When the soldiers came to collect taxes, I ran away to sleep in Rengfui. We thought that if we stayed long in any one place they would find us, so we decided to go elsewhere. The chief [her eldest child] carried Atamai [her third child], and I carried Kolata. We went on to Fepadok. We were still afraid they might find us, so we went on to the ravine. There was a large house there. After a time we thought we had better move on to Polomoko. From there we fled to the ravine again. There we heard people coming. It sounded as though they were soldiers, so we fled to the woods. Again we heard people talking, so we went to Kalafi. There Atakalieta said, "Why do you take my children to the woods? They can be hidden here." But many people were to be heard coming and going, so I was afraid and went to Leifui, where I stored all my corn in the loft of a house. Manimai came to us there and said that Letfani [older brother of her husband] and Fuimau [the mother of Lomani; see Lomani's autobiography] had had ropes tied around their necks and had been led away by the soldiers. When Manimai came, my older son, who was still small, entered the house and saw his uncle sitting there. Manimai asked my son, "Where are your mother and your siblings?" He told his uncle we were seated near the trail. His uncle told him to fetch us because it was not safe for us to stay there longer. We were to go to Feberka. Manimai carried the oldest child and a tube of water. I carried Kolata. [Note that she has here omitted her second son, Atamai.] I wanted to go back to Leifui for food, but I saw many soldiers coming down the slope, so we all ran to hide in a small ravine. After that we decided we had better not stay in Feberka. Fuimau stayed, but I went on with the children. I hid there in the forest until an old woman came one day and said the soldiers had all left. We returned to our village, and so did all the other people. [Question.] This went on for about two months. When we got back, Letfani had also returned. [597

[Pause. I reminded her that she had not yet spoken of her other husbands or of her children by them.]

Padalang [her first husband] had given two mokos for me. That year I raised a lot of corn, over a hundred bundles. He ate them all up. I said, "Good, you can eat corn." But in my heart I didn't want him, so I came home. He followed and wanted his bride-price refunded. When we reckoned all my food, he got back only a Tamasnia [worth 8 rupiahs]. Fanalang brought out all kinds of mokos and asked which he wanted. He took Alurkomai's Tamasnia moko. At that time I already wanted to marry Langmai, but he said that he was married and that I had better go to his younger brother [Alurkomai], whose moko had been taken by my first husband. So I did.

That was a good year and everyone was cultivating large fields. We all went off to harvest rice. People called and said Alurkomai was dead. I went back to Atimelang and stayed at the Lomwati lineage house. Alurkomai was in the Molwati lineage house. When they buried him, I wanted to sever the cord, but Langmai said not to do it. I wanted to use medicine to keep Alurkomai's soul from following me, but Langmai said, "Do not do it. If you do, you will want another husband and will not want to stay here with us." So I stayed. Every day Langmai came and brought me areca nuts. Lonmale, his first wife, came to fight with me. She said, "If you marry my husband and sleep in my place, where shall I sleep?" I said, "I didn't search out your husband. He came to me." Tilalei, my older sister, said, "You can't fight with my child [i.e., younger sister]. Fight with me. I am your size; she is still small." [595 Tilalei wanted to fight for me, but I said, "No, let us go out to the dance place. I shall be the one to fight." I took off my anklets and bracelets and we fought. We fought until I knocked Lonmale down. Then I pulled her across the flat gravestones. We fought until Lonmale cried.

After I had given birth to the chief and to Fuifani, Lonmale died. Langmai wanted to marry Lomai. Her father had accepted a Tamasnia moko from us. He said that Langmai could count that as a bride-price

159 payment on his daughter. Lomai was hurt by a falling stone when she was cutting weeds in her garden. Langmai didn't help her weed, so she was angry with him and didn't want him. Langmai had been staying [578] at Lomai's house. Langmai was sick there. Lomai's mother went into the loft to fetch food and she let dirt fall on him where he lay. [This was a gentle hint that he was not welcome.] Langmai said, "Whether I live or die, I had better return to my own house." So he came home. He was sick for two years before he died. After his death I went to stay at Leifui. It was during this time that the soldiers came and I fled with my children.

April 7, 1939

[No dreams.]

When the soldiers came to wage war because the radjah had been killed at Fungwati, many people came here to hide. I and Langmai ran away to Hatoberka. Mother was dead, but mother's second husband, Manima, was still living. He said, "You and my second wife go to Talmang." So I and she and Tilaleti went with our children to Talmang. We stayed first at one place and then at another. [She gave in detail all their movements.] Finally we went back to Hatoberka. There people wanted to kill someone from Atimelang because Hatoberka was at war with the Five Villages. Fanfili was preparing to kill us because he wanted a head, but we said, "We are Hatoberka people too." He said, "Oh, we're hunting for a head, but not yours." He went on and found Lakamau of Dikimpe. They tied him and brought him to the village still alive. They seated him on the dance-place altar. That night they danced for him, and at dawn they killed him. [This is not customary procedure.] The next day I left Hatoberka. On the way I remembered that I had forgotten a piglet. I went back for it and found it sleeping in the house near the fire. While I was gone Langmai thought maybe people might have killed me, so he came back to search for me. Then the two of us stayed in Hatoberka to harvest the sun corn that we had planted. We had planted it when we went to Hatoberka after Langmai and his elder brother, Letfani, had fought. [Here she continued with accounts of the gardens planted. I asked about her other husbands and children.]

After Langmai's death I married Fanlaka, who gave father's Rolik death feast for me. Then I divorced him. Letfani [Langmai's brother] paid Fanlaka's expenses, and I went to live with Letfani. He gave mother's Tila death feast. Mailani then paid Letfani's marriage experson, and I went to live with him. When I was pregnant, I didn't want him any more. I gave birth to *Manilang* [her youngest son, at this time about twelve years old]. *Manilang* was a month old when *Mailani* died.

[Why did you divorce Fanlaka?] Fanlaka and I lived together, and during this time Letfani's wife, Wolmau, died. Letfani sent a go-between to say, "If she has a child by Fanlaka, we can divide the child, but I must have back my wife [i.e., his dead brother's widow [587] and so his wife by the levirate]. Here is a Maningmauk moko and a gong *for* her brothers." When the go-between delivered this message, I returned to Atimelang with him. [Were you sorry *for* Fanlaka?] No. Letfani made a litigation to get me back. The go-between and I came back here *for* it. The night of the litigation, before a decision had been reached, I went up into a house to sleep. Fanlaka stole into the house, went to my carrying basket, and took thirty cents from me. Letfani threatened to shoot Fanlaka *if* he returned to Atimelang, so I thought I had better marry Letfani. Also, Fanlaka dug the tubers of evil spirits and fed them to our child. It died. [Why did he want to kill the child?] Our child died in an epidemic. [I asked which really killed the child, the tubers or the epidemic. She could not be pinned down to a definite answer either way but indicated that Fanlaka was perhaps responsible for the child's death.]

[Why did you divorce Letfani?] Letfani had not paid his taxes. Soldiers came and took me away *for* this. They took many other women also. They took us first to Dikimpe. *Manimai* spoke to Letfani, saying, "Here, take this gong, sell it, and buy back the woman." But Letfani wasn't willing. He said, "Those women won't disappear. They will come home by and by." When the soldiers took me away, I had nothing to eat. We were in Dikimpe one night and in *Mainang* two nights. We were gone four days in all. I came back in an angry mood. I saw that the soldiers and all who had come with them had broken off my corn and beans. They spoiled them all. I was sharing a garden with my younger sister, *Maralani*. I had only one large bundle of corn *from* the garden that year. I hung it in my house. Then *Maleta* and his father, Letfani, returned from sleeping in the ravine, where they had hidden themselves. They had eaten only wild tubers and crayfish. When they returned they ate up all my corn. I chased them away, saying, "Don't come near me. I was a prisoner, yet you didn't bring me food. You did not come near me." They ran off. I went to Alurkaloha to live and plant a garden. Part of the field I planted to rice

159 and part to corn. When the rice was ripe, Letfani was sick. I didn't go to him. I brought some rice back to store in the village. Letfani's younger sister asked why I didn't take care of him. I said that I didn't want anything to do with him. But I began thinking of him and decided to go. I brought a load of wood to his house. He asked what had happened to my *rice field.* I told him it was almost harvested. That night he died.

[Why did her last husband, Malfani, pay back Letfani's bride-price, since there had been no divorce?] He didn't. Lengmai and I had given a Kolmale moko to Letfani's eldest son when he married. Therefore Letfani's heirs had no claim on me. [This does not agree with what she said earlier. See page 496.]

[Do you feel that you have had a good life or a bad one?] When we are grown, we think only of getting food, of having enough to eat, and maybe enough left over for feasts. [It was impossible to make the informant pass a value judgment on her life in comparison with that of other people.]

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

At no time during these interviews did the subject participate creatively in the situation. Like Lomani, Kolangkalieta found it more difficult than did the men to express her feelings about the personalities that impinged on her life. This impression is confirmed by the fact that none of the dreams she tells has any trace of a reaction to the ethnographer. For the most part her narrative is taken up with the least objectionable features of her life, though under questioning she contrives to describe some of the externals pertaining to her rather adventurous career as a woman. One thing is certain about her, that she was much sought after by men. It is also clear that she had no stomach for any great hardships in connection with them and had no patience with shiftlessness or neglect on their part. At the time she is telling the story, she is obviously past middle age and has a good many grandchildren. She has three sons, the eldest of whom is the chief of Atimelang.

There are few observations that pertain to her childhood, there are some about her as a married woman and some about her career as a mother-in-law. Her childhood memories seem to focus chiefly about her mother. She speaks of two fathers, meaning the two husbands of her mother. There is nothing very distinctive about her childhood, and there is no great emphasis upon the difficulty of getting food. She [illegible] the birth of the two siblings following her and speaks of her role as the caretaker of these younger siblings as she grew older. 1579x She speaks distinctly of her father as being her chief caretaker in her tenth or eleventh year, although she speaks of both parents as having been good providers. She mentions one noteworthy incident about her own career as a caretaker. While her mother was out in the fields one day, she was left in charge of a younger sibling who cried a great deal. Her uncle, who happened to be there, was apparently much annoyed with the child, and to keep it quiet he stuffed its mouth with feces. The success of this remedy is not described, but Kolangkalieta says that she mentioned the incident to her mother when she returned home, and her mother apparently passed it off without much comment.

As a young girl she had smallpox, from which she recovered, and the fact that she did recover later gave her the duty of burying those who died of this disease. In her early life she was apparently not very pugnacious in insisting on her marital status. For example, she mentions an incident in which a man who already had a wife proposed to her, and upon the wife's objecting, she left. However, later she became a good deal more assertive about these matters and entered briskly into all the fighting about husbands that was apparently routine in this society. She seems throughout her life to have been quick to take offense. She describes an incident in which her husband beat her for staying out too late in the fields while he was home taking care of the two children. Whereupon she decided to sleep alone, ran away, and wandered about for a long time before she finally went back to him.

There is nothing in Kolangkalieta's story to indicate the nature of her sexual development or what difficulties or reactions she had in connection with this situation. She was much sought after as a wife, was married six times, and had children by three of her husbands. Her third marriage seems to have been the most stable. For this husband she put up a good fight with his former wife, and she finally got her man. She narrates an interesting episode of eventually becoming good friends with this woman whose husband she shared. She also reacted in the routine way to the infidelities of her husband. On one occasion she waited a long time for an opportunity to fight it out with a woman with whom her husband had had intercourse. One can gather from her story that she was an interested mother and took an active part in her daughters' selection of husbands.

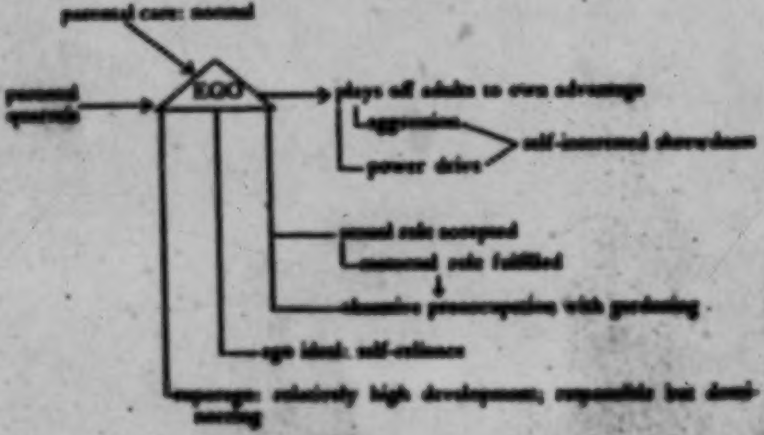
Her dreams deal almost entirely with gardening and weeding. One dream suggests a predatory trend.

An impression of her character must be inferred from the auto-

[59 biography since she does not describe herself in overt terms. This in itself is a fact that requires explanation. In the case of Lomani we could say that her inexpressiveness was due to the repressive influence of an endless series of frustrations and failures. In the case of Kolangkalieta this standard does not apply, because her life seems to have been normally successful. Whether this state of affairs is due to the endless monotony, the ceaseless occupation, and the unrelenting routine of women's lives in Alor is hard to say. These occupations would seem in themselves to be stultifying, but Kolangkalieta's associations indicate that it is not due to an absence of feeling but rather to an active suppressive mechanism. The anxiety that characterizes Kolangkalieta's reactions to any invitation to discuss her feelings or to pass judgment on persons and events can under these conditions be considered a fear reaction toward the ethnographer. Perhaps this is the one clue we have to her dreams about gardening, which is a way of proclaiming her endless occupation with her maternal activities and therefore is a protestation to the effect that she is a very "good girl." In the case of this character it would seem that the ethnographer was not able to create the opportunity for the reactions of the subject to emerge.

Theoretically the fact that this occurs in two out of four of the women's autobiographies suggests that feelings of rivalry with the ethnographer were the chief source of blocking. It is by contrast with these two that the autobiography of Tilapada gives such a striking picture of feminine psychology in Alorese culture.

Kolangkalieta's Character Structure


parental care: normal
parental quarrels
EGO
plays off adults to own advantage
aggression
power drive
self-interested shrewdness
sexual role accepted
maternal role fulfilled
obsessive preoccupation with gardening
ego ideal: self-reliance
superego: relatively high development; responsible but domineering

Chapter 17

Kolmani the Seeress

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

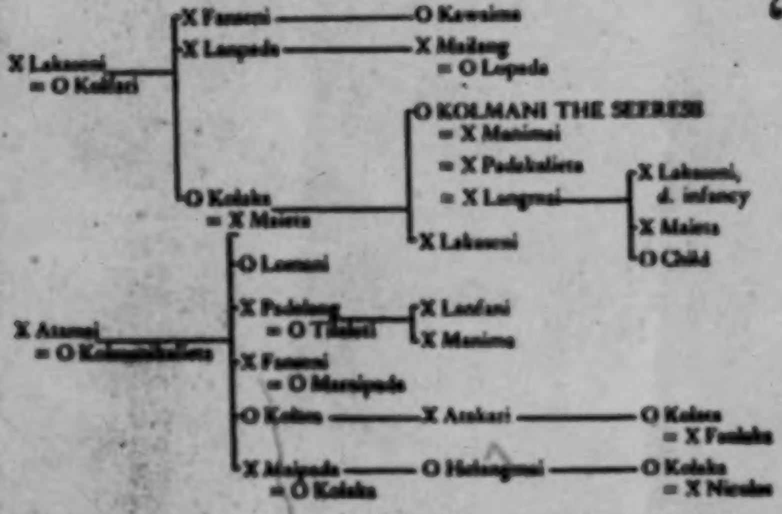
The informant talked freely and herself suggested that she give her 124 autobiography. She spoke in briefer paragraphs than the others and stopped to see that her words were written down. After the first day these pauses are indicated with the word *Stop* in brackets.

April 12, 1939

Father I never knew. He died when I could just crawl. After that 159* mother died when I was only two. Grandmother took care of me. I stayed there a long time and then went to live with various mothers [classificatory]. One mother had a child, Maleta, for whom I cared; then she became pregnant and had another child, Langfani. I took care of that child too. Then I had a bad case of yaws. I was staying with my mother and taking care of Maleta when the village burned down. Later mother cut a garden for me. She sold the proceeds for two pieces of cloth, but she didn't give them to me. When I was staying with her, my middle mother [the middle sister in her mother's family] asked me

Genealogy of Kolmani the Seeress

[115
601]


X Fanseni
O Kawaima
X Lanpada
X Mailang
= O Lepada
X Lakasmi
= O Kolfani
O KOLMANI THE SEERESS
= X Manimai
= X Padakalieta
= X Langmai
X Lakasmi,
d. infancy
X Maleta
O Child
O Kolaka
= X Maieta
X Lakasmi
O Lonmani
X Padalang
= O Tilafani
X Lanfani
X Manimo
X Atamai
= O Kolmanimalieta
X Fanseni
= O Maniapada
O Kolata
X Atakari
O Kolata
= X Fanlaka
X Maipada
= O Kolaka
O Halangmai
O Kolaka
= X Ninalas

159 to take care of my younger sibling [cousin] Mauglaka. When Mauglaka was grown I cared for Padalani. Then Fuimai [another aunt] begot Maliema, and I cared for her. I cared for the children of all three sisters.

When I began to have thoughts, I came to Atimelang to stay. My hand was crippled by old wounds from yaws. My uncle Maipada said, "You don't work in the fields. You had better eat your mother's and father's bones." I cried and wanted to run away and sleep under a stone. At this time two older fathers [uncles] were burning a field. They told me not to cry. They piled up some weeds for me and let me set fire to them. They gave me tubers to eat. I stayed on with one of these uncles until Tilapada was to marry Likma. Likma was one of my fathers. Tilapada came to stay in the house. After a time they slept together. Then people came and asked for me [in marriage], even though I was still small. At night I would go to sleep at my husband's house and at dawn come back to my house to care for the children. This went on day after day. Then an aunt asked me to care for her child, and I thought, "Here I am still small and yet I am married. I had better go away with her and mind her child." So I took care of my younger sibling. At this time a large group of my friends decided to work in turn in each other's fields. I wanted to join in too. My aunt said, "If your hand hurts from field work, you can come home and mind your sibling." So I went to work in the fields.

When the harvest was in, I took my food to Atimelang and then returned to Lawatika. There my aunt said, "Oh, you have already cut a field, so now you must cut another." I made another garden, and its harvest I stored at Lawatika.

At that time I could begin to think. I came to Atimelang and married Manimai. I cut a field and raised many squash. Kolata, Manimai's first wife, cut them to pieces. I said, "Oh, I don't want to live with the husband of a person who destroys my squash." Kolata fought with me and destroyed my fields. This went on day after day, so I went to my elder uncles and said they had better pay back my bride-price. Padakalieta gave a Fehawa moko to Manimai. Then his wife, Lonseni, destroyed my field of corn. While I lived with Padakalieta, Lonseni fought constantly with me, and so I didn't want that marriage any more. I asked my uncles to pay back my expenses. My uncles got Langmai [her present husband] to give Padakalieta a gong. Before I separated from Padakalieta, I stayed at Atibaimanek, where Langmai came all the time to see me. So I too wanted Langmai, and we two lived together and begot children.

[Here she stopped, feeling she had summarized her life. Either she or the interpreter spoke of dreams. I was not quite sure what happened here. I said that dreams, her seer experiences, and the like might be told. She started with her supernatural experiences, but the interpreter again interfered and asked for the preceding night's dreams.] 159x

Last night I dreamed that Fantan the Interpreter came three times to call me. Then the monya came, and I gave her young areca nuts. She put two cents in my hand.

One night I slept in a house and many night birds came into the house, very many of them. They were all making a noise. People said, "This surely means something." That day I had helped to feed the familiar spirits of my forebears. I had no familiars of my own, but at that time some rose in me. There was a person sick in Kaburwa, and people called me because they heard I had become a seer. I sat with the sick person until he was well. After he was well, I returned here. I was raising a pig, which was already half grown. It disappeared. I took bamboo leaves and swept the pig's sleeping place with them. As the sun rose I held up the leaves and looked. I saw two spirits standing in them; one was Fanpeni and one was Padamani. Fanpeni was the familiar of Maleta's father, and Padamani was mine. These two had stolen my pig. Then my female spirit, Lonmani, rose in me. I grasped a sword and ran to Watahieng. There was my pig. Fanpeni and Padamani had it. I took it and brought it back to the house at Atibaimanek.* 159x 756 787

In the morning I went with fire to watch my field all day. Lotlaka came and asked me for areca. I already knew that Lotlaka had a reputation for sleeping with women, so I didn't give him any. Then Lotlaka came back one day and said, "If you don't want me, whom do you want to marry?" I said, "Oh, I am just a young child. I know only garden work and getting food." 159x

Then my uncle said, "If you wish, we can get Kupeifani's Hawataka moko to pay Padaleni, who is dunning me." [That is, he wished to marry off his niece so that he could meet his debts with her bride-price.] I deceived him, saying, "Oh, good. Get his moko to pay the debt [meaning that she was willing to marry Kupeifani]." After that Kupeifani came to me all the time. So I said to him, "Oh, we two are siblings. We can't marry. You are my true brother because our parents were also siblings. Later you can give a dowry on me and get some of my bride-price to pay back this Hawataka moko. I shall marry another [581]

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* For more about Kolmani's supernatural experiences, see page 530.

159 man." [This produced guffaws of laughter in the informant and the interpreter. The interpreter said admiringly, "A woman was clever to think of that."]

April 13, 1939

I dreamed that the wife of the chief of Atimelang was weeding at Feba. She was pregnant and about to give birth. [Actually the wife of the chief bore a child about one month ago.] I was staying at Atibaimanek. I spoke to her, saying, "You had better come to Atibaimanek to give birth." She said, "No, I can't. I am afraid." I said, "Don't be afraid. Nowadays [since the government had put an end to headhunting] we are no longer afraid." Then she went with me to Atibaimanek. There she said, "Oh, if I give birth here, it will not be good. We had better go to the village." So we did, and she bore a child there. [Stop.]

When I was still small, we built a field house near a spring, where there were many taro plants. Tilapada [an aunt] stayed with me, and day after day many siblings and mothers—many of our family—came to see us. One day Tilapada, my aunt, dug out a rat-run and caught two rats, a male and a female. She called to me, "I have caught rats, so you had better cook something." I said, "You lie. Do not try to deceive me." She said, "I am not lying. If I am, may the spirits of Kafakberka and Afalberka carry me off." [The informant giggled, but the interpreter did not seem amused.] Then Tilapada brought the rats and said we had better call our elders to eat with us. "These are such big rats we two cannot eat them alone." So we called Fansena and Falepang. We roasted and ate the rats. I and Tilapada got only the heads. The rest we gave our elders. [Stop.]

[235] The next day I took my hen and her chicks to the garden with me while I guarded the field. Each day I watched the field, and each day my kinsmen came. Then Alurkaseni and Padamai, two boys who were having their teeth blackened, came one day and stole squash from me. We saw their footsteps and followed them to the house where they were staying. I was carrying a bundle of firewood as I came, and the boys saw me. They said, "Oh, you are carrying a hawk's nest perhaps?" They took my wood away and chased me. I ran to Fepadok and told my uncles. They said we would go the next day. So the next day we went to the place where the people were having their teeth blackened. The boys wanted to fight, not to litigate. [Stop.] But we litigated, and they had to pay me and my uncles a pig.

Once I and many other people were having our teeth blackened. [59]
Some of the women were already married, so they lived in one place. The rest of us were together in another place; I and one of my uncles were with them. My uncle's wife was in the place with the married women. That made my uncle angry, so he went to their hut and broke their pots. People ran up with clubs and they fought. [Stop.] At this time Fanlang slept with another man's wife. He and her husband fought with clubs.

Rualani and Lonmau had already spoken to each other. They wished to marry and were sleeping together. Rualani's and Padakameng's familiar spirits rose in them, or they said they did. Padakameng would say over and over again, "*Titipakaleng, titipakaleng* [nonsense syllables]." Then he would run up and rub a girl's breasts. Rualani would stick out his tongue and say, "Ha! Ha! Ha!" Every evening they played that way. The girls would all run away from them, and the two boys would chase the girls and rub them. Because of the way Rualani acted, Lonmau married Letfani. Letfani's first wife, Foieta, fought all the time with Lonmau. They stopped only when Foieta took her children and left. Then Lonmau and Letfani lived together until he died. [Stop.] After a time she married Fanama. They had no children. Fanama fell from an areca tree and died. [Stop.] Then Lonmau married Karunating of File. They came here to live. While they were still living together, Fanlang slept with her. After that Lonmau threw away her husband and lived with Fanlang. She was his second wife. When he bought two more wives, she didn't want him any more. [Stop.] There was a feast at Motpining. Lonmau went to help with the feast. After it was over, Fanlang didn't want her any more. Lonmau took two Hawataka mokos from Langmani to pay back Fanlang's bride-price. She didn't beget any more children, even when she lived steadily with Langmani. Once those two had a fight, and Langmani said she was Lonkabeikmau. [This epithet was composed of the name of a [illegible]
sterile wild banana inserted between the two syllables of her own name, *Lon* and *mau*.] Lonmau told Langmani he was Langkabeikmani. After that Lonmau got medicine to cure her of sterility. She had two children and then her husband died. [Stop.]

Before Langmani died he wanted to give a death feast for his parents. After he made the verandah his body wasted away. While he was sick he went to stay with Nicolas [a seer]. After a time his body filled out again. He went back to Atarkowati, where he fell ill again and died. [Stop.] That same year many of his kinsmen died. A lot of people x159 died. [Stop. This was the first time the informant was not ready to plunge on. I asked what relationship Lonmau was to her. She was the informant's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, i.e., her "child."]

There was a dance at Alurkowati. I, Fanlang, and many others went. Fanlang had already slept with Lonfani, who was married to Senfani of Alurkowati. In the middle of the night that woman's husband came with a sword and struck Fanlang's shoulder, but Fanlang's familiar spirit was with him. [Familiar spirits were generally supposed to sit
[776] on the shoulder.] Blood flowed like water. People lighted torches and looked. They brushed away the blood on Fanlang's shoulder, and there was no wound. There was blood everywhere, but no wound. His shield was split in two. Fanlang's familiar spirit told him, "An Alurkowati man has cut my finger. You must call many people to come." [Stop.] The shield was split, and the owner, from whom Fanlang had borrowed it, litigated. Fanlang paid him a Piki moko. Then he slept again with Lonfani. He slept with Maliemai. Her husband came to litigate. He had to pay twelve tallies' worth, consisting of five pigs, mokos, cloth, and tobacco. [The informant seemed unusually interested in, and
[115] indiscreet about, other people's sexual misdemeanors. The interpreter privately expressed disapproval of her conversation.]

April 14, 1939

I dreamed that as my soul returned from Alurkowati, I came to a large, deep pool into which water flowed from a bamboo pipe. I drank from the pool, and as I did I saw my husband breaking off sugar cane. [This she told in a hushed and impressed tone of voice, saying it was
[787] a very bad dream. I asked why, and she said that breaking off sugar cane was a sign of cutting a bamboo digging-stick to make a grave. She said that when she awoke she found that her husband felt sick and was still ill. She said, "Now that I have told my dream, shall I tell a myth?" I asked for personal material instead.]

When I was small my mother and father died. I don't remember them. I stayed then with my grandmother, whose death I remember.
[734] Then I went to live with different aunts and uncles. [Stop.] I took
[764] care of their children until I was old enough to think; then I made gardens. [Stop.] When I was caring for children, I said to my uncle, "If I only care for children, I shall never cultivate a field." So I began one, but he said, "Oh, you mind the children and I will finish your garden." [Stop.] Then he said his back hurt and that I could go out and cut fields with my friends while he minded the baby. He said, "If

your hand hurts, I will finish the work for you." I called *Maliema*, Fungalani, and Tilafing. We went to *Maliema's* garden first. Someone threw a piece of knife blade at me. It struck my leg and I was badly wounded. You can still see the scar. At that time people were expecting a Good Being, and I wanted to go to the dance, but I couldn't. I just sat by the fire. [Question.]

Padamai was expecting a Good Being in Atimelang. He made a very high house. He said the Good Being would come that evening. When he didn't come, Padamai said he would come the next day. Every night we danced. He deceived us. He talked with a deep voice and with a high one. He made believe that the Good Being had already come and was in the house. He composed a verse as if the Good Being were talking. All the women brought food. At the dance Mangata of Dikimpe versified, saying, "Now hold hands well and fast; all stand together and when the Good Being comes no one will die." Padamai had a fire fan and a fire tube, which he said belonged to the Good Being. [These were customary mythological equipment for reviving the dead.] He brought them down and put them on the dance-place altar. We all brought pigs and chickens for a feast. That night we danced.

[The informant continued with an account of predictions concerning the arrival of another Good Being. Her version of the affair was confused and full of the deaths of those who had been concerned with the predictions.]

When mother and father died, I didn't see clearly, but I remember my grandmother's death. People talked nicely to me, and I went to sleep in their houses, day after day. [Question.] I was about ten then. At that time my yams were very bad. When I grew older, I made a garden. I noticed that my elders asked people for their chickens and goats [to make feasts].

[Details of her grandmother's death?] I was married to *Manimai* at the time. He brought a gong and a pig to my grandmother's death feast, for her Baleti feast. The pig was to roast and the gong was to help pay for the shroud. [This was obviously long after the grandmother's death. I asked for her feelings at the time her grandmother died. She repeated that after her grandmother's death she married Manimai and that he helped with the Baleti feast, that she fought with Manimai's wives and wanted to leave him. I tried again to get some emotional expression about her grandmother's death.]

When she died people pounded rice for her feast. I stood near them and they said, "How is it that you are not pounding rice for your

159 grandmother? She cooked for you and fed you. Now who will cook for you and care for you?" When people spoke like this, I cried and cried. I had bad yaws at the time. I said to them, "I have yaws, so I cannot pound rice, but I shall go fetch water and carry wood instead." I was always crying at this time. I had bad yaws. [Stop.] At this time my young cousin cried all the time. Her mother asked me to go fetch wood for her. I came back and saw my grandmother's spirit standing over the child, with her knife raised over its head. That was why the child was crying. [Stop.] I said, "You were going to beat gongs for my grandmother, but you didn't. My grandmother has come and she stands with a knife raised over your child. That is why it cries. You had better make string and hang gongs. If you don't, the child will go on crying until it dies." [Stop.] Then my uncle scattered rice to feed the soul of my grandmother and promised to beat gongs. The child stopped crying right away. The next night they beat gongs. [Stop.] Later they gave the Rolik feast and paid for the shroud.

April 15, 1939

Last night I dreamed that Likma [the husband of her neighbor, Tilpada] went to Kafakberka to give a feast. He said to the tumukun of Kafakberka, "You are one of my children but you have not followed me [i.e., helped with feasts], so now I don't look at you. But if you collect gongs and mokos in your house, perhaps I shall see you." [Stop.] I entered the house, and it was as big a house as yours. Lonmobi [a woman who lived with her] was there. I wanted to urinate, but she said to me, "Elder sister, do not urinate there. That is water for cooking and drinking. Over there is the place to urinate." [Stop.] In a little while I saw that people had taken my big female pig. I said to Langmai [her husband], "Your debts have stolen my pig. You have debts, and people have taken my pig to pay for them. You had better run away." People came to litigate. Langmai went into the house for areca nuts and put them on plates to give to the litigants. Fanmalkalieta came. All the people had gathered for the litigation when I awoke. [Stop.]

[She had no interpretation for the dream as a whole or for its details.]

Once I was sick and was sleeping. Alurkomai and Langmai were roasting rats. I looked into the fire, saw that it was full of rats, and vomited. [Stop. Question.] I didn't vomit, but I was very dizzy, and my soul left me. They were roasting only one rat, but I saw many.

Then I went to sleep and my legs got cold. I was cold all the way up to my stomach. I thought, "Am I still sleeping, or am I perhaps dying?" Then I dreamed that Atamo and Palamo divined to see what was making me sick. The divination pointed to a spirit bird. When I awoke I told my dream. I said they had better pound corn to feed a spirit bird because my older brother died in Kalabahi. [Her full brother was put in jail for nonpayment of taxes, and he died there. She apparently considered this a violent death and was attributing her illness to his spirit.] As I was talking, Maikalieta called from the verandah below, "Oh Langmai, don't sit by that woman. She is already dead. Take away your property." Then Langmai collected his property. He took my raincape too, saying, "This is a memento of you. When I look at it, I shall think of you, and perhaps I shall cry." Then he went out. After a time Maikalieta came back to the house and thrust his hand through the floor to feel if my arm was already cold. He came up and sat down. I told him that I had ordered Langmai to feed the spirit bird, but that Langmai had said I was already dead. I told Maikalieta, "If I die, I shall wait for all you who sit here, and we shall go together to the village of the dead." [Stop.] 159x

I recovered from the spirit bird that had made me sick. My eyes cleared. But the *akan alo* [literally, black illness] had come on me, and I went to an old woman to fetch medicine for it. My husband hadn't come near me since I had recovered. I thought, "Your wife has recovered, but you don't come near her. Good!" So I went to stay with the old woman. [Stop.] While I was staying there, my uncle Padalang went to Alurkowati. When he came back he was sick. He came to me and said, "Take good care of your male and female areca baskets. Don't give them to others. Keep one on your right and one on your left. Guard the fire. Do not let it go out." [The reference was to the baskets of her dead mother and father. This meant that she should give their death feasts. The warning about fire was connected with the medicine for the *akan alo*. One must not make errors of any kind, like letting the fire go out, after one has taken this medicine.]

After that my *akan alo* went away, but I shook all over. I pounded corn and took it as a preliminary payment to Atakalieta in Fuimelang. He had shot a spirit bird, which was to be the spouse of my brother. Atakalieta was the spirit-bird seller. [Stop.] Even after that I still shook. Maikalieta said that my familiar spirits, Lilamau and Lakamau, were making me shake. [Stop.] I fed these spirits and recovered. Padalang, my uncle, was still sick. He said, "Let us go to Wailalong to stay.

159 There I will get well fast." We set out, and I followed the path past the government camp. He took the one over Warahieng. I looked for him but did not see him coming. My body was still thin then; I was not strong. I cried and cried because I didn't see him. I started back to look for him. Then I saw him coming. Tilalati, his wife, was carrying a small bamboo water tube. Fulalang drank from it every few steps. He walked a short way and then stopped to drink. I said, "Father, perhaps it would be better to go back." I was afraid he would die. But he said, "Oh no, let us go on to Wailafeng." [Stop.] When we got there, I thought we ought to go home. I tried to lift my uncle, but he was already very heavy [i.e., the body was relaxed prior to death]. When I saw he was already heavy, I said, "Oh, we had all better stay here and watch over our father. There is a mountain between here and our village; we cannot see our home." So we stayed, and in three days he was dead. When he died water came out of his mouth. I took a piece of areca nut, rubbed it in his saliva, and ate it. After that I was well again. My body was not black any more. [Stop. Where did the [illegible] idea of chewing areca with a dead man's saliva come from?] Kolati told me to do this. She said, "When your body is like that, no other medicine will make you well. You must put areca in the mouth of a dead man and chew that areca. Then you will recover."

April 16, 1939

Last night I dreamed that Langmai's "female children" from Seima brought us three small pigs. I said, "We are not making a feast but they bring us pigs. When we make a feast, they do not come near us. What shall we give them to eat?" There was corn but no rice. Fanlang said, "Take one of the pigs, go up to Folafeng, and buy a can of rice." [Stop.] When I came back from Folafeng, Fanseni was cutting wood at the foot of the hill and three large houses stood there. We decided to live there. Langmai cut down a large tree. He said, "We can't stay here any longer. We had better go to another house." Then I woke up. [Stop.]

Another dream, many years ago, was that a large black man with a nose like sharp, pointed rocks came and stood in the doorway. He said, "Your elder brother is in Kalabahi and can't come. His areca basket hangs here; you save it [a way of saying he was dead]." [Stop.] At that time I was staying at Atibaimaneh. The man left and then came back. He said, "You are sick but you won't die. The people from Atimelang and Folo will all die; they will be eaten by dogs and pigs.

But you will not die." [Stop.] Then after a while he said, "You must 157 not go to the woods. If you go, part of the greens you gather will be good and part bad; part of the tubers you dig will be good and part bad." [Stop.] This dream was long ago. After that many people died. At first I thought the dream was a lie, but later it proved to be true. It was the hungry season and many died. [Stop.]

At that time I was sick in a house with two other people. One was to my right and one to my left. In the middle of the night one of the persons died. The other said, "Sprinkle me with water." I did and she stopped groaning. Then both were dead. I thought, "I am sick and there are two dead people here. What shall I do?" I slept. In the early morning I awoke. People had called Langmai, who was making a new house in our field. He came to bury the two dead people. He dug a grave and then came up and tied up their bodies. I was sick and weak, but I steadied the ladder for him as he carried down the corpse bundles. Langmai put the dead people's mats, water tubes, pots, and baskets in [764] their bundles [instead of breaking them on top of the grave]. Kolmai ground corn and fed Langmai. When he finished eating, he said he was going to take me away. I had a small water tube with me. I could not walk well. I would take a few steps and have to stop and drink. I could hardly breathe. It was late in the afternoon before we reached the garden house Langmai was building. [Stop.] My abdomen was swollen and I had a big thing in my chest. I was very sick. I twisted and turned in my sleep. I dreamed that my dead brother spoke to me. "Younger sister, you are sick and you have big troubles, but I have come and your mother and father are following me. I cannot turn into a human being, but your mother has planted beans and peas in your field for you. Your husband can fetch them." [Stop.] I awoke in the morning and my abdomen was better. I could not walk, so I crawled out and roasted beans and peas to feed my brother's soul. I said, "Oh, brother, if you are making me sick, eat your beans and peas. You must not come near me any more and afflict me." Later I slept. I must have spoken in my sleep, because Langmai's older brother heard me talk. Fanlaka said, "Oh, this woman is talking. This is not good. Let us let her fall out of the house [i.e., kill her]." I awoke, sat by the fire, and cried. I had heard his words. I said, "Why, when I am sick, do you want to talk evil of me?" [Stop.] Later I was better and able to sit up.

Then Langmai's father came to the house. He too was sick. When he wanted to leave the house, he could only crawl. He defecated and urinated in his loincloth. Langmai just ran away. I was weak and called

7/159 to him, "Your father has defecated in his loincloth." But he did not come. I went to look for him. Then he came, but he did not want to clean his father. I was just able to throw away the feces and clean the old man's loincloth. That night he died. Lengmai and *Malkalieta* hunted in the Five Villages for a shroud, but there was none. [This was during the influenza epidemic of 1918.] Lengmai went to Awasi to hunt for one. There was a small piece of trade cloth there, but the owner said Lengmai could not have it unless he first brought a moko. [Stop.] They came home empty-handed. Next they went to the father of the *former chief* of Lawatika looking for a shroud. He did not have one, but an old woman from Kafoi brought her heavy shawl. They bought it. It was three loom-widths in size [very large]. There was a large pig belonging to the father of the former chief, and *Malkalieta* brought that along with the shroud. [Stop.] So people buried Lengmai's father and beat gongs for him. [Stop.] We made two feasts for his dead father and then went back to the field to harvest our corn.

We had just returned to the field house when people came to say that my aunt *Maraipada* was dead. They said I should go gather wood for her. I searched for it but could find none, so I went to her house. She was dead but she was still breathing a little when I got there. People pried open her teeth with a ladle and saw that her mouth was full of papaya. I went down and cried. There was no food at this time. I had to use banana stems and a chicken to feed the buriers. There was no pig. [Stop.] I went up into the house. My aunt had a knife and a small gong in a covered basket, but people had already stolen all her possessions—anklets, necklaces, everything. [Stop.] I looked in the bamboo storage tubes. In one was left just a handful of rice. I pounded it, cooked it, and put it all on her grave to feed her. [Stop.] Then I went back to our field because our corn was not yet harvested. When I got there, I found that my pig was dead. I split it in two; half we used for *Maraipada's* death feasts and half for Kolpada's. [Stop.] Then we planned a feast. I said, "I am not yet strong. Who will pound corn for me?" Tilapada, my aunt, pounded corn for me for *Maraipada's* feast. When the feast was over, I said, "My corn is not yet harvested. I had better go back." I did, but when I got there people came, saying, "Fanmaling, the wife of Lengmai's elder brother, has died." I said, "Why do these persons have to die when I have not yet harvested my corn?" I went to Padakani [in the Awasi area] to ask for corn. They gave me a calabash dish full. I pounded it and took it to the death feast. [Stop.] When this was over, people came to say that the mother-

in-law of Langmai's elder brother had died. Langmai's elder brother, 159
Manimai, said, "Who will pound corn?" I said I would, and so I did. [Stop.] After that I went back to our field.

All this time people were moving down from the old Atimelang site to the new one. Then Manimai, my husband's brother, died and his wife, Kolpada, ran off to live with her brothers [instead of coming to Langmai as a second wife]. I spoke to Kolpada and said she had better not go back to her brothers but had better marry Langmai, that being an unmarried woman was not good. At this time Maikalieta came to Langmai to dun him for the price of the big pig that Maikalieta had bought when Langmai's father died. He said that if Langmai would pay him, Langmai could marry Kolpada. [That is, a woman may be released from levirate obligations by a small payment to her husband's [787]
siblings, if they wish it. Maikalieta was saying that if Langmai did not pay his debt, then he, Maikalieta, would go to Kolpada's brothers and get them to pay the debt, thereby releasing Kolpada from Langmai.] Langmai did not pay Maikalieta, and so Maikalieta went to Kolpada's brothers and they paid the debt. Then Langmai did not have to marry Kolpada.

April 17, 1939

Last night I dreamed that as people from here set out for a dance, they shouted challenges. Someone ran up to me and wanted to kill me. I saw him coming and pulled out my knife. I struck back at him but did not hit him. Then he struck again at me and almost hit me. I jumped and said, "*Aimabo!*" [An exclamation used when one is startled.] Langmai heard me talking in my sleep, and so did Helangmai, but they did not wake me. In my dream I heard people shout challenges; I was jumping around in my sleep. Finally I kicked the legs of Langmai and Helangmai. I awoke and found myself on my mat. [Stop.]

When I was still small, my elder cousin, Helangmai, was sick. People came to tell me that she was sick, that soldiers had struck her, and that she was nearly dead. [Stop.] I went and she was not any better. People said she had been affected by the spirit of a sacred hearth. I ran back to Folafong for a chicken to sacrifice to the spirit of the sacred hearth. [Stop.] My elder cousin, when she was struck down with the sacred hearth spirit, went crazy, ripped off her loincloth, and placed it over her breasts. [Stop.] I remained in Folafong that night. While I was there, Helangmai ran out of the house and stayed out for a long time.

159 After that the spirit did not follow her any more. I had fed it a chicken. [Question.] At this time Helangmai did not eat. She slept all the time. Even her mother was afraid of her, because people thought an evil spirit had possessed her. [Question.] When she ripped off her loincloth, she did not say anything. I divined and found it was the sacred hearth spirit, so I fed it. That night the spirit ran away and did not return. People at that time almost buried her alive.

When Helangmai was well, I set out to search for my aunt and uncle. At this time my uncle Fanseni and my aunt Maraipada were hiding from the soldiers. I could not find them. I went all the way down into the ravine; it was dark there. When I failed to find them, I came back up to the house where Padamai and Padalang lived. They said, "Were you looking for your aunt and uncle? You must be hungry. We had better give you something to eat." I said to the two men, "No, I cannot eat. I must find my aunt and uncle." Then they said, "Well, if you won't stop and eat, perhaps you will find them under the big mango." So I went down again to the ravine and found them in a small house. [Stop.] They said that soldiers were hunting for people in that direction and we had better go to Rualwati. It was getting dark as we set out. We thought we had better not try to cross the river at night, so we slept on the way. The next morning we reached Rualwati, where Matingpada said, "Good, my 'female children' have come. Stay here with me so no one can get you." Then she told me and Fungamai to fetch water and pick squash in her garden. When we brought back the squash she did not give us any; she just cooked a little of it. I said to Fungamai, "She sent us to get her squash and then she gives us just a little bit. We had better return to our own village. Even if we are shot it would be better. We are not used to being given such a little bit." So we went back to Atibaimanek. [Stop.]

My elder uncle from Atimelang came. There were a lot of coastal people at Feha. They all went down to Malatai. There my uncle Maipada began to fight with the coast people. They fought and tugged and kicked. At last Maipada shook them off and ran up to Manikameng. There he called his younger brother, Fanseni, saying, "I have fought with the coastal men. They will hunt for us, so you too had better hide." [Stop.] That night we cooked, and as the chickens crowed we went off to hide near the foot of our field, where we stayed all day. At night we would go back to our house and cook. [Stop.] Then Fanseni divined and discovered that the people who were hunting for us would get him. They decided they had better leave. They and their children went to Alaiwati, but I didn't go with them. Kolang asked me to stay with her in Hiengmang, so I did. 559

[Why didn't you go with Fanseni?] Kolang was also my relative. She said I had better go with her to Hiengmang and not stay with Fanseni. My older cousin, Padamai, had married a woman from the Kafe area. He invited us to stay with him at Seima. So we went. [Stop.] I had yaws at this time. My aunt Maraipada [the wife of Fanseni] said, "When we hide like this and stay in different places, we may be killed while we are separated from each other, so you had better come back and take care of your younger brother [cousin]." [Stop.] Then Kelingmai, who was Padamai's wife from Kafe, said, "Oh, this child is like a seed from the eye of our dead people [a related orphan]. We had better take her with us." [Stop.] I went with Kelingmai. She had a child. She said I was not to go back to my aunt and uncle, but was to stay with her. [Stop.] I took care of her child until he could walk. Then Kelingmai said, "Oh, now your child can walk. You can either make a garden or you can sit and wash your wounds. That is also all right." [Stop.] Instead, I went back to stay with my aunt Maraipada and to make a rice-corn field there. I had a good harvest, and my aunt Maraipada went to Likuwatang to sell it for me. She got two pieces of cloth for the corn. I thought, "Oh, one you can use because you took good care of me until I was grown, and one I shall use." [Stop. This is not consistent with the version of the anecdote given on April 12.]

At that time my brother Lakaseni came to me and said, "If my sister wishes, I shall go ask some man for gongs and mokos [i.e., make marriage arrangements for her]." I said, "Before I marry, you must speak with a woman. Then I shall marry, and you can use my bride-price to buy your wife." So Lakaseni spoke to Tilaseni. Since she wanted to marry him, Lakaseni went to Languai [the informant's present husband] and asked him for a Maningmauk moko. Other people were there asking for the Maningmauk. They fought over it and pulled it in two. But Lakaseni got the two pieces and brought them home. Then Tilaseni wanted to come and live with Lakaseni. But her mother, Fiyekalieta, said she could not marry him. Lonbiki said, "If Tilaseni can't marry him, I had better." She came to harvest corn with me. I wanted to give her pounded corn to eat, but she would not take it. Then I thought, "Oh, her heart is raw [i.e., she does not really want to marry him]." That evening she ran away to stay with her mother and father.

April 18, 1939

3 159 Last night I dreamed that my pig went to Likma's garden and ate his beans. Likma said we had to pay for them. Langmai said, "All right, I shall pay, but from now on you can't come to my garden to gather beans and I shan't go to yours. We shall swear an oath to this effect." [Stop.]

At one time Langmai wanted to marry Lonberka. He took a large piece of cloth to give her parents as a token payment on the bride-price. Although he gave it, that woman didn't want to marry him. [58] [Stop.] Lonberka had cooked rice and eggs to *feed* Langmai [a sign of accepting cloth], but when she did not want to marry him, he took back his cloth and did not pay *for* the *food*. Lomani wanted to marry Langmai. Her mother, Tilaman, came to ask Langmai for the piece of cloth, and Langmai gave it to her. [Stop.] Then Lomani didn't want to marry him, so he took it back. Next Tilamai wanted to marry him. So Langmai gave the cloth to her mother. She and her brother were giving a *feast* at Hatoberka, and Langmai *followed* them there. But when Tilamai got there, she spoke to *Fantafani*. [Stop.] She threw away Langmai, and when Langmai asked Fantafani *for* his expenses, Fantafani refused. Then this woman also threw away Fantafani to marry an Alla man. Langmai went to the Alla man to ask *for* his expenses, and he was paid two pieces of cloth and a Tamamale moko, but the original piece of cloth has not yet been paid back. [Stop.]

[I *reminded her to speak of herself in relation to others*. She was blocked, which was rare in this talkative informant. I asked for her first quarrel with her husband.]

The *first* time we *fought*, Langmai said to me, "Your *family* has given no dowry on you, either in wealth or in flesh. You had better go down and sleep in the pigpen." [Stop. Why this quarrel?] Some people of Makangfokung had brought a sheep to sell, and my family did not help Langmai buy it, so the Makangfokung people took it back. [Stop.] When he spoke like that, I *followed* Likma [an uncle] to Flyaipe, and when he came back, he gave a dowry payment on me. [Stop.] Then I went to Folafeng to ask for Padamai's sheep. He said, "Our mouths are still raw [i.e., Kolmani had not yet fed the sheep owner]." So I fed him. [Stop.] At that time we did not yet know who was in our Male Houses because we didn't know our genealogies. Lonmohi and I investigated; then we invited them all to come and eat. They were Maitama, Maima, Johanis, Fanlaka, and Padakafeli. After that gongs and mokos began to come in. [Stop.] When we had *fed* them, we told them we would buy a sheep string. We paid eight tallies D9x to the *Male House* for that sheep string. [This was a recent ceremonial affair. I asked again for the first quarrel with her husband.]

Once there was a dance at Failangfana. I and Langmai went together. I asked Langmai for areca, and he said there was none, although I knew he had some in his basket. I then stood to one side in the dark. A young woman from Alurkowati came and danced with Langmai. Langmai went off with her and gave her areca. I didn't say anything, but I thought in my heart. I danced with other men. For this Langmai came and hit me with split bamboo. When that dance was ended, I danced the next one with *Mangpada*. Langmai again struck me with bamboo. I was angry and chased him, and we exchanged blows. [Stop.] At dawn we fought again. Langmai told me to leave him. We both picked up split bamboo sticks [relatively harmless weapons] and fought. I went to Atibaimanek, where my uncle lived. Langmai came there and took away all his property. He went to live with an elder brother in a field house. [Stop.] Then Langmai came and asked me to cook for him, but I said I would not, because he had run away. At this time he and Rualberka reached an agreement, but she threw him away and went to marry a Makangfokung man. [Stop.] Langmai came back to me at Atibaimanek. [Stop.] He didn't stay long. A woman who was already married and had children came to him and said, "Let us go together and have our teeth dyed." He went with her, and they were about to get married when her husband came and said, "I shall burn down all the houses at Atibaimanek if you take my wife." Then my uncle Fanseni said, "You must all stop blackening your teeth today, whether or not you are finished. People are threatening to make trouble because of you." [Stop.] This woman, Falangmai, went back to her husband. I said to Langmai, "You make agreements with women and then *run* off to stay with your elder brother. I too had better run off." So I went to stay with my grandparents. [Stop.] I worked in a garden there. I had been there two months when Langmai's father sent a message, saying, "We cannot buy a woman twice. You had better return." [Stop.]

At this time there were two sick people at Palamuk — Tilamani and her husband, Padalang. I said to the messenger who had come from Langmai's father that I would come only after I had sat with these sick people. So I spat on them [i.e., extracted disease objects] and they recovered. [Stop.] When the sick people recovered, they gave me a [736] chicken and rice, and I went back to my uncle Fanseni at Atibaimanek.

x 159 He said I should return to my husband. I said that I did not wish to because he was always hitting me and that now I was searching for wealth to pay back his bride-price. Then *Maikalieta* [her husband's kinsman] called me to come stay with him. I did. When I went there, he and his wife left me alone in their house while they went off to live in a field house. Maikalieta's wife spoke angrily about me to her people because I did not fetch wood. People told me about this, so I fetched wood, pounded corn, and gave them to her. [Stop.]

When I was staying alone in their house, *Maikalieta's* wife came and carried off all their pots and possessions. I thought, "We are orphans and people leave us here alone." I ran to my uncle Fanseni, leaving all my plates and possessions behind. Then I returned here to see my elder cousin, Helangmai. *Helangmai* said, "You don't know how to weave baskets. You had better go cut bamboo and split it so I can weave them for you and show you how." [Stop.] I left [because I was offended] and asked *Marsipada* [the wife of her uncle Fanseni] for baskets, but *Marsipada* spoke angrily to me and told me to get my own bamboo and weave them. I cried and thought, "I am just an orphan. After all, this is not my true mother, but only my aunt." I cut and split bamboo and tried to make baskets, but they were lopsided and full of holes.

April 19, 1939

[828] I dreamed last night, but I scratched my head and so forgot [a common belief here].

When Lakaseni [her true brother] was about sixteen or eighteen, he went to stay with a "grandmother," Kolfankalieta, who was also his Female House. He gave her a pig and some rice. People asked why he did not stay with his aunt and uncle [Maipada and his wife Kolaka]. He said, "I am staying here to dun my Female House." He stayed until they gave him a Tamamia moko. [Stop.] Then his grandmother said, "You were still small when you came to stay with us; now you are grown, so go stay with your uncles." [Stop.] Lakaseni then built a field house at Poorkaivi, and all his friends came to live with him there. [Stop.]

Likma's mother came to live with them at Poorkaivi. She made a house to stay in. Lakaseni stayed with her and Likma. There was a young man, a "grandson" of this woman, who came to stay too. He slept with this woman, even though he was just a young man. [Stop.] He stayed until she was pregnant. She used to cook and not give Likma anything. She fed only that young man. When she was ready to give birth, she went to Leifui. There she gave birth to a male child with [59 only half an ear. She already had white hair at that time. [Stop.] After [84?] that she came back here, got sick, and died. [Stop. Question.] The child might have lived, but they hung it in the brush in a basket and left it to die.

[I requested anecdotes about her and Lakaseni.] When I and Lakaseni were staying in the field house with this old woman, Atamai, Atakari, another Atamai, and Likma lived there also. When she died, all her children there cried and asked, "Who knows how to take care of us, so that we may go and stay with them? Who now has a level hand?" [This means one who is skillful in caring for infants, one who can balance them well on the palm of the hand.] After that we went to stay with our various uncles; Maipada, Padalang, and Fanseni. We stayed first with one and then with another, only a few nights at a time. When we were at Posrhaivi, I did not cook for the men. They ordered me to, but I said, "I am not yet grown. Why should I cook for you?" They were all angry with me. [Stop.] We went from one uncle to another. [Stop.] At that time I had no heart; I just sat [i.e., she was still young and did not yet work]. My elder siblings were all orphans. Koliska [the wife of her uncle Maipada] cooked for them and fed them. When Padalang went to cut a field, all the orphans followed him with baskets and cooking pots to help him with his field work. [Stop.] These children stayed with Maipada until they were big and could do field work and have thoughts. They worked in turn in each other's fields. When I too was a little bigger, I followed them with a pot and cooked for them. [Stop.] When the corn was ripe, they said, "Our younger sister is not yet big, so we shall harvest the corn and she can carry the baskets." [Corn harvesting was women's work. Stop.] [62] When the harvest was over, we had thirty to forty bundles of small ears and forty to sixty bundles of large ones. [Stop.]

Next we cut a large field. Lakaseni went with Padalang to Rangfui. I went with Fanata to work at Padakuni. I got two large baskets of rice and Lakaseni got only one. [Stop.] Then Lakaseni said, "I shall sell my rice for a moko, and yours we shall keep for feasts." [Stop.] At this time Lakaseni was raising a pig that his Female House had given him. When they gave a death feast for our grandparents, Padalang roasted that pig and said he would pay a large moko for it. When they paid off the feast, Padalang gave Lakaseni a Kolmale moko. [Stop.] Then Maugpada said Lakaseni should give him the Kolmale and he could marry his daughter Fuipada. [Stop.] There was still a Tamamia moko

157 left, and Langlani came to ask for it, saying he could pay for it, but he died before he did. [Stop.]

[I again stressed personal relationships. I asked her to stop and think of the very first memory she had of her brother.]

We were both small and were staying with Malpada at Lawatika. I tried to cook but was not successful. Lakamai said, "You don't cook well," and he hit me. He went up a slope and dislodged stones, which rolled down on me. I cried and would not cook any more. Then he came and spoke nicely to me, saying, "Don't cry. Cook something for me to eat." [Stop.] At this time he also shot at me with a blunt arrow and struck my thigh. [Stop.] He was making a garden on the shoulder of the ravine. He told me to go pick his beans. I told him, "You shot me and my thigh is swollen. I don't want to follow you." So he hit me with a club. I cried and ran away. [Stop.] Then Lakamai came and spoke nicely to me. "Don't cry. We shall go together and pick the beans." I was not nice to him, and he got angry and hit me. [Stop. How were you not nice?] I let the fire go out under the pot. I said, "You are not nice to me." I wanted to go to Atimelang, but he ran after me and said, "We just talk a little together and you run away. I hit you a little and you run away. You will bring me a wife who will come and cook for us and feed us." [He was saying that her bride-price would buy him a wife in whose services both could share.] Then we went back together to the field. [Stop.] We picked beans together. When the peas ripened, Lakamai went to Fourkaivi to blacken his teeth. He spilled dye clay as he pounded it. The owner of the dye clay hit him and Lakamai cried. I said, "Who hit my elder brother?" I cried too. Then the owner said, "Your elder brother spilled the dye, and now what shall we use to blacken our teeth?" [Stop.] My uncle Fanseni said, "How is it that you strike my child? I can pay for this dye." He went to Lawatika, got a new tube of clay, and gave it to the owner. [Stop.] When they had used the dye six times, their teeth were dark, black. The boys and girls gave a feast. The boys hunted rats and the girls pounded corn. Then they searched for arrows to pay for the dyeing. [Stop.] Meanwhile Fanseni had said to my brother, "People have hit you, so you had better dye your own teeth." Fanseni got a package of dye from Lawatika for Lakamai, who dyed them by himself; he did not join the others. [Stop.]

April 20, 1939

Last night I dreamed that my elder cousin, Helangmai, and I went to visit Helingfani. Helangmai said we should [illegible] to see Helingfani because she was sick. We went to her house. There they said, "She has already 59x gone off to the field to chop weeds." We wanted to follow her. Near her field Padalang [a boy of twelve, the grandson of Helangfani] said, "I am going to burn this house." [Stop.] Falepang and Kalieta said, "Why do you want to burn our house? It was burned down recently and we have just made a new one. Why do you want to burn down our house again?" [Stop.] I looked at the house and it was already burned down. A lot of Lawatika women came by just then on their way to Kalabahi with pots, mats, and plates. The dream ended. [Stop. She had no idea what this dream meant, but she went on immediately with the following.]

Many of us played together—Letlani, Loata, Tilafani, Lonmai, and Lopada [all girls]. We broke off young corn, tore off the husks, and said they were rice baskets and rice rolls [used for feasts]. The boys took a cassava stalk and made a moko out of it. They said it was a Fatafa. [She went on in some detail about the various things they made believe were feast articles and how they played for several days at giving a large dowry payment.]

Then we women said, "When we play with boys, they always hit us. We had better play alone." We did, and some of the women made believe they were men. [Stop.] Once we went to cut weeds in Lonmai's garden, but we stopped to play. Lonmai's mother was angry with us for not working. Tilapada [the wife of Likma] and I ran off. We didn't stay to work. Lonmai's mother was angry and said we had to pay for the food she had fed us. We said, "Oh, we can easily pay. After all it is not as if your corn were rice." [Stop.] Then Tilapada, Tilafing, and I said we had better not go home that night because our mothers would be angry with us. We dug sweet potatoes, ate them, and slept that night in the fields under bean vines. [Stop.] Langmai [an elder cousin of Kolmani's present husband, herein designated as Langmai II] wanted to sleep with his wife, Fuimau, but she refused him. She ran off and happened to meet us. She said we had better go sleep in an empty field house. [Stop.] While we were there, Langmai II came and dragged her off to his house. In the village Langmai II said to a younger cousin, Fanpeni, "I am going to sleep in my house. You can go copulate with dogs and pigs." [Stop. Why this insult?] Because Fanpeni was staying there dunning him for a pig that Langmai II had got from him. He was angry because of the dunning.

[Was she afraid to sleep out at night?] Yes, we were afraid of ghosts and evil spirits. [Of men?] No. At that time we were still small girls without breasts.

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At that time many people were planting rain corn, so I did too. My field had a common boundary with Fanpeni's. He came and sharpened his sword near me. I saw him and was afraid that if I stayed he would kill me. I ran home and told my uncle and aunt that Fanpeni had almost killed me and that they had better tell other people, because he had a red heart [i.e., was in a murderous mood]. Once Kolmaileng was in a mango tree picking fruit when Fanpeni came upon her. She was afraid and ran away. [Stop.] Fanpeni wandered about looking for people, but he didn't get near them. He then went back to cut weeds. The younger sister of the wife of Langmai II went to get water. Fanpeni approached her and said, "I have just shot a rat and I shall go for more. You had better come fetch it." She went with him. Fanpeni ripped off her loincloth and tied her mouth with it so that she could not scream. [Stop.] He placed her neck on her water tube and cut off her head. He put her body in a tuber hole and ran off to Manetati. [Stop.] Her family heard that someone had been killed by Fanpeni but did not know who it was. They were afraid that someone in revenge would want to kill Langmai II [who was the murderer's cousin], so they hid him in Lawatika, where people could not catch him. People called their children. By and by all the children came home except the girl who had been killed. Her parents were sorry they had helped Langmai II to escape. They said they had been stupid. [I asked how people knew that someone was dead without knowing who it was. After much discussion Kolmani said that blood and the broken water tube had been found on the trail, so a murder was suspected. I then asked how they knew that Fanpeni and not someone else was the murderer. That led to more discussion, and finally the informant said that Fanpeni was generally suspected because of the report she had given of his sharpening his sword. The informant was about ten or twelve at the time.]

Fanpeni hid at Mainabu, from where he shouted, "No one else killed that girl; I killed her. I dunned my elder cousin, and he told me to go copulate with dogs and pigs while he slept with his wife. So now you will find the girl's body in a tuber hole." Her family regretted having hid Langmai II.

Fanpeni hid. After a long time he came to Lawatika and there met his cousin, Langmai II. They stayed together. After a time Lanpada challenged them to a wealth contest. They had a big one. They shot and ate many pigs. The people of the Lethieta lineage were all angry. They wanted to kill my [future] husband, Langmai, because he was a cousin of Langmai II and Fanpeni. But Langmai's sister had married a Lethieta man, Atafani. Atafani came to Langmai's assistance and spoke for him. So they didn't shoot him. Maikalieta [also a kinsman of Langmai] was always with him to guard him if Langmai was hunting rats or working in the fields. [Stop.] [59x

April 21, 1939

[Kolmani arrived and asked the interpreter somewhat sharply what Fiyekalieta had talked about when she had come to see me the preceding afternoon.]

Last night I dreamed I wanted to cut some bananas and roast and eat them. I saw that someone had defecated near the tree. I said to Kolangkalieta, who was with me, "Oh, we wanted to eat these, but someone has defecated near them." I asked Langmai to cut bananas from another tree. [Stop.] He did as I asked. I said, "We have cut two clusters of bananas, but what shall we eat with them now?" Langmai said, "Just hang them up and save them. I shall hunt and see if I can find a dog to eat with them." He started out and I woke up.

[She then continued the tale of the preceding day.] When Fanpeni was staying with Langmai II, the soldiers came. Langmai II, although he had been made a chief, ran away. Langmai, I, and the soldiers hunted for him. We went as far as Saima in the Kafe area but did not find him. [Stop.] Langmai II's wife, Loeseni, her brother Manimai, and some others were also hunting for him. They went as far as Kalmaabui but didn't find him. When they got there, all the people had left. A chicken was sitting under a house, laying an egg. They killed the chicken and ate it and the egg. [Stop.] Then they went on to Talmang and from there to Lakmelang. In Lakmelang they found him. His body was thin because he had been hiding out in the woods for two months. [Stop.] When Langmai II had run away, the soldiers took Manimai's Aimala moko. All the people from here went to Lakmelang and seized Langmai II. They wanted to tie him up, but he said not to tie him. He promised Manimai to buy a Makassar and an Itkira moko. However, Manimai wanted to send Langmai II to jail. [Stop.] They brought him here. Langmai was also in Lakmelang. The chief of Hatoberka said they had better leave the younger kinsmen there. [Stop.] The soldiers took Langmai II to Kalabahi and put him in jail. [Stop.] After a while he returned, saying that Lakaseni [the informant's older brother] should serve the sentence in his place. This Lakaseni did. [Stop. At this point we had a long discussion. What probably happened was that Lakaseni, who was behind in his taxes, was given a jail sentence and saw Langmai x1597 II in jail. Langmai II's sentence was nearing completion. He probably tried to comfort Lakaseni by telling him he would return. This kind of deception was characteristic of Atimelangers. The informant told the tale as if Lakaseni had been serving sentence for Langmai II and as if Langmai II had refused to return to jail in order to release her brother.] I did not see Lakaseni when he left for Kalabahi, and while he was there he died. While he was in jail, he escaped and came back here. Soldiers were sent to take him back. That was the time he died. When he died, people relayed the news up here, and I cried. Lopada and her husband, Maleng [the informant's Male House] came to ask me for a death payment. We made a feast. I gave them a cloth and a Fatafa moko. [Stop.]

[Kolmani finished the interview with a confused account of the finances involved in her brother's death feast.]

April 22, 1939

Last night I dreamed that Fankalieta [a very old man, no relative] died at Buikufui. All the men and women there were busy cooking for a feast. I came back here with my husband. When we arrived, people said that Atamai [the younger brother of the chief of Atimelang] had married Fiyelurka of Padalehi. Fuifani [his first wife] abandoned her child, grasped a knife, and went to fight in Padalehi with Fiyelurka. She struck Fiyelurka repeatedly on the forehead with the knife. I went up and said, "Don't, my younger sister; don't do that. You must not." They stopped fighting. Then Atamai brought Fiyelurka down to the government camp and on to Lawatika. [Stop. I asked whether Fiyelurka had been wounded.] No, Fuifani hit her only with a small knife. She kept hitting and hitting. When I saw a little blood begin to flow, I rushed up and said, "Don't do it. Stop." [Stop.] When Atamai had been in Lawatika two days, he asked Fuifani to return to her own house. He said that he would take Fiyelurka to stay with his older brother, the chief. [Stop.] Then I woke up. [Stop. I was not sure whether this was a dream or a fantasy plus some gossip. She continued without further pause.]

When I was still small, I, Lonkiki, and her older sister, Fuimau, wanted to fetch kanari nuts from the ravine. Fuimau said, "Let us go fetch greens and nuts. On the way back we can go by way of the ravine to catch crabs and crayfish." I said, "I don't know how to catch crabs and crayfish. I don't know how to open kanari nuts." They said they would get them for me and open them. We followed the small

ravine. [Stop.] There was one very steep place with just lianas and 159
roots. I was afraid, but the others helped me, one in front and one behind. [Stop.] I got to the top and saw that we must follow a steep path to go down again. Those two older girls said we had better go by way of Fankafe, but I didn't want to. I said, "Good, that is also a way to go, but if we meet an enemy, you can run away fast; I am small and cannot." So we went by the other route. At this time my aunt and uncle were clearing woods for someone at Folafal. As we were climbing, we heard them shouting that an enemy had almost shot them. They took me and ran. If we had done as those two girls wished, we should have met the enemy and been killed, because that was the direction from which the enemy came. [She told this with great vivacity, rolling her eyes and shaking her head, giving one to understand how farsighted she had been.] My aunt, uncle, and I went up by one path. Meanwhile the enemy had gone by another, so they missed us. If we had taken the other route, we should have met them and been killed. However, we didn't meet them, and the enemy went on to Atimelang and shot at the people there. [This was told in the same excited fashion.] We waited below Fepadok until the people from Atimelang chased off the enemy. Then we could go up the slope.

In three days the Manetati enemy came back at night. There was a dance that night at Atimelang. I was dancing too, and as I danced I fell into a light sleep and dreamed that someone placed dried rice in my [787]
hand (a symbol of danger). My grandmother came and threw it away. I woke up and told what I had dreamed. I said, "Don't dance all night. Stop now. My dream means that you mustn't dance, for the enemy is near." Shortly after this the enemy shot an arrow, but it did not hit anyone. Everyone ran about. The men of Atimelang wanted to follow the enemy even though it was dark. The enemy had placed sharpened bamboo in the trail, and then left by another route. The people of Atimelang ran along the trail. Mauglaka ran into the sharpened bamboo, and it pierced his calf, coming out near his shin bone. He died. [Question.] He died three days later. [Note the dramatic statement, "He died," as though he had been killed immediately by the sharpened bamboo.]

When he was dead, a piece of flooring was taken up and his body was dropped down to the verandah below. They carried his body to a eucalyptus tree, tied it to the tree, and then cut off the head so that his spirit would help them find the enemy. That day they started out to wage war on Manetati. The four other villages were called, and about [701]
fifty or sixty men went to fight the enemy.

577 fifty or sixty men went to fight the enemy. [Stop.] No one was killed and they came home. In two days the *Manetati* men came back to fight. Again no one was killed. They decided to make peace. Padakalieta and Foumakani of *Manetati* were go-betweens. They said each side must cook a rice cone. They agreed to meet halfway in the ravine to exchange rice cones, and *Manetati* was to pay for *Mangiaka*. They did, and the *Manetati* people brought a gong [worth 55 rupiahs] to pay for the man they had killed.

[In this case I was interested in the ethnographic aspects of the war anecdote and probably showed it. But now I asked that she confine herself to her own life. I reminded her that she had not yet spoken of her children.]

Once I was demolishing a stone wall in my field. Langmai [her future husband] came with Rualani to help. Day after day this went on. They shot rats and put them in my basket. Langmai said I should go home and cook the rats; they would come later. I went home with the rats. Fanseni and Maraipada [her uncle and aunt] asked who had shot them. I told them. I cooked, but those two did not come. [Stop.] Just then Langmai's sister Kolmai [who wanted to marry Rualani] went to the field to chase parakeets. Rualani saw her and followed her. Langmai waited for him to return. It was time to weed the corn. [Stop.] I thought, "Langmai has come to help me because he is my kinsman." But Langmai thought, "Even though we are of one family, we get along well and had better marry." [Stop.] They were planting Mailang's field at Tolnaang at this time. I and Langmai, everyone, went to help. Langmai II ordered Langmai to carry baggage to Kalabahi for him, so Langmai went. He came back at night when the garden feast [*bata tifa*] was being given. My aunt and uncle were dividing the corn and the meat when he arrived at Atikalmanek. I thought, "Oh, he has come to see his older kinsmen [Maraipada and Fanseni]." But he thought, "I want to marry her." [Stop.]

When the weeds had been cleared from the corn and it was time to harvest, Lokaseni and I harvested. Langmai came to help Lokaseni tie up the corn. Then Langmai got a moko and gave it to Lokaseni. [Stop.] I thought, "Langmai and Padalang [her uncle] have exchanged a piece of cloth. Maybe Langmai is going to marry Lonseni [Padalang's daughter]. Langmai will be my bina [sister's husband], so he can help tie our corn." [Stop.] Then one day Malkalieta followed me to Puorkaiti. I fed him corn and talked to him, saying, "Langmai wants to marry me, but he is my uncle [distant] and we can't marry." Malkalieta answered, "Oh, that is nothing. I also married a relative. When we marry relatives, 59 we don't fight." I said, "We had better give back Langmai's moko." Maikalieta said, "No, it is better to marry in the family. At death feasts we then have to roast only one pig and you will have to make only one basket of rice. That is good." At this time I was carrying corn to our house at Pourkoivi. Langmai tied it and stacked it in the loft. We got a hundred bundles. Then Langmai said, "Who will eat this corn that I am stacking? I had better come and eat it myself." [Stop.] When the corn was finished, I went to harvest rice. At this time I said with my mouth that I wanted to marry Langmai, but I didn't sleep with him. Langmai told Ruslani that they had better help me harvest rice. I didn't say it, but I thought, "Oh, this man always comes here to harvest corn and rice. Why does he come here? Maybe we are man and wife already?" [Stop.] At this time other men came to talk with me. Ataleti brought a lime box and dropped it in my basket without speaking. I thought, "He too wants to marry me. Which one do I want? I had better wait a little and see which one I want to marry." Ataleti was already married to Kolmaki, a relative of mine. Kolmaki was very angry. So I called her to come to me and said, "Your husband must be crazy. He came and put this lime box in my basket without saying a word. We haven't spoken together [a euphemism for making love]. You had better take this lime box back."

April 23, 1939

Last night I dreamed that a child was crying all the time in a near-by house. A bee flew back and forth under the floor where the child was crying. It became a swarm of bees. It is said that bees are human beings, so I said I would get my knife and kill them. Maikalieta said he would help me. We both went down to kill them, when I discovered that the swarm of bees had turned into a lot of children. We wanted to kill them, but they said, "Don't kill us. We will tell you our names." They didn't tell us their names; they said only that their village was called Loofankafe. Then Maliseni arrived and said, "If these children are from Loofankafe, they had better return; then we can go to the dance at Tilakkul." [Stop.] We all set out for the dance, and I awoke.

[Loofankafe was an area near Lawatika. I asked Kolmani to tell me all she remembered about the place.]

Once Senmani cut a field there, but he had no seeds, so he asked me to plant for him. I planted rice and corn. The rice did not succeed, and from the corn I got only forty bundles. Another year I made a garden

159 at Loafenkafe and got a hundred bundles of corn and three baskets of beans. When we were still young, boys and girls gathered there. We girls made a bean cone apiece, the boys hunted rats, and we ate. [Stop.] They were Senlani, Padalang, Padama, Malbui, and Maugata. The girls were I, Fungalani, and Maliemai. [I asked whether they played at being married. She answered no.]

Once Langmai, who was married to my elder cousin, Fuimai, made a large field at Loafenkafe. He called the people to help him. Many came to work. He fed the people at midday with boiled corn. They divided the meat, rice, and corn. All the food was spread out on banana leaves that afternoon. [Stop.] Each one got his share. We ate a little and the rest we took home. [Stop.] Then Fuimai, my elder cousin, said, "We are already sharing this field with three people, but Kolmani and I shall cut another, smaller field here and share it." [Stop.] In the large field that three were sharing, the crop did not succeed. They got only sixty baskets of rice. In our cornfield we got one hundred and forty bundles, all of which we brought to the house. Fuimai died before she ate of it. [Stop.]

I went to Lakasmi [her brother] and said, "Langmai has given you a moko. If he likes me, he will roast a pig for Fuimai's death feast. If he does not, any man who likes me can roast a pig." [Stop. She had drifted back to the preceding day's detailed account of her courtship.] However, I didn't go to live with Langmai, and so he said to Lakasmi and my uncles, "That woman does not want me; you had better pay back my pig and moko." I said, "All right, I can marry another man, and he can pay you. When I wanted to come to you, you gave only a moko with a broken top." At this time Langmai had no other mokos. [Stop.] Then his father came to me and said, "Don't listen to Langmai's words. I am living in my field house now, and you can bring me wood." So every few days I took him wood, but I did not stay. I went home each night. [Stop.] Once I said to Langmai, "No, I carry wood to your father. If you don't want me, I can marry another man, because right now I am carrying another man's lime box." I didn't go to live with him because he brought just the one moko with the broken top and no small present, like a gong, for me. [Stop.]

Once I was living with Likma and Tilapada. They had just started sleeping together, so they had built themselves a small house. I stayed in the big one. I was harvesting corn in a field near Fepadok when Langmai came to tie the corn into bundles and to stack it in the loft. I said, "Since you help me pile corn in the loft, you had better go hunt mokos for a bride-price." [Stop.] At that time my three uncles were building a lineage house, so they told Langmai to bring a pig. This he did. He brought also a gong and many other things. [Stop.] Still I did not go to him. Langmai kept on bringing gifts for the building of the lineage house until there were ten or twenty tallies' worth. Then Langmai's father said, "We have made a big outlay, so the girl had better come to our house." I said, "How is it that my elder brother, Lakaseni, has received nothing? He must first be able to buy a wife, so there will be someone to take my place." [Stop.] Langmai's father said, "Oh, if you don't want to come, all right. My daughter has just married and when her bride-price is paid, Lakaseni can buy himself a wife [i.e., he will pay Lakaseni from his daughter's bride-price]."

At this time my grandfather [great-uncle] died. Langmai and his father brought a large pig for the death feast. After that my uncles said I must go to my husband because the expenses he had incurred were so large. [Stop.] Langmai's aunt, who belonged to the Lanthieta lineage like myself, said to me, "You must go to your husband, cook for him, and feed him. His expenses are already large." I said, "I could go. But if I go, how can I know my husband's heart? If we women go to live with husbands, we must soon sleep with them. After I have slept with Langmai, how do I know my brother will get a bride-price and be able to marry?" So Langmai collected his sister's bride-price and brought back a large shawl and a Tamamia moko. [Stop.] There were thirty items in the bride-price paid for his sister, but there were a great many male kin, so Langmai got only the shawl and the Tamamia moko as his share. Langmai gave Lakaseni the moko. [Stop.] Then Langmai wanted to sleep with me. I said, "Oh, you only gave a moko; I don't want to." And I ran away. [She laughed at this.] Langmai had another sister, who married Rualani. Rualani gave Langmai as a bride-price a Hawataka moko, which Langmai passed on to Lakaseni. [Stop.] Then I went to Langmai's house. That night he wanted to sleep with me, but I said, "Oh, you have given just three mokos; there must be four." I ran away again. [She laughed once more.] I worked at Fepadak. Then I went to Atibaimanek and worked. Langmai's father came and said, "We are relatives, and in such cases it is usual to make only a small payment, but Lakaseni can have our large pig." Then Lakaseni married Tilamani. She wanted to sleep with him, but he was afraid. She would say, "Come sleep, come sleep," but he wouldn't. She would kick his legs as he lay there and say, "Why don't you want to sleep with me?" I said, "My bride-price is paid. Lakaseni has bought you; yet when you want to sleep with him, he doesn't wish it. In any event, I am now going to live with my husband; I shall not return. Lakmani can sleep with you or not, but you two stay together." [Stop.] Then I went to Tamakwati, where Malikalieta and his wife lived.

There was a dance that I wanted to attend, but Langmai didn't want me to and ordered me to stay home. He accepted areca and betel that I had saved for him, but he never shared it with me. When there was a dance, he would fill his basket with them, go to the dance, give it to other women, and order me to stay home. I would stay home and sleep cold. Two must sleep together to sleep warm. One time I said, "Even when there is a dance in our own village, you do not want me to go. I take care of your areca and betel for you, but you never give me any. Now I shan't feed you any more." He went to the dance. I cooked cassava and ate it all up myself. When he came home in the morning, I scraped out the pot and turned it upside down. I picked up my raincape and pots and brushed past him to go out to the fields to work, just as he was coming in. I worked late pulling weeds. He came to me with a hungry belly and said, "Why are you not sorry for me? Why don't you look at me?" I looked, and his belly was caved in and his eyes were yellow. I said, "Good, why don't you let me go to dances?" He said, "Why aren't you sorry for me?" [Stop.] Then we went home and I fed him. I said, "Now you are sleepy, so you don't have to help me with the weeding, but another time you must help me."

Once Langmai showed me a field; he said it was his and that I was to cut it. Day after day I went there to work, but he never came near me to help. Meanwhile Langmai had met Lomani and had exchanged words with her. They met every day to talk in my field at Puneikaivi. I heard him tell her once, "Kolmani is accustomed to come here every day on her way home, so you had better go now." [Stop.] This woman used to visit me all the time. I cooked for her and fed her. I thought she was my friend, but really she was coming to see Langmai. [Stop.] I thought the two were meeting, so I planned to go home early, hide myself, and spy on them. I saw them meet. Lomani said, "I am married to Lakapada, but I don't want him. I want only you. We must marry." I didn't say anything. I thought, "I want to catch them one more time." Once at a dance Langmai was sitting leaning against a bench, and she was stretched out on the ground near him, wrapped in her father's large shawl. When Langmai dozed off, Lomani pulled him down beside her and covered him with her shawl. Langmai was afraid, but she tugged his belt and said, "Come lie down and sleep." Langmai said, "You will got me into trouble. Our grandparents were siblings, and so we too are siblings. When you marry, I can pay dowry on you. Why, therefore, do you pull me?" The next morning about thirty of her kinsmen came with her to Langmai and said that Langmai had to marry her and pay a bride-price that very day. Langmai said, "Good. This woman is my sister. Ask her if I spoke first to her. If I did, good, we can marry, even though she is my sister. But she was the one who spoke first to me." Then there was a litigation, and the woman was at fault because she was the one who had spoken first. [Stop.]

April 24, 1939

Last night I dreamed that our souls went to Atikalmanek. Fanseni Longhair, his wife Kolpada, everyone, was cooking pounded corn. Kolpada cooked some and put it in a serving basket and set it down on chicken droppings. [Stop.] They were all cooking for a feast. This morning when I was telling this to my husband, I said I had dreamed this because we hadn't made the corn-harvesting *feast*. [Stop.] Then the dream went on. Many people went to Atikalmanek with gongs and drums, but I awoke. [Stop.]

[She promptly continued the narrative where she had left off the day before.] I didn't feed my husband any more there at Pu[illegible]. There was a spirit-bird dance at Feha. I was substituting for my brother as creditor because he was the one who shot the bird. I, Langmai, and all of us went. I stood hidden in the shadows and saw Malemai, Falamata, and Raadberka—three women from Alurkowati—pull Langmai and Atafani to one side into the dark. I heard one of the women call, "Kolmani." I answered with an Alurkowati accent and went. Malemai was sitting with her legs over Atafani's lap, and Raadberka had her legs on Langmai's lap. They were chewing areca together. As I got near I said, "Ush! Aren't you ashamed?" They all got up and ran off. [Stop.] Then I spoke to Langmai, saying, "You go to dances and don't want me to come along. You come home with a stick and beat me, even when we have not quarreled. We go to a dance together and you don't want to dance with me, but you speak to other women. Now I know your heart." [Stop.] Every time Langmai went to a dance he would come home and beat me. I said, "I am not your dog. I do not have four legs. You are talking to a human being. Speak out clearly and I will search for the repayment of your bride-price." [Stop.]

Then Langmai lived with his mother and father, and I went to stay with my uncle and aunt at Atikalmanek. Langmai's father got sick and x 159 said they had better come *fetch* me before I married another man. He ordered Langmai to come and stay with me. [Stop.] Langmai's family came to Atibaimanek to stay, but Langmai didn't come with them. I asked why their son had not come. At this time Langmai's father, who was sick, did nothing but sleep. I said, "How is it that your son has not come? You had better go home." Then the old man cried. I was sorry for him and spoke nicely to him, and they stayed on. [Stop.] Lakaseni said we had better cultivate a large field, and if Langmai remembered us he would come to help. Langmai did come to help us. [Stop.] I said to him, "The old man is sick all the time and does nothing but sleep. Is it better for you to go stay with women all the time, or to come and mind the old man?" Then he said, "Those women made my heart bad [*bouni be berka*, meaning to be in love], but now I want to stay here and think only of field work." We all went on with the field work and made all the feasts necessary in cultivating a field. [Stop.] Then Langmai's father got better, and they went back to Old Atimelang. I stayed in Atibaimanek. Langmai said, "Why do you stay here? Who will carry wood for the old people?" I said, "Your heart is still thick [i.e., still has others in it]. Only part of it is mine, and part of it is someone else's. There isn't enough of it for me yet." [Stop.] I said, "You came once and spoke nicely, so I went to stay with you at Maikalieta's house; but your relatives left me alone in the house. Now you come again and talk nicely to me. How do I know?" [Stop.] I said, "I can carry wood once in a while to the old people even while I am living here. And if your heart remembers me once in a while, you can come here to see me." [Stop.]

When Langmai's father was strong, Langmai stayed with me all the time and worked. People began to notice that I was pregnant. I gave birth to Lakaseni [a child who died in its second year]. Then Langmai threw me away again and went to live with his parents in Old Atimelang. [Stop.] When this child could walk, he developed yaws and then diarrhea. From these he died. [Stop.] Then I went to Old Atimelang to live with Langmai.

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Both of us got malaria. Every three days we had attacks. [Stop.] Next a hungry time came. My familiar spirits, Lomani and Kolfani, who had come to me when I was still young and before I married, had a sacred hearth at which I fed them. Langmai made poison against my familiars by hanging two plants over their hearth. As I was going along the trail one day, a bird sent by my familiar spirits called to me. When I got home, we were both struck down with fever. [Why had Langmai

poisoned her spirits?] Every night the spirits rose in me so that I [159x] couldn't sleep. I wandered around talking to people and chewing areca [756 with them. Langmai was afraid I might sleep with other men. Langmai 787] got a chicken. I had just one handful of rice left, because it was a hungry time, but we fed the spirits' hearth, and then our illness went away. [Stop.] I told Langmai, "If you don't make me a boat carving, hang it over the hearth of my spirits, and feed them, we shall surely die." He made a boat carving and hung it over the hearth. After we fed it, we were soon well. [Stop.]

When we were strong again, we went to a field and built a house there. The chief of Atimelang came and asked us for our taxes. We [687] didn't pay them, so he hit us both with a rattan switch. Then Maikalieta's wife, Fuimai, said, "Don't beat my brother and my brother's wife." She paid a rupiah on our taxes. [Stop.] At this time we went to stay with Maikalieta. He said we had to pay back his money. So I and [222] Langmai went to gather tamarind fruit; we pitted them and sold them in Kalabahi to pay back that rupiah. When we paid it I said, "I made a field and planted it. I asked Fuimai to weed it, saying we would be partners in the field. We divided the corn. That was to pay back the money we owed her. But now that we have paid the money in cash also, who will give back my corn?" Maikalieta chased us away and said we could not stay there any more. But Fuimai was angry with him and said, "Do my brother and his wife sleep on your lap or arms, that you order them away?" That ended the quarrel and we stayed on. Then one day Langmai and Alurkomai dropped Maikalieta's dog out of the house and it yelped. Maikalieta shouted, "Who is hitting my dog? Are you copulating with it [a very insulting suggestion]?" So they answered, "Who [195] is copulating with the dog? If you want to copulate with it, come on." Maikalieta was angry and said, "You can't stay here. Go away and sleep wherever you wish." It was the rainy season; clouds were hanging low and rain was falling. The two men cried and ran to Maugata in Lawatika. They were all young at the time and were accustomed to play together.

April 25, 1939

Last night I dreamed I went up to Mailang's house in Folafeng. I dreamed I had a small field house near his. I saw people lead two carabaos toward us and tie them to the posts of my house. After a while Mailang and Maikalieta came with another carabao, a black one, and tied it to my house. I asked why they tied three large carabaos to my

159 little house. I said the animals would pull it down. [Stop.] Then I ran to Old Atimelang. I was sick there. Good Beings let down a ladder from the sky, and I went up. I turned to look down and saw the sea below me. I cried, "Adiye! Mother, father, tell me what to do. People have hung me in mid-air." [Stop.] I looked to the west and there was a large forest; I looked to the south and there was only sand. In the forest I saw no people. [Stop.] I called and called, but no one answered. I called until I woke myself up and found myself sleeping on the mat. [Stop.] The others were not awakened by my calling and so did not wake me [as they normally do if a person talks in his sleep].

[635] [Do the three carabaos denote ostentation, since they represent great wealth here and are the acme in feast giving? This part of the dream was followed by Kolmani's rising in the air, like a Good Being, which implies power. Good Beings go to their villages in this fashion. Note the development of anxiety as this power dream went on, and the way Kolmani called to her parents for help. The terms *mother* and *father* are formal usage. Kolmani actually never knew her real parents; her aunts and uncles were surrogates.]

Now I want to finish yesterday's story. After I had borne the child who is now dead, we went to stay with Maikaliets. When I was still at Atibaimanek, my uncle told me that when a man spoke to me in a certain way, I was to run away and not live with him. My uncle said, "In a case like that, do your own work and just remember your fields; do not live with him." Then Langmai did speak to me in that fashion. He said, "You just sit and take care of that child; you don't go to the fields to fetch tubers and food. Perhaps you are full. If you get hungry, just eat your child, and then you will be full again." So I ran away, and he went away too. For three years I did not feed him. [Stop.] He had made a house in which I lived. His elder brother, Manimai, died. Langmai ran away from me and stayed with Kolpada [the widow of his elder brother]. A hungry time came and I was very sick, so that even my hair fell out and you could see my scalp. Langmai didn't look at me. He would go off to collect greens and wood to give to Kolpada's parents and not to me. [Stop.] He stayed with her until food was plentiful again before he came back to me. I said, "Your elder brother is dead and you can marry Kolpada." But he didn't want to. "Where will I get the mokos?" he said. I said, "Your elder brother has disappeared and his wife remains. It is not good for her to marry anyone else." [She [593] overtly followed the cultural pattern of not being jealous of a levirate wife, and yet from what preceded, it was obvious that she was.]

Then came the time when the men had to do a lot of trail building. 159x
The chiefs told all the women, even the widows, to cook and go with the men to work on the trail. Kolpada went with Langmai. She said to him, "Go cut wood and give it to my mother and father." So he did. I was still sleeping in the house with a fever. They didn't give me even a little of the wood. Kolpada took it all and gave it to her parents, all of it. She didn't say, "Give a little of it to your first wife." When Langmai went to do trail work, she cooked his provisions for him. [Kolmani lifted her eyebrows, rolled her eyes, and looked outraged.] I spoke to Langmai, saying, "Your wife cooked food and followed you. Now when taxes are due, she can take things to Kalabahi to sell and raise tax money for you." I ran away to stay with my uncle Padalang. I stayed four months. [Stop.] When the work was finished, Langmai came back.

Meanwhile the husband of his "sister" at Riye had died and she had married her brother-in-law. She stayed with him until her body got thin, and then she came back here. [She was apparently ill treated.] Her husband followed her. Langmai at this time had caught some shrimps and was sitting by the trail cooking them when this husband, Malbata, came along. He asked, "Is this Langmai who sits here?" Langmai said it was. Malbata said, "Give me back my bride-price." Langmai said, "I didn't drag your wife here. She came herself." Then they fought back and forth until they were tired out and couldn't fight any more. Malbata tied the tail of Langmai's loincloth to his own and said, "Now we shall sit here together until you pay my expenses." [Stop.] At that time I wanted to go to Rualmelang, but Malbata's first wife came along and said, "Who is that woman? Perhaps it is Langmai's wife. People say he is married to a widow now [his "sister"], so we had better catch his first wife and marry her to another man for the three mokos her husband owes us." I ran away. My uncle Padalang said to her, "You must not take her [Kolmani] away. I shall look for a husband for her. When her bride-price comes in, I shall pay it to you." He
was lying, but I did not know that. Padalang then went with Malbata's 159x
wife to litigate before the chief of Hatoberka. I ran away. Langmai was 694
called to the litigation, and again the two sat down and tied the tails of
their loincloths together. [Stop.] Malbata had given the chief of Hato- [662
berka a chicken and a Fatafa moko so the chief would pass judgment [431]
in his favor. The chief did not want to tie up Langmai, because he was 692]
his Male House. So the chief said, "He is my Male House and I do not want to tie him up. You had better tie him up yourself and take him to

x 159 Dikimpe, where the soldiers are now." So Malbata got young bamboo,
694 split it, made a rope, and tied it around Langmai's neck and led him off. As they came near here they met Kapitan Jacob, who was Langmai's Female House. Kapitan Jacob saw them and said, "Who has tied up my Female House relative?" He untied the rope from around Langmai's neck. Then Malbata was afraid and took his case, not to the kapitan, but to the chief of Dikimpe. The chief said to wait a moment because he was going down to the other end of the village. Malbata was afraid the chief would call the soldiers, and he ran away. Then Kapitan Jacob said, "Oh, maybe you are one of the government officials and can tie up your subjects? Now you have let your bride-price go free. Now you can't ask for it any more." [Stop.]

x 159 [I reminded her that I wanted personal anecdotes. She said Yes, and repeated the content of the last few sentences without elaboration.]

When Langmai came back, I said, "You left me and went to stay with your widow. People came and tied you up. They put a rope around your neck. They didn't do that to you when you stayed with me." After that he lived with me, and for a time we stayed at Maikalieta's house again. Then we built the house we are in now and lived together. [Stop.] He said to me, "Kolmani, you stay as you are. Maybe you have become barren." I said, "You speak badly to me. You were the one who said to me that I could eat my own child and be replete. I guess I shall leave you permanently." [Stop.]

Langmai went to the chief and talked with him, saying, "I am alone. My brothers are all dead. My wife does not become pregnant. Perhaps I shall have no children." I too thought within my heart, "I have no family and am alone. Perhaps I shan't have any more children." [She here repeated the insult about eating her child and told how she went at the time to complain of it to her uncle Fanseni and her aunt Maraipada.
x 159 She said that at that time her uncle had urged her aunt to give her a
842 contraceptive. The blame for this immoral procedure was thus placed on her uncle and aunt.] So Maraipada gave me some medicine, which I ate. Then I didn't conceive for three years, and during that time my aunt and uncle died. I thought, "My husband is speaking the truth. Neither of us has a family. What shall I do to have children?" So I
x 159 went to Maikalieta's second wife, who divined and discovered that the
842 cause of my barrenness was the medicine Maraipada had given me.
787 Then she divined to see whether we should feed my aunt's and uncle's souls before using an antidote. [Stop.] I and Lonmohi went to feed the dead people's souls. She too had eaten Maraipada's medicine. As we

were feeding the souls, my familiar spirit Lomani came. The dead 159^{x}
people sent two tiny spiders, which hung down in front of me, and my 942
familiar spirit saw them. I caught them and placed one on the hollow of 787
my throat and one on the hollow of Lonmobi's throat. They were the souls of unborn children, and they entered our bodies. Then my familiar spirit said to Lonmobi, "You will be pregnant first, and then my mother [the informant] will be pregnant." We went to a spring and dammed up a place to make a small pool. We pounded the necessary leaves and tied them on our abdomens with vines. Then we cut the vines and let them fall into the pool. Shortly after that we were both pregnant. Lonmobi's child died. That was the time I bore Maieta [her son, now about fourteen].

April 26, 1939

Last night I dreamed that Maitama and Kolmai [his wife] went to 159^{x}
Fungwati. As they came back over Manikameng [a ridge above the village], I saw them carrying a branch of a tree, holding it up in their hands. I asked them, "If that is areca, can we chew it?" They said, "Oh, if we hold this in our hands, our necks will get long. When we peel it, it is slippery." [The informant did not know what this meant.] When we approached their house, we saw that many people were gathered there. We looked back toward Manikameng and it was just hanging in air. [Stop.] I looked behind us and saw there were many albino rats with nice patterns in their fur. Some had no fur on their heads, so that you could see the bare skin. I said, "Those are evil rats; evil spirits are in them. Formerly we were afraid, but now the nonya is here and we are not afraid any more. We shall go tell her to bring her gun, and we shall shoot them." Then I woke up.

What shall I talk about? [I answered that she should talk of whatever entered her mind.]

I gave birth to Kolaka [her daughter, about three years old]. While she was still small, she cried all night long and would not stop. Then
Lopada said, "If your child cries all the time, give her the name Kolaka [551]
and she will stop." [Stop.] I said to people, "Tell me what kind of a person my mother was. Was she light or dark? [Kolaka had very light skin.] I was still small when she died, and I did not see her." People said
she had scabies. That night I dreamed that my mother sat near my feet 159^{x}
and that she did indeed have scabies. My mother was tickling my child [787
because she was not named after her. This was why the child cried 928]
constantly. I went to Lopada with a chicken, and she said to change the 553

x 159 name from Fuifani to Kolaka. [That is, the child was renamed after her
[593] dead grandmother so the ghost would stop teasing her. Stop.] Then Mailang said, "The next time I feed my sacred hearth, you must come. Your mother had no other male kin, only me. I am the only one." After we had changed the child's name, she didn't cry any more. [Stop.]

At the Yetok feast Mailang does not take part. He waits for the Ading feast. Then we, his female kin, all go there and gather about him. [Stop.] He calls his female kin when he feeds his sacred hearth, and we all go. [Stop.] If we don't go, the sacred hearth makes my children sick. Then they must take a chicken to sacrifice to the hearth before they recover. [Stop.] After we feed the sacred hearth, all the women go home and the men beat gongs and throw fire into the tree. [Stop.] Then Mailang said to us, "Female kin, listen to my voice. When I use a low deep voice as I throw the fire, a large rain will come; but if you hear that my voice is high and shrill, you will have good crops, and you must plant many fields of sun corn so that you will get much food." [Stop.] When he feeds his hearth and does not scorch the rice he cooks for it, he says, "Female children, cut many fields of sun corn; you will get good crops."

[I tried to divert her from these ethnographic details by asking why she named her child, as she did, after a familiar spirit.] Endirini helped me at childbirth, because we were both seers. At that time we did not pay her familiar spirit, and it was angry. It caused the navel to bleed and bleed. Endirini said we had better name the child after her familiar spirit, Fuifani. When we did this, the child's navel stopped bleeding. [Stop.] When I gave birth, my husband was not there. I took the child in my arms, and the child began to bleed. Also, my side hurt me badly, so I cried. I told Likma to give the dead spirits some raw rice. Langmai was thinking of buying a sheep [for a death feast]. He hadn't paid for it, so the owners took it back. I was sick because of these dead people for whom the feast was intended. Endirini gave the child the name of her familiar spirit, and we fed the dead. For this reason both the child and I recovered. [Stop.]

At that time Langmai was doing trail work. The chief of Atimelang said, "Your wife is giving birth, so stay away from her." [Stop. Why?] Because the soul of the child follows the father and leaves when the father does. That is why people who sit with the mother at this time say, "Oh, a pig has bitten your father." Then the child's soul is afraid to follow its father. [Stop.] When I came out of the house, Langmai

came to me. I said, "While you went off to do road work, I gave birth. [59x
If my uncle Likma had not been here, I should have died. But he took rice and fed the spirits, and so I got well. Now you had better buy that sheep for a death feast so that we may stay well." [Stop.] I said, "Your kin said we had better get a broken gong as a temporary payment for the dead, but I don't want to. We had better buy the sheep. I have already spoken to the owner of a sheep. We had better give him something to eat first and then go fetch it. Later we can pay for it." [Stop.] We brought the sheep here. The owner came asking for pigs all the time and I gave him many. When the time came to pay for the sheep, we gave only a Kolmale moko in addition. Langmai wanted to cut a large new field before killing the sheep, but I said, "No, we must do it now or we shall all be sick all the time." [Stop.] At this time I was feeding the sheep constantly, but its body became thin anyhow. That was because we did not know who were our Male House kin. I, Lonmobi, and Fuimau searched for our Male House and learned who they were.

[Here Kolmani went into the details of the death feast involving the sacrifice of a sheep, which she and her husband had just completed. She came two more days but could not be diverted from ethnographic descriptions. The series of autobiographical sessions was therefore discontinued.]

KOLMANI'S SUPERNATURAL EXPERIENCES

[In connection with material on seers Kolmani gave some accounts of the supernatural experiences that led to her acquisition of familiar spirits. These were given in fragmentary form and have been synthesized here.]

My mother and her great-uncle [her father's father's brother] were [59x
seers. When my mother died, her familiar spirits all went to her great- 756
uncle. When I was young, I was sick a great deal. Whenever I was ill, I sacrificed a chicken and rice to his spirit altar, and then in five or six days I would be well again. One night a flock of night birds came to me, and my soul disappeared. (See page 503.)

We all sat up all night. I don't remember what I did or said, but people told me that spirits spoke through my mouth. There were four of them. They sat on my shoulder and spoke through me. I don't know what they were like. I never really saw them. It is as though wind were [787]
passing by; but they can turn themselves into snakes and different kinds of birds. People told me that my familiar spirit Lomani said, "Oh, mother and father, I went to you. Your hands were level and your laps were level [i.e., they were good parents]. As I sat on your hands and

x159 your laps, you disappeared [died]. Now your daughter Kolmani has
756 made my fire and is feeding me flesh and vegetable foods."

After that a kinsman made me a boat carving and a hearth frame, which I hung on the wall of the house and fed.

After that my mother's great-uncle, Fanmai, said, "My child, your mother died and all her spirits came to me. You had better come three or four times a month and sacrifice to the spirit carving I have for them." After a time Fanmai and his wife said I had better give them a pig and some cloth so their familiar spirits would help bring mine to me. They also said that when I cured a person for the first time and was given a pig in payment, I should bring them the pig.

People must have heard about me, because when Djetlang was sick they called me to come. I sat by the sick people and when familiar spirits rose in me, I talked. When they left, I fell asleep. At that time I began rubbing sick people and taking out sharp stones and sea pebbles.
[155] Some had invisible wounds from evil spirits, and these I rubbed with soot to heal them. Djetlang and the others all got well, and each one gave me four coconut-shell dishes full of rice as payment.

x159 Some time after this my husband, Langmai, was sick. I was staying with my aunt and uncle at the time, and he came to live with us. I said to my uncle and aunt, "Old people, you have taken Langmai's mokos as a bride-price. You had better return them and let him go home. Who will sit with him? What seer will treat him?" My uncle Fanseni said, "Don't be like that. Take care of him." I didn't want to, but I had to. His lineage house spirits were making him sick, so people sacrificed to them; but Langmai was still ill. Then my familiar spirit Lomani came to me and sucked out from his abdomen the shell of a water snail. The shell was there because a witchwoman had given him areca to chew. I said to him, "You probably went to Abuiwati [a village suspected of witchcraft] and a woman gave you an areca nut to chew. Is that true?" He answered, "Yes, that is true. I went there to a dance, and three girls repeatedly offered me areca. Finally Maikalieta [his kinsman] shouted at them, telling them to leave me alone." After two months Langmai recovered and his body was fat once more.

[Kolmani gave several other rather colorless accounts of cures she had effected. She had relatively little to say about either her cures or her familiar spirits. She did say that the death of her first child was due to the visitation of two evil kinsmen of her familiar spirits. She discovered, after having fed them for some time, that they had been the cause of her child's death, and for that reason she threw away the water-worn pebble that had drawn them to her.] They had red fingernails, and there was red between their fingers. Goat's hair grew on their arms. Their hands were not level, and my child died. I threw into a waterfall their red pebble, which another seer had extracted from me once when I was sick.

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

Kolmani is a woman between thirty-five and forty. Her parents both died when she was very young. She had one brother, who died, and many uncles, aunts, and cousins. She made two youthful marriages, which did not last long. Her third marriage was the only lasting one, and from it she had three children, the first of whom died at the age of two. At the time of the interviews, she had one boy of fourteen and a girl of three.

Kolmani accepted the situation of being interviewed by the ethnographer with great eagerness; in fact, she sought the opportunity. She evidently regarded it as a great honor. But although she volunteered her autobiography, her first dream tells us something of her motivations. In this dream (April 12) the interpreter and the ethnographer seek her out; to the latter she gives areca, a sign of friendship, and gets money in return. She cannot resist the temptation to seek money and honor, but she must make it appear that she is sought after. This is one of the dominant constellations in her character. We learn later that she is extremely jealous of any woman who gets the ethnographer's attention during the time she is giving her autobiography.

Kolmani's wish to be important has a long history of determinants in her life. Her father died while she was an infant, and her mother when she was about two, thus leaving her an orphan; and although she received fairly good care from her uncles and aunts, she was constantly complaining about it. Her use of the loss of her parents to justify feeling sorry for herself and as a basis for claims on others was established in childhood. After she was orphaned, she was cared for first by her grandmother, then by a series of aunts and uncles. She was apparently remiss in doing what was expected of her, and she narrates several incidents in which she is upbraided and called either a sponger or a slacker. These disparaging remarks evidently accentuated her feeling of isolation and, together with her frequent changes both of abode and guardians, did not help her develop a sense of self-esteem or strong affectional ties. In fact, they gave her an additional incentive to try to cheat in her obligations. This was her mechanism of revenge. At the same time they set in motion the need for compensatory attitudes, by

×157 which she tried to get the most out of those around her. She was never satisfied with what others did for her, but was always complaining and even misrepresenting the facts.

There are several glaring discrepancies in Kolmani's story. She tells two versions of the story of her aunt's cheating her out of the proceeds of her field. The first version (April 12) was that her aunt appropriated the two cloths that were bought with the proceeds; the second (April 17), that her aunt gave her both cloths, but that she, Kolmani, gave one of them to her aunt out of gratitude for her care. The second version is probably the true one, the first being told for the express purpose of exciting the ethnographer's sympathies. In other words, in so far as she succeeds in getting from the ethnographer the attention and assurance she wants, she can afford to tell the truth.

In her childhood Kolmani had a bad case of yaws, the sores of which incapacitated her. At the age of fourteen to sixteen she went through an exceedingly trying period during the influenza epidemic of 1918. During this time relatives were dying all around her. Her early environment was therefore unstable, giving her little opportunity to form strong attachments to any parental figure. In this connection it must be observed that bad treatment by parents has a more decisive effect—in that it permits the formation of permanent ego attitudes—than has indifferent treatment by a long series of parental surrogates, which merely leads to emotional disorientation. Kolmani's earliest traits were apparently formed in defense of her isolation. The strong wish to be loved took the form of discontent and eventually the attitude of exploiting others, which to her means compelling them to give her what she wants. This method has the additional defensive character of assuring her mastery over the other person.

From Kolmani's dreams it is also quite apparent that her fears of being little valued, of being exploited and mistreated, were compensated for by her claims to supernatural powers. The dream (April 12) of the two male figures' stealing her pig and of her reclaiming it with the aid of her female spirit gives us still another clue. The things she talks about after this dream suggest a strongly defensive attitude toward men, though there is no evidence that it ever took on a masculine tinge, as it did in the case of Tilapada. The supernatural powers seem to serve her as masculinity does Tilapada. Her social position as an orphan exposed her to the risk of being given away in an undesirable marriage so that her guardian uncle could profit from the brideprice. She escapes from this by claiming immaturity and refusing the

157x

sexual advances of a man. On another occasion (April 12) when a marriage is already arranged, she discovers that her suitor and she are cousins and hence cannot marry. By this device she gets out of a marriage and leaves her suitor and her uncle in the lurch.

In other words, we find in Kolmani a series of defensive attitudes that serve to bolster her self-esteem. These devices are all assertive, at the expense of the other fellow. Kolmani also enhances her value by direct means, through supernatural powers. But it is obvious from her talk that she is constantly filled with ill will. She must give a benevolent picture of herself as a hard worker, ill treated by others; she must gossip and derogate others, thereby lifting herself; she must impress the ethnographer by dreaming prophecies, one of which (April 14) foretells her husband's death. She narrates incidents of quarrels with boys in which she always gets the upper hand. She is exceedingly vindictive and invokes her supernatural powers to avenge herself on those who incur her anger. Thus when she was still quite young she was humiliated by the woman who looked after her, when the woman called her attention to the fact that she wasn't pounding rice for her grandmother's death feast. It is true that she had yaws at that time, but it is equally true that she always tried to get out of her obligations. On this occasion (April 14) she had a vision in which her grandmother threatened her guardian's child. In this way she avenges herself on her guardian and makes an ally of her grandmother, to whom she is remiss in her obligations. She is not forgiving; she is always planning revenge — which if not possible through ordinary means can be achieved supernaturally. Failing that, she promises herself to get even after death.

Kolmani is also remiss in her obligations to her dead brother, who has to threaten her repeatedly in her dreams before she finally feeds his spirit. On the other hand, while her brother was alive she cooperated with him in their marital arrangements. She offered him her bride-price to enable him to buy a wife, but in order that the woman might serve them both. Judging from her dreams we may guess that her brother was probably the strongest attachment in her life. She feels guilty about her negligence in feeding his spirit.

There are two preoccupations in her life that come out with some clarity: her role as a seeress and her relations with her husband.

Her mother and her paternal great-uncle were both seers. When her mother died, the supernatural beings were taken over by the great-uncle. Kolmani undoubtedly heard much about this, and in becoming x 159 a seeress after her supernatural experiences at fourteen, she identified herself with her mother and at the same time preserved her as an ally in need. However, the role of the great-uncle in this connection is that of an exploiter. He tells Kolmani to placate her dead mother's spirits and thus obtain her powers, but then he expects the girl to hand over the fruits of her powers to him.

This situation is somewhat difficult to evaluate. We are obliged to treat this whole relationship to the supernatural beings and to the great-uncle as a fantasy, which in this culture can be implemented in a practical way through the role of seeress. Kolmani had some success as a seeress, though it was not remarkable. Her relation to the supernatural is therefore quite typical of her whole character structure. It is first an identification with her mother, and second, a means of getting power over others. But the latter is not entirely successful; it is somehow under the control of a man (her great-uncle). Third, it is a means of compensating for her sense of isolation and of augmenting her defense against exploitation and abuse.

Though Kolmani complains of bad treatment by her aunts and uncles, it would seem that she has more dread of exploitation by men than by women. Perhaps this fear was impressed upon her by the child marriages she was obliged to contract for the benefit of her guardians. The men whom she had to regard as paternal surrogates were people who really tried to use her. Opportunity to develop any real tenderness for men was lacking.

Her sexual attitudes, though not described in any great detail, are now intelligible. Unlike Tilapada, she does not identify herself with men; there was no relationship with any male in her childhood sufficiently strong to serve as the vehicle for such a fantasy. She is constantly on the defensive against men, from childhood on. She currently has dreams of anxiety, and she quarrels with men and fears them. Her refusal to learn to make baskets (she is the only woman in the village who could not make them) is likewise a part of her defense. It is not that femininity is so distasteful to her, but rather that she fears men—specifically that she fears being abused by them. Her two early marriages give us no important clues, but her last one is in accordance with what we would expect. She married a man over whom she could easily tyrannize. She tried to frustrate him at every turn. He wanted to buy a sheep, and she put every obstacle in his way. She danced with other men and made her husband feel slighted and unworthy. She separated from him and wanted to pay back his bride-price. She constantly browbeat him into doing as she wished, sometimes using her supernatural powers for this purpose. She exploited his kin before she permitted sexual relations. She constantly forced him to assume financial burdens. Yet in her peculiar way she is quite dependent on him. He appears as a rescuer in several of her dreams. Her constant bickering is just a way of assuring her own internal security.

Although Kolmani accepts marriage as an inescapable necessity, her inner distrust of men is too great to make any marriage successful. It is impossible to tell which version (April 12, 22, and 23) of her husband's courtship is correct, whether she affected coyness or took the initiative. The mere fact that she has two versions indicates the strong division of her attitudes.

Kolmani's relationship to her children is nebulous, being obscured by the difficult relations with her husband. He resented her first child; this was apparently a jealousy reaction on his part. At the death of this child she left him for a considerable period. In the meantime, after seeing his feeling about the child, she took a contraceptive, a step that she seems to have regretted because she remained sterile for a long time. After three years she conceived again. Then there was a gap of about eleven years before the next child.

In her relations with the ethnographer we get again the picture of a rather complex individual torn between many contradictory trends. She wants to be honored by the ethnographer but is ashamed to solicit attention. She wants to picture herself as a powerful seeress, and yet she dreams of the ethnographer in the role of a rescuer. In several episodes of her life we get two such contradictory impressions; she doesn't know quite how to represent herself.

Her dreams during the interviews show her to be extremely apprehensive, but the sources of this apprehension are not clear from the content or associations. She often thinks of herself as small, insignificant, threatened; she demands aid of supernatural beings, dead relatives, the ethnographer, and, as a last resort, her husband. Nor is her confidence in herself as a healer very great. This is indicated by a dream (April 20) in which she visits a sick person, and the house burns down.

One little episode, with the dream that followed it, is very descriptive of her character in so far as it brings out her relationship to the ethnographer. One day (April 21) she appeared for her interview and began at once conversing in an irritated tone with the interpreter. On the previous day another woman of the village had had an interview with the ethnographer. Kolmani had observed this, was apparently x159 much concerned about it, and wanted to know the details from the interpreter. She could not tolerate any other woman's edging in on what she thought was for the time being her exclusive prerogative. On this occasion she narrated a dream she had had the previous night. In the dream she wants to cut some bananas from a tree. Then she observes feces near the bananas. She says to an older female companion (undoubtedly the ethnographer), "Oh, we wanted to eat these, but someone has defecated near them." She then asks her husband to cut bananas from another tree. He does so, but she is still dissatisfied. Her husband says, ". . . save them. I shall hunt and see if I can find a dog to eat with them."

She evidently fears that someone may interfere with her position with the ethnographer. This position is represented by an eating symbol, a [262] banana. But bananas are commonly regarded as children's food. We cannot account for the particular representation of the interference, [538] feces. From Alorese folklore, however, we learn that feces in place of food is the commonest representation of maternal frustrations. See the story on page 58, and also the autobiography of Kolangkalieta.) Kolmani becomes vindictive and starts putting her husband through his paces to satisfy her whim. Her husband here, especially in her constant bullying of him, is clearly shown in the role of a buffer against her deep sense of frustration. The ethnographer is undoubtedly the idealized, powerful mother, whose support is threatened by interference from another woman.

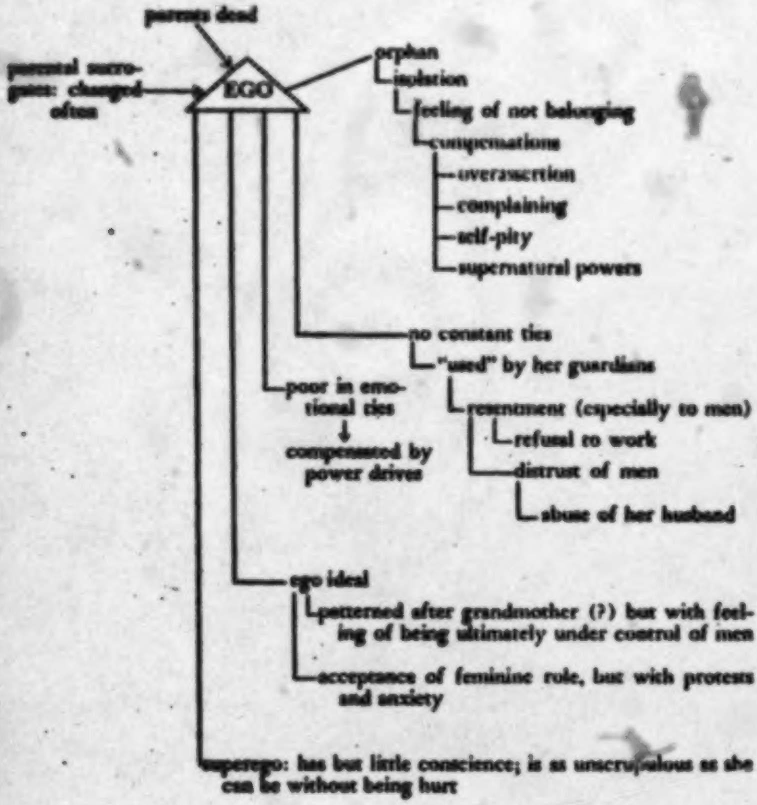
In several of Kolmani's dreams in which she appears helpless, there is always somewhere a note of, ". . . but I can strike back." In other words, she is a deeply insecure person, but one who has developed a sufficient number of aggressive defenses to act as counterbalances. With this autobiography contrast Lomani's, where the collapse of the ego is complete, or Kolangkalieta's, where the defeat is masked by an assumed imperturbability.

If we contrast Kolmani with Tilapada, we must note the absence of masculine fantasies in Kolmani. In Tilapada the masculine attitude was fostered by two trends cooperating, one based on her grievances against her mother, the other on a strong attachment to her brother, whom she wished to emulate. In Kolmani the grievances were spread over a series of guardians, while her mother, with her supernatural powers, became the idealized protector. Kolmani early identified herself with her mother and evidently has continued to do so all her life.

Besides, her hatred and fear of men prevented her identifying herself |57x with them, as did Tilapada.

Thus we find the great weakness of Kolmani's character rooted in her inability to make strong affectional attachments. The emotional façade is made up of a struggle for security by means of control and power mechanisms.

Kolmani's Character Structure


parents dead
parental surrogates: changed often
EGO
orphan
isolation
feeling of not belonging
compensations
overassertion
complaining
self-pity
supernatural powers
no constant ties
"used" by her guardians
resentment (especially to men)
refusal to work
distrust of men
abuse of her husband
poor in emotional ties
compensated by power drives
ego ideal
patterned after grandmother (?) but with feeling of being ultimately under control of men
acceptance of feminine role, but with protests and anxiety
superego: has but little conscience; is as unscrupulous as she can be without being hurt

Chapter 18

Conclusions to the Autobiographies

BY ABRAM KARDINER

157 ONE might well ask, after perusal of the autobiographies of the four men, whether the concept of basic personality structure is validated by these studies. The concept is essentially a check on *institutions* and not on *character*. What we see in each of the four men is a highly individual character. Each has some features of the basic personality structure, but each is in turn molded by the specific factors in his individual fate.

155 Institutions are of interest to us in the study of personality because they define specific goals of behavior. If we consider one institutionalized set of behavior patterns in Alor, we can track down some interesting connections in a continuous cycle. Maternal neglect is caused in this culture by two circumstances—the economic duties of the mother and the attitude of the mother toward the child predicated by her own experience with her own mother. Suppose we assume that occasionally a mother will be kind; how much will this kindness register on the child as long as the mother must take care of the fields? The child does not know the urgency of her tasks. Therefore, the impression of a frustrating mother is created irrespective of her emotional attitude toward the child. Moreover, even where maternal care is in itself good, so many other aspects of ego development are stifled in childhood by other affiliated institutions. Rilpada is a case in point; in spite of good maternal care he nevertheless developed severe inhibitions toward women.

157 In short, the autobiographies show us the variations in individual character; but they are all related to the basic personality structure, which is a commentary on the institutions. Characters such as Mangma, Rilpada, and Fantan can be found in any society; but the specific determinants of these characters are to be found in the circumstances under which the personality structure is formed, and in this the institutional set-up plays a signal role.

155 We can use most profitably the autobiographies of four men and one woman for a comparison with the basic personality structure. In Tilapada we find poor maternal care culminating in a rejection of the feminine role and the idealization of masculine pursuits by way of identification with her elder brother. This masculinity is on the side of self-assertion, a resentment against the hard work and unrelenting responsibility of the woman's role. The acceptance of the feminine role

The acceptance of the feminine role 155
in this culture seems to be decidedly on the masochistic side, and this 562
may account for the blocking in Lomani and Kolangkalieta, in neither of whom masculine strivings are present. The advantages of the woman over the man may not be appreciated by her, being lost in her incessant responsibilities and hard labor. Likewise the fact that the culture pivots around the women may be lost on her, since it is obscured by the apparent advantages of the male.

There is much more to learn from a comparison of the four men. As 157x
regards their relations toward the ethnographer, they all show a passive longing that includes the anticipation of being frustrated and the effort to take from her by force. The absence of this attitude among the women and the ethnographer's observations both tend to confirm the existence of this feature in the male basic personality structure.

On the score of parental care the four males furnish the most strik- 157x
ing contrasts. The influence on character structure is in each case de- 155
cisive. Mangma is the most typical, and his character corresponds to the basic personality structure. Rilpada shows a variation which is atypical. His maternal care was good, but the influence of a powerful father was decisive for his development. No sooner is the strong father introduced than we get passivity and strong superego formation. Inhibitions toward women are determined more on this score than derived from their relationships to the mother. The exaggeration of meekness and educability and the desire to emulate his father determine his career as a seer but add the embellishment of being a "good boy." In Fantan the balance between the influence of the parents is well kept, so that he emerges with the strongest character formation, devoid of inhibitions toward women. Comparatively good parental care led to strong ego formation. In *Malelaka*, however, the departure of his father at eight left Malelaka with a constant longing for him, which is eventually consummated in his relation to supernatural beings and in his severe inhibitions toward women. The two seers had, therefore, a similar development; both are very passive in relation to the father, and both are inhibited toward women.

All the men are equally envious and greedy; all have an extraordi- 157x
nary sensitivity, which they need to conceal with lies and misrepresentations. With the exception of Fantan all are equally fearful of new enterprise and totally devoid of self-confidence.

In those cases where parental care was good, we find educability and pursuit of the paternal ideal. All these men have unsatisfactory relations with women. Mangma is disillusioned and inhibited; Rilpada must x 157 many a maternal replica; Malelaka is pushed into an unsatisfactory marriage and is filled with fear and hatred of women; Fantan is still very young, but he is on his way to as many marriages as he can afford. Two of these cases, Rilpada and Malelaka, can be called latent homosexuals, a tendency that is safely channeled into their vocations, where it is consummated in their relationship to supernatural beings.

On the side of affectivity they all differ from the women. But the men are alike in that none of them makes a satisfactory affective relationship with anyone. They are all dominated by greed, resentment, and jealousy, and none of them has the necessary emotional equipment to be a good parent. Fantan is a possible exception.

155 The development of these four men differs chiefly because of differences in paternal care. The case of Rilpada is the most striking. His father was decidedly atypical, having risen from slave status by dint of great pugnacity. The effect on Rilpada was crushing, and he in turn denies himself the opportunity to become a parent. Thus the cycle continues.

In short, it can be seen from these autobiographies that the character structure is strikingly influenced by at least one variable—the differences in paternal care. The roles of the mothers in all four instances run more closely parallel. The differences are supplied by the fathers.

x 157 181 A second question emerges from the perusal of these autobiographies: What kind of institutions can be utilized by individuals having this basic personality structure? In this connection, we must note a general lack of interest in altering or idealizing the environment and an absence of enterprise and artistic creation. Interest in the outer world is lacking. This would seem to follow from the poor maternal care. The route by which this result is reached is somewhat circuitous. Bad nurture means that the interest of the individual remains focused on human objects; he never ceases making demands on them. Instead he remains fixated on the frustrating objects, which results in short-circuiting all resources. He cannot take any interest in mastery, either in applying it to human needs or in fixing the enjoyment of it in permanent artistic forms. The initial confidence in mastery is lacking.

x 157 182 183 A second result of this basic personality structure is the necessity to select for stress or to create institutions that will prevent the entire society from falling apart. This society is anarchic enough, and the absence of a few barricades here and there would result in its collapse. These defenses are to be found in the general fear of aggression, the ego being too feeble to tolerate it. A second factor lies in vesting the co-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

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A second factor lies in vesting the co- 152
hesion of the society in the woman. This latter is the strongest bulwark 362
of this society against complete disintegration. The woman is not only
an economic anchorage, but the financial difficulties involved in break-
ing up a marriage render the incidence of divorce only a fraction of
what it would otherwise be.

A third force that makes for cohesion is religion. Though it is com- 152
pulsory, operating only under threats, and constituted so that the in- 555
dividual can expect only a relief from an existing evil, its chief influ- 771
ence is to foster better parental care. For in the autobiographies the
commonest appeal to the supernatural is made on the occasion of a sick
child or of wanton acts of aggression.

Part 4 DESCRIPTIVE NORMS AND RANGES

Chapter 19

Results of the Porteus Maze Tests

125 DR. PORTEUS was kind enough to score and comment upon the fifty-five tests bearing his name that were used in Alor. The Porteus Maze Tests explore the problem-solving intelligence of subjects by means of labyrinth designs of increasing complexity. In addition, Dr. Porteus believes that certain personal characteristics can be determined from the manner in which a subject performs.

Sample scores of two subjects from whom autobiographies were obtained are given to show the manner of grading and commenting on the tests. The roman numerals represent the standardized mental age for the test used.

159 *Malelaka* (male, approximately 45 years old)

VI. Some uncertainty at first choice point.
VII. Two self-corrected errors occurring together. Should count one as trial.
VIII. Overconfident error.
IX. Again shows disposition to commit himself to the wrong course and then correct it very quickly.
X. Very thick line.
XI. Shows impatience—prefers short cut out to opening rather than the roundabout course that brings success. Second attempt—very heavy line, small error.
XII. Cuts across line. Second trial successful.
XIV. Not completed.

Test score: 9½ years. This individual is probably more intelligent than the score indicates but is impulsive and possibly resentful. His tendency to commit himself to action without thought seems quite marked. I would doubt his success in social adjustment.

Kolmani the Seeress (female, approximately 40 years old)

V. Last error—possibly misunderstood.
VI. Evident misunderstanding. Second attempt successful but with great effort. Does not anticipate changes in direction of pencil.
VII. Error repeated. Failed.
VIII. Second trial successful.
IX. Failed.

159x Test score: 6 years. This performance needs little comment. The fact that Kolmani, after succeeding in Year VI, was not able to carry over her experience to the next test indicates rather poor planning ability. I should suggest some emotional instability.

153 125 Dr. Porteus' procedure and his own summary have been excerpted from a letter accompanying the scored tests.

"I am surprised at the high level of the men's performance. The average of 28 scores was 12.76 years, which would give them an approximate average IQ of 91. If, however, two 6-year scores obtained by men who evidently had a very imperfect comprehension of the test were omitted, the average would rise to 13.7, with an average IQ of 97. Such a high average would seem to indicate that the Maze is comparatively independent of schooling.

125 128 "My comments on the quality of performance were quite independent of your notes and comments. I was very careful not to read any of these until I had examined and made notations on each test performance. Of course, I was at a great disadvantage in not being able actually to observe the test responses, so that in some cases I could not tell whether the mistakes were due to impulsiveness or to mental confusion and anxiety. Some of the things that I looked for were control of the pencil, nervous reactions at points where a decision had to be made, the place where the mistake occurred, and the like. As far as I can see, the main difficulty that unschooled individuals experienced was due to overattention to the task of drawing between the lines. The individual who was preoccupied with the manipulation of the pencil was apparently prevented from spending as much time in planning his course. Once the initial difficulties were got over, the unschooled cases seemed to do very well.

[157]x "Generally speaking, there was a great deal of evidence of dogged persistence and determination to succeed. In some cases, however, I felt that the individual believed that his prestige would suffer if he could not solve the problem, and in such cases there was a tendency to cut across the lines to the nearest opening, even though the individual knew perfectly well that it was against the rules of the game.

153 "The women's performance was decidedly inferior to that of the men. There were quite a number of cases in which there was evident misunderstanding of the nature of the test. Excluding four records below six years where failure was evidently due to inability to understand what was required, the women's average was 9.43 years, which would give an approximate intelligence quotient of 67. This poor showing of

153 the women corresponds with what I have found in my experience with native peoples. They are less willing to attempt the test and seem to think that it represents a task that is outside the feminine province. Only two of the group reached a 14-year level.

125 "Your results are not perhaps strictly comparable to mine, as the conditions of testing were somewhat different. Your subjects had the advantage of an interpreter and you also modified the procedure by marking the point of exit in each test. This, I think, would make the tests somewhat easier. I suppose the fact that you did not give four trials in the 12- and 14-year tests was due to a lack of test blanks. However, while the conditions were more difficult in that respect, it was compensated for by the fact that you allowed some trials to continue after a mistake had been made.

"I think that your group shows a persistence that was even greater than that shown by the Australian aborigines."

These comments, plus certain supplementary data, can in part be tabulated as follows:

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153

No. of Cases		*Age Range*	*IQ*	*MA*	*Omitted Cases of Noncomprehension*
Men	26	18–45	97	13.7	2
Women	22	15–45	67	9.43	4

x157
114 The unsystematized comments made by Dr. Porteus following each individual's score cannot be considered on the same level of precision or accuracy as the IQ scoring, but are of considerable interest because they were made with no knowledge of the people or the culture and therefore represent "blind" diagnoses. In some individual cases these semiliterary comments of evaluation are so acute, judging from my knowledge of the individuals, that it seems desirable to attempt some kind of summary of them. Readers may not agree with the manner in which I have categorized some of the terms employed, but in any event they will be able to reorganize them as they choose.

x157

Negative	*Men*	*Women*	*Positive*	*Men*	*Women*
I. Nervous and anxious	7	7	Confident	2	1
Apprehensive of error	0	1	Improved in confidence	3	0
	–	–		–	–
	7	8		5	1
II. Poor planning or none	2	7	Planning	2	0
			Foresight	1	0
			Thoughtfulness	1	0
	–	–		–	–
	2	7		4	0

Results of the Porteus Maze Tests

157x

Negative	*Men*	*Women*	*Positive*	*Men*	*Women*
III. Overconfidence	4	3	Alertness	2	1
Hasty	1	3	Prudence	1	0
Impatient to succeed	1	0	Stability	1	0
Reckless	0	1	Persistence	1	3
Impulsive	4	5	Concentration	1	0
Quick change of mood	0	1	Determination to succeed	1	0
Goal without study or effort	1	0			
	11	13		7	4
IV. Slow to anticipate change	4	4	Adaptable	1	1
Slow to adapt	1	2	Ability to learn by error	2	2
			Correct overconfidence	3	0
	5	6		6	3
Total	25	34	*Total*	22	8

In view of the questionableness of such a tabulation, I have made no 157x attempt to calculate percentages or to spin fine-drawn analyses. But 153 certain gross tendencies may legitimately be noted. For example, qualitative [114 128] factors that seem to make for the successful completion of the test are markedly few in women. This is of course to be expected from their lower intelligence scores. It is simply a way of restating their intelligence performance in terms of emotional characteristics. It is also evident that for both men and women the predominant factors that interfere with efficient performances are anxiety and a general lack of steadiness. Despite this the men's results are relatively high, which indicates a good general level of intelligence. One wonders whether the financial problems that preoccupy men resemble sufficiently the problems of the Porteus Maze tests to account for their high score.

Chapter 20

Word Associations

125 AFTER a year in Atimelang I compiled a list of one hundred words in Abui, selecting those words which seemed to me to be charged with emotional connotations in daily life or those which occurred frequently in dreams and autobiographies. These were interspersed with words which are often strongly colored in our own society, for example sexual and excretory terms. Lastly, words were interspersed which seemed in both societies to have a neutral emotional tone, for example landscape terms. This list, needless to say, was selected purely on the basis of impressions. The stimulus words are given on page 564.

124 The test was given to 17 men and 19 women. Each subject was given the same instructions. The following is a literal translation of the Abui in which they were given:

"I shall speak once; you speak once. Follow what rises within you; do not think, only speak. If what you speak is not good, that does not matter. I also shall speak what is not good. Do not answer with the names of people; do not answer with Malay words. For example, I may say *black*, you may answer *white;* or, I may say *far* and you may answer *foreign;* or, I may say *good* and you may answer *bad*, or *tasty*, or *my sibling*, or *Itkira moko*. There are one hundred words; after fifty we shall stop to catch our breaths. Have you understood?"

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125 Of the total responses (1700) by men 96.5 per cent (1640) were usable. Of the total responses (1900) by women 96.5 per cent (1831) were usable. By usable is meant that there were no language misunderstandings, either on my part or on the part of the informant, and that there were no perseverations. There were no neologisms and only one instance of playing with sound associations. In this case the stimulus word *side shield* (*koli*) produced the response *you lie* (*okoli*). There were, however, at least 3 subjects whose responses were more or less stereotyped; that is, they responded with a color, like black, which was contained in the instructions, or with a number or a possessive prefix when they were in difficulties. The significant point in this comparison between the percentages of usable responses from men and women is that they are identical. This might suggest that both sexes have equal language facility.

In comparing responses words were grouped into categories. For example, to the stimulus word *path* the following response categories were inherent in the material: government trail; go, wander, follow;

weeds; garden, field; villages; slopes; closed. The 7 categories include 157x all responses by men and women. The response categories to the 100 125 stimulus words were compared for men and women, and 77.9 per cent of the men's and 74.5 per cent of the women's responses fell into the same categories. Again, the significant point is the high degree of uniformity between the men and women. In a sense it may be considered a measure of cultural standardization, according to which we might hazard the guess that three quarters of all verbal reactions among adults are culturally determined. This uniformity is further emphasized by the fact that to 33 stimulus words at least 8 men and 9 women gave the same response. These words and the responses were:

Stimulus Word *	*Response*
1. raincape (*adik anui*)	sleeping mat (*adik tamuring*)
5. woman's areca basket	carrying basket
6. rice	corn
10. feces	urine
14. war or hunt arrow	arrow of some other type
15. verandah, bench	house, or, in the house
19. her vagina, copulate	penis
21. dog	pig
26. corn	rice
32. dance-place altar (*kameng*)	dance place (*masang*)
33. man's loincloth; type of bride-price	some type of textile
36. shawl of native weave	another type of textile
39. dance (substantive and verb)	versify
43. dance place (see no. 32)	dance-place altar
51. wild pig	domestic pig
52. evil spirit	paired synonym †
54. gong	moko
57. my mother	father
58. large ravine or rivet	small ravine or river
61. crayfish	crab
62. kinsmen	synonym
65. father (see no. 57)	my mother
68. my younger sibling	elder sibling
69. cooking pot	calabash dish
70. rat	chicken
76. my elder sibling (see no. 68)	younger sibling
78. sleeping mat (see no. 1)	raincape
84. betel	(chew) areca
86. sea or salt water	pool
87. his penis	vagina or copulate
88. side shield	back shield
94. man's areca basket	basket (general term)
95. village boundary (*kawada*)	village (*melang*)

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* The number preceding each stimulus word indicates its position in the original list of 100 words.

† This refers to a synonym which cannot be used alone, but must be used with a partner word of the same meaning.

x157 In contrast to these 33 stimulus words, which resulted in a high de-
125 gree of response uniformity between the sexes, there were 17 stimulus words to which the highest number of similar responses by men and women differed.

Stimulus Word	Men		Women	
	Response	No. of Responses	Response	No. of Responses
2. path	government trail	8	follow (i.e., go, wander)	7
7. my navel	my stomach	10	his or a stomach	7
8. woman's loincloth	man's loincloth	6	wear	7
17. my sibling of opposite sex	sibling of the same sex	5	father	3
20. joint, knot, mountain, island	soil and slope	3 ea.	sit (walk) on	4
22. areca	coconut	8	betel	8
24. beget	paired synonym	7	child	8
38. gale	wind	5	rain	5
41. dream	sleep	5	soul (wanders)	5
42. urine	urinate	7	feces	9
45. invoke	sacrifice and spirit	8	speak, say	4
49. sky	above and earth	4 ea.	cloud	9
53. pool	sea	8	large	4
75. fire	light it	6	put (out)	4
77. cut garden	field and plant	5 ea.	cut weeds	7
89. firewood	cut	3	carry and sacred hearth	3 ea.
98. wound, creditor	sores	4	cut (slash) someone	4

x157 These two lists, supplemented by some of the original material which cannot be presented here, permit us to make certain observations. For instance, in the kinship responses men and women show a high degree of uniformity in respect to complementary kinship terms like *mother–father* and *elder sibling–younger sibling*. *My sibling of opposite sex*, however, produced only 5 agreements among men in the response *sibling of the same sex*, whereas among the women only 3 were in agreement with each other in the response of *father* to *my sibling of opposite sex*. In other words, it would seem not only that attitudes are less fixed in response to *my sibling of opposite sex* but also that men and women differ in their reactions.

In general the parental figure bulks larger in kinship awareness than any other. Eight kinship terms used as stimulus words* produced 37

125 * These included *mother, father, elder sibling, younger sibling, sibling of opposite sex, grandparent, kinsmen, friend.*

mother responses and 39 father responses. Four men equated *elder sibling* with *father*, but only 1 woman did so. *Father* was also given 3 times as a response to *grandparents*, 4 times to *my sibling of opposite sex*, and 5 times to *elder sibling*. *Mother* was given once as a response to *friend*, 3 times as a response to *my sibling of opposite sex*, and 4 times as a response to *grandparent*. It is revealing of our underplaying of kinship bonds that the Kent-Rosanoff[*] list of 100 words for test purposes in our culture contains no kinship terms. It would be interesting to have such material for comparative purposes.

In responses to terms relating to body parts and functions, certain similarities and differences between the sexes clearly appear. Male and female sexual organs were consistently complementary terms in response reactions for men and women. To the names of sex organs no one responded with *beget* or *procreate*, despite the fact that the physiology of the act is well understood. Men and women differed in their responses to the stimulus word *beget*. Seven men agreed in giving a paired synonym, which may be considered a purely literary type of response, whereas 8 women agreed in responding *child*. Only one man responded with a euphemism for intercourse; no woman gave such a response. To the word *milk* (from breast), *drink* was given as a response by 8 men but only 3 women; 4 women and only 1 man responded with *water*. Of 31 persons' usable answers in response to *blood*, 5 men and 5 women responded *pus;* 4 men and only 1 woman responded *flows;* 3 people responded *wounded;* and only 1 person responded with the comment *someone*. Out of 33 persons' usable responses to *feces*, 12 men and 15 women agreed in the response *urine* or *urinate*, but 3 men and 3 women answered with *defecate*. Out of 31 persons' usable responses to the stimulus word *urine*, 7 men and 6 women gave *urinate* and 5 men and 9 women responded with *feces*. In other words, *urine* or *urinate* is more than twice as popular a response as *feces* or *defecate*.

To all food words men's and women's responses show a high degree of correspondence both among themselves and in respect to each other. *Corn*, *rice*, and *beans* form complementary categories and are customary response words for each other. For these three words only 23 out of 107 usable responses dealt with production—*plant*, *pick*, *harvest*, *pound*, and the like. Of these 107 production responses only 1 dealt with consumption; to *beans* 1 man responded with *eat*. To the two stimulus words *fish* and *crayfish* only 3 out of 64 usable responses were *eat*. To the 6 stimulus words—*piglet*, *dog*, *wild pig*, *chicken*, *rat*, *pig*—

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[*] Aaron J. Rosanoff, *Manual of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene* (7th ed., New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1938).

all of which are flesh food, only 10 out of 207 usable responses meant *eat* (4) or *roast* (6). These 11 words, in terms of usable answers, give an average of only 2 per cent eating responses. In the Kent-Rosanoff test given to 1000 normal people in our culture, there were 6 food words (*mutton*, *fruit*, *cabbage*, *bread*, *butter*, *cheese*) to which eating responses in the form of *eat*, *eating*, *eater*, *eatable*, *eatables*, and *edible* were 10 per cent of all responses. This does not include answers like *taste*, *palatable nourishment*, and the like. To make the contrast sharper, our staple, *bread*, had 22.7 per cent eating responses; the Alorese staple, *corn*, had none. In connection with all that has already been said about food and food attitudes in Atimelang, the singular absence of eating responses to food words suggests inhibitions on this score.

To 9 stimulus words for animals either hunted, feared, or killed for food 16 responses were action words meaning kill, shoot, or hunt. In other words, the action responses are even lower than the production responses were in the case of vegetable foods. In connection with these animal words certain interesting categories appeared. Domestic pigs are equated with dogs, wild pigs, and chickens. Rats are equated with chickens, whereas chickens are equated with pigs 15 times and with rats 5 times. Hawks and wildcats are equated with each other.

Closely related to stimulus words dealing with foods were the words *betel* and *areca*. To *betel* 11 men and 10 women responded *areca* or *chew areca*. However, to the stimulus word *areca*, men and women differed in their responses. Eight men responded *coconut*, and 8 women replied with the complementary term *betel*. It is interesting that no one replied *lime* to either *betel* or *areca*, although lime is invariably used with betel and areca. Of the 72 responses to *betel* and *areca* only 7 were *chew*. Again, as in production responses to food words and action responses to names of animals, words indicating activity are relatively few. How far such responses are linguistically determined and how far they are psychologically determined only future comparative research in this problem can establish.

Out of 151 usable responses to words dealing with wealth (*foreign money*, *moko*, *pay*, *gong*, and *ceremonial payoff*), 20 responses were *payoff*, only 9 were *to give* or *divide*, and 5 were *to buy*. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the responses dealing with wealth centered around 3 homonyms. To *war arrow*, or one type of bride-price, to *man's loincloth*, or another type of bride-price, and *to wound* or *creditor* the Alorese gave these homonyms a wealth interpretation in only 10 responses out of 103. Of these 10 responses, 7 were given by men and

3 by women. In view of the preoccupation with finance in this culture, the fact that no wealth interpretations were given to words which could be so interpreted may point to an avoidance of areas of difficulty and, by extension, support my argument for the weakness of the ego in Alorese personality. 157x [154]

Responses to other words or groups of words can be briefly summarized. *Fire*, for instance, drew from 6 men the positive response of *to light*, whereas 4 women responded to it in a negative fashion with *out*. These were the 2 responses of highest consistency. To 4 words dealing with illness or pain (nos. 13, 34, 96, 98), of 132 usable responses only 5 were recovery words and 5 were treatment or curing words. Again this seems to indicate a low positive or active attitude. In response to the word *sacrifice* (literally, smear verandah), 15 responses out of 32 dealt with naming, cooking, or eating food and 7 more were variants on the term "to give a feast." Stimulus words for various kinds of quarreling (nos. 29, 46, 73) produced responses that in large part were terms for other types of quarreling, and these answers seem neither consistently to magnify nor to reduce the degree of violence implied in the stimulus word. To the 2 weapon words (*arrow*, *bow*) the responses were again predominately other types of weapons. Only 3 responses to *bow* and *arrow* out of 67 usable answers were *shoot*. The response *person dead by violence* occurred only 3 times to these two words. The decorative, as opposed to the aggressive, connotation of weapons may be indicated by 17 responses out of 103 that meant *wear* or *carry*.

Aside from these specific responses, the absence of qualifying words seems marked. For instance, to the stimulus word *my ear*, only 1 person responded *deaf*. There were scattered responses of *bad*, *large*, and *small*, but these came primarily in answer to the qualified stimulus word like *large ravine* or *river* (no. 58).

Unfortunately this word test was not given with a stop watch. This is particularly unfortunate since the considered opinion of some psychologists is that reaction time is a safer guide than the character of the association.* Words that produced delayed responses were checked only on an impressionistic basis during the test. Considering the delayed responses in connection with perseverations and irrelevant answers may give some hint of the stimulus words that gave subjects difficulty. These were: 157x 125

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* H. M. Leach and M. F. Washburn, "Some Tests by the Association Reaction Method of Mental Diagnosis," *The American Journal of Psychology*, 21:164 (1910).

X157
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Stimulus Word	*Delayed Response*	*Perseveration or Irrelevancy*	*Total*
9. his (her) soul	10	13	23
41. dream	8	1	9
45. invoke	8	3	11
3. foreign money	7	3	10
35. I think	5	9	14
18. fish	5	3	8
87. his penis	5	1	6
28. (to) fly	4	5	9
48. (to) pay	4	2	6
	56	40	96

X157 It is interesting that words like *soul*, *think*, *invoke*, and *dream*, which are not concrete, should create delay and confusion. This agrees with word test experience in our own culture when abstract or unusual words are used. The difficulties over the word *penis* were all 5 on the part of men. Three of these men had also given aberrant responses to X157 the word *vagina*, and all 5 were men who ranged from unsuccessful to 115 only moderately successful financially. The responses, including those 153 of 3 husbands and wives, are tabulated below and may be suggestive of personal difficulties.

Responses to Stimulus Words

	Vagina (*penis is normal response*)	*Penis (vagina is normal response)*
Likma	penis	wild pig testicles
Tilepada, his wife	remove woman's loincloth	bad
Atafani	many	urinate from
Kolang, his wife	kill, cut	vagina
Alurkomas	penis	stomach, tooth
Kawaiman, his wife	penis	vagina
Malema	water	kill, cut
Fuimal,* his sister-in-law	buttocks	his tail copulates
Padakafeli	also (perseveration from stimulus word *fish*?)	his, or near him

* Village gossip accused this pair of illicit relations. Malema was about 25 and still unmarried. He lived in his brother's household. His brother was absent most of the time. Malema's response to the stimulus word *feces* was *food*; to *village boundary*, *wander outside of*.

X157 It would seem from this tabulation that men are more vulnerable than women in respect to sexual adjustment and that the vulnerability is related to their own organ. This is of course only a guess. It does show, however, the possible value of a word association test in opening up for the field worker areas of individual and group problems in adjustment.

000 In general, the use of a word association test phrased in the terms of the local culture and in connection with psycho-cultural investigations seems promising from even this avowedly inadequate beginning. Had the test been given earlier in the course of the field work and had the results been tabulated in the field, it could have been made to yield better results than it actually did. This experiment also indicates that a word test in our culture might be used for social diagnosis and not merely for individual diagnosis. The Kent-Rosanoff schedule of responses is rich in cultural implications, as a casual comparison of the responses to man and woman will immediately reveal.

157x However, even the tentative conclusion which may be drawn from this experiment in field techniques seems to coincide to a large degree with the modal personality postulated for the people of Atimelang. The high similarity of responses between men and women might indicate that a sex-based dichotomy is not so pronounced as cultural theory indicates. This ties in with earlier comments upon cross-skills and the ability of the sexes to live independently of each other. The inconsistency in responses to my *sibling of opposite sex* may be a reflection of the uncertainty concerning masculine and feminine roles created by the discrepancy between theory and practice in the culture as well as by far deeper psychological forces at work. The importance of the parental figure is confirmed by the word test, although other materials are necessary to bring out the disappointing aspects of the parental image. The reaction to sex words indicates that such inhibitions as may exist are not major ones and that they are more characteristic of men than of women.

If my argument that sex and wealth are linked is correct, the rareness with which homonyms having wealth meanings are so interpreted may be further confirmation of difficulties in those two areas. To *milk* (of woman's breast) consumption responses predominate. This is in marked contrast to the absence of consumption responses to vegetable foods, which it will be recalled are owned and produced by women and in connection with which greater deprivations occur than in connection with nursing. Certainly the practical and concrete quality, as opposed to the abstract quality, of thought is suggested by reactions to words like *think, dream, invoke,* and so forth, and is consistent with the point made earlier in the volume that the Atimelangers are not preoccupied with speculative or religious thinking.

125 The following stimulus words and phrases were used in the word association test:

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1. raincape (*adik amai*, literally, pandanus rain)
2. path (*tafoka*)
3. foreign money, i.e., Dutch Colonial coinage (*seng*)
4. piglet, young animal (*fila*)
5. woman's areca basket (*fulak*)
6. rice (*ayak*)
7. my navel (*nabik*)
8. woman's loincloth (*ha*)
9. his (her) soul, shadow, ghost (*hanoting*)
10. feces (*ati*)
11. moko (*tafa*)
12. crawl – like a child (*hamangda*, literally, cat and verbal suffix)
13. my head aches – also euphemism for menses (*nierhai narik*)
14. war or hunt arrow; type of bride-price (*kafuk*)
15. verandah, bench (*lik*)
16. spate (*yo*)
17. my sibling of opposite sex (*nawra*)
18. fish (*afu*)
19. her vagina, copulate (*baiy*)
20. joint, knot, mountain, island (*buku*)
21. dog (*kai*)
22. areca (*fu*)
23. ladder, necklace (*anniring*)
24. beget – the impersonal form (*taiat*)
25. friend (*fela*)
26. corn (*fati*)
27. bow (*peti*)
28. (to) fly (*li*)
29. make noise – implying to quarrel (*kawai*)
30. seer or his familiar spirit (*timang*)
31. rain (*amai*)
32. dance-place altar (*hamang*)
33. man's loincloth, type of bride-price (*pabeb*)
34. illness, bamboo water tube (*aloi*)
35. I think (*nomin tuk*, literally measure within me)
36. shawl of native weave (*neng*)
37. spittle (*puyang*)
38. gale (*abana*)
39. dance – substantive and verb (*luk*)
40. soil (*amai*)
41. dream – substantive and verb (*piela*)
42. urine (*wai*)
43. dance place (*masang*)
44. bamboo water conduit (*ye taliy*)
45. invoke (*abang*)
46. fight with swords – impersonal form (*tet tet*)
47. sacrifice (*lik padok*, literally, platform smear)
48. (to) pay (*tang*)
49. sky (*adiy*)
50. my tongue (*nalifi*)
51. wild pig (*teyfe*)
52. evil spirit (*kari berka*)
53. pool (*yewa*)
54. gong (*fohung*)
55. red (*kika*)
56. live – in a place (*lak lal*, literally, walk, wander about)
57. my mother (*nia*)
58. large ravine or river (*la foka*)
59. village burns (*melang torat*)
60. his blood; go to him (*beve*)
61. crayfish (*eti*)
62. kinsmen (*serang*)
63. house; kin groups (*fala*)
64. chicken, bird (*rua*)
65. father (*mama*)
66. village guardian spirit (*alenai*)
67. pigpen (*feba*, literally, pig fence)
68. my younger sibling (*nenaba*)
69. cooking pot (*dieng*)
70. rat (*rui*)
71. house post (*taba*)
72. field knife (*kaweni*)
73. fight with fists – impersonal (*taluk*)
74. snake (*mo ni*)
75. fire (*arawasing*)
76. my elder sibling (*nenama*)
77. cut garden – to clear weeds (*uti tek*)
78. sleeping mat (*adik tamaring*, literally, pandanus sweat)
79. my ear (*navey*)
80. cloud (*tabo*)
81. grave, (to) bury (*nabuk*)
82. earthquake (*taiyoka*)
83. hawk – one type (*kila*)
84. betel (*meti*)
85. bean – one type (*takoi*)
86. sea, salt water (*tamawa*)
87. his penis (*bato*)
88. side shield (*koli*)
89. firewood (*ara*)
90. room (*fala bomi*, literally, house within it)

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91. empty (*taha*)
92. person dead by violence (*tafang*)
93. milk (*tik marie*, literally, breast juice)
94. man's areca basket (*hamo*)
95. village boundary (*hawada*)
96. my stomach aches (*natok narik*)
97. my grandparent (*nakata*)
98. wound; creditor (*nama*)
99. pig (*fe*)
100. payoff, as at a feast (*beyeng*, literally, distribute among them)

Chapter 21

Children's Drawings

000 IN our own culture children's drawings have been used diagnostically in connection with case histories or as therapeutic self-expression. For many years anthropologists have been collecting drawings by children and adults from nonliterate peoples. With the exception of Margaret Mead's work such collections have too often been aimless and sporadic by-products of field work. So far no techniques for the comparative evaluation of children's drawings have been worked out, yet even a casual inspection of collections from different cultures suggests that they may throw much light on the culturally determined phases of personality structure among children. The material which follows is a tentative step in that direction.

304

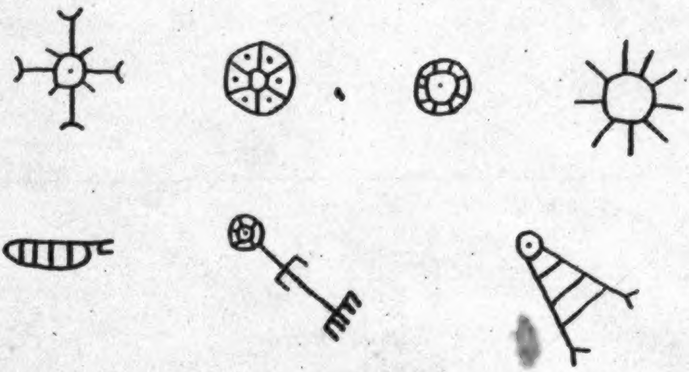

Figure 1. Women's tattoo designs.

531 Children in Atimelang draw pictures with their fingers or with sticks on the hard, level earth of trails and dance places. These drawings resemble those made on paper at my request. They have no relation to adult art. Grown men incise curvilinear designs on spoons, lime boxes, house beams, and lineage-house ladders, or they carve spirit figures in the round. The only forms of artistic expression open to women are the very simple geometric decorations applied to baskets, a limited amount of beadwork, and tattooing (Figure 1).

Regarding the drawings collected from children the following figures summarize briefly the material available. 124

	Boys	*Girls*
Number of children	33	22
Approximate age range	6–16	6–16
Number of performances	60	33
Number of different objects portrayed	76	49
Range of number of objects portrayed per 30-minute session	5–26	7–26
Average number of objects drawn per session by one subject	11.4	14.8

Children were given pencil and paper, materials which they had 125 never handled, and were asked to draw whatever they wished. An arbitrary time-span of thirty minutes was set. Parenthetically it should be noted that drawings done with pencil on smooth paper will differ from those done with crayon, ink, or paint. Any cross-cultural comparisons must take into account the mediums used by the children.

The first obvious step is an analysis of the subject matter which preoccupies children.

ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTS PORTRAYED BY BOYS AND GIRLS 157x

Subject	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Subject*	*Boys*	*Girls*
Plants			Animals		
palm	59	11	snake	26	6
tree	53	30	hawk	18	0
fern	47	77	chicken	17	6
flower	39	20	lizard	14	1
seed	13	12	bird	10	0
tuber	4	27	fish	8	5
fruit	4	0	fishbone	0	7
cassava plant	4	9	dog	5	0
weed	3	5	duck	4	1
squash	2	0	horse	3	0
squash plant	0	2	eel	3	0
bean	2	0	goat	3	0
tobacco plant	2	0	pig	2	1
coconut plant	1	0	walking stick (insect)	2	0
coconut leaf	0	3	firefly	2	1
leaf	1	5	cockatoo	2	0
grass	0	1	butterfly	1	0
eggplant	0	1	dragonfly	1	0
banana leaf	0	1	slug	1	0
branch	0	1	rat	1	1
			insect	1	0
			frog	1	0
	234	205		125	29

X157

Subject	*Boys*	*Girls*
Buildings		
house	54	22
ladder	12	25
church	9	0
bench	5	0
table	1	0
house beam	0	1
	—	—
	81	48
Ceremonial objects		
village guardian spirit	26	4
evil spirit	20	1
boat	12	0
carved house beam	5	0
dance place	4	0
spirit carving	4	0
familiar spirit carving	2	0
spirit altar	0	2
spirit	2	0
carved board	1	1
altar	1	0
island of dead	0	1
	—	—
	77	9
Cosmology		
star	39	23
moon	17	8
sun	2	0
	—	—
	58	31
Human beings		
man	34	1
person	16	2
self	2	1
woman	2	0
hand	0	2
leg	0	1
	—	—
	54	7
Tools		
tattoo design	3	119
comb	8	29
knife	12	3
necklace	2	9
moko	6	0
bow and arrow	3	2
gong	3	1
cooking pot	0	2
clothing	2	0
rope	1	0
bean game	1	0
ax	0	1
corn rack	0	1
rice basket	0	1
	—	—
	41	168
Foreign objects		
scissors	4	0
gun	4	0
ship	3	0
flag	1	0
saw	1	0
bookcase	1	0
armrest (in school)	1	0
motorboat	1	0
clock	1	0
	—	—
	17	0

[125] The identifications of subject matter were made by the child at the end of each session. A few sheets which seem to be typical are reproduced in Figures 2 through 9. A peculiar identification of the "flower design" with a hawk (Figure 2-d) recurred frequently. I can only note this; there is no available explanation. An obvious point to be made in regard to subject matter is the boys' greater interest in foreign and ceremonial objects. Significant in their performance is the low percentage of the three currencies—gongs, mokos, and pigs. The boys were all under the age when finance begins to play a vital role in men's lives. The absence of currency objects, easy enough to draw, may indicate not only a lack of preoccupation with their coming adult roles but may also reflect the lack of emphasis on training for adult male skills. The subject matter portrayed by the girls indicates a narrower range

of interests, but one more pertinent to their future functions in the society. The predominance of the tattoo designs in the girls' drawings can perhaps be explained by the fact that most of the girls were near the age when they are tattooed. Tattooing is also the adult art technique which most closely approaches line drawing. 157x

When the subjects portrayed are broken down into rank orders of preferred categories and items, the following table results. Undoubtedly part of this clustering is due to intragroup imitations in day-to-day sessions. [128]

On the basis of subject matter alone some of the basic preoccupations and sex differentiations are brought out clearly.

RANK ORDER OF PREFERRED CATEGORIES

Category	Boys: No. of Responses	Boys: Per Cent	Category	Girls: No. of Responses	Girls: Per Cent
Plants	234	34	Plants	205	42
Animals	125	18	Tools (tattoo designs and combs equal 148)	163	33
Buildings	81	12	Buildings	46	9
Ceremonial objects	77	11	Cosmology	31	6
Cosmology	58	8	Animals	29	5
Human beings	54	7	Ceremonial objects	9	2
Tools	41	5	Human beings (or parts of)	7	1
Foreign objects	17	2	Foreign objects	0	0
	687			490	

RANK ORDER OF PREFERRED ITEMS

Item	Boys: No. of Responses	Boys: Per Cent	Item	Girls: No. of Responses	Girls: Per Cent
Palm	59	8	Tattoo design	119	20
Human beings	54	7	Fern *	77	15
House *	54	7	Tree *	30	6
Tree *	53	7	Comb	29	5
Fern *	47	6	Tuber	27	5
Star *	39	5	Star *	23	4
Flower *	39	5	Ladder *	23	4
Snake	26	3	House *	22	3
Village guardian spirit	26	3	Flower *	20	3
Evil spirit	20	2	Seed	12	2

* The starred items indicate subjects for which both sexes share a preference.

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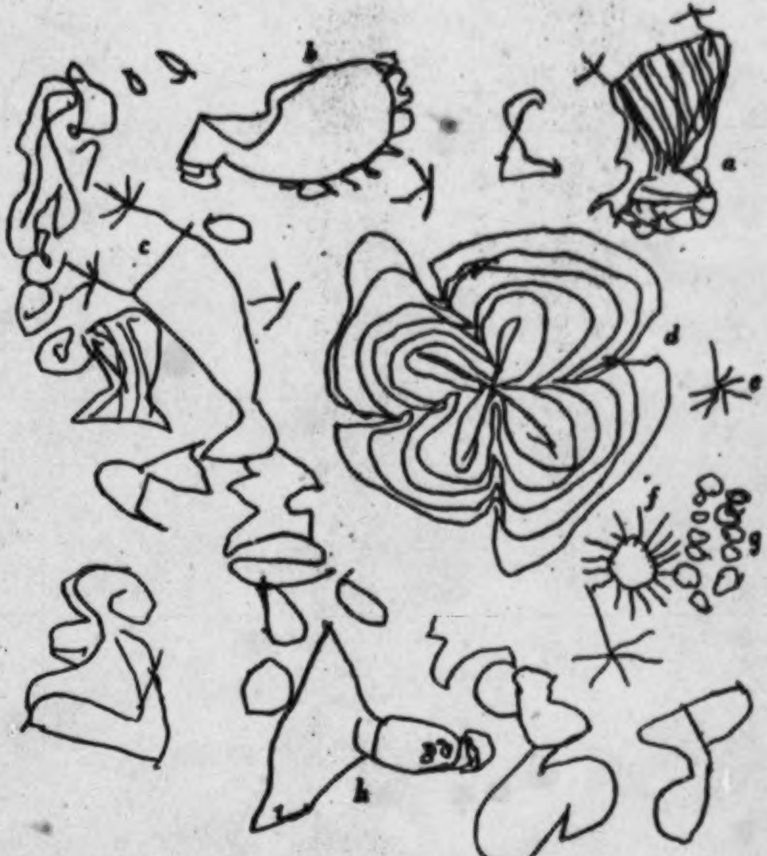

Figure 2. Atamai Padamai (male), approximately 11 years. *a.* house. *b.* lizard. *c.* chicken. *d.* flower. *e.* coconut tree. *f.* feces. *g.* bean-game board. *h.* person. The others he could not identify.

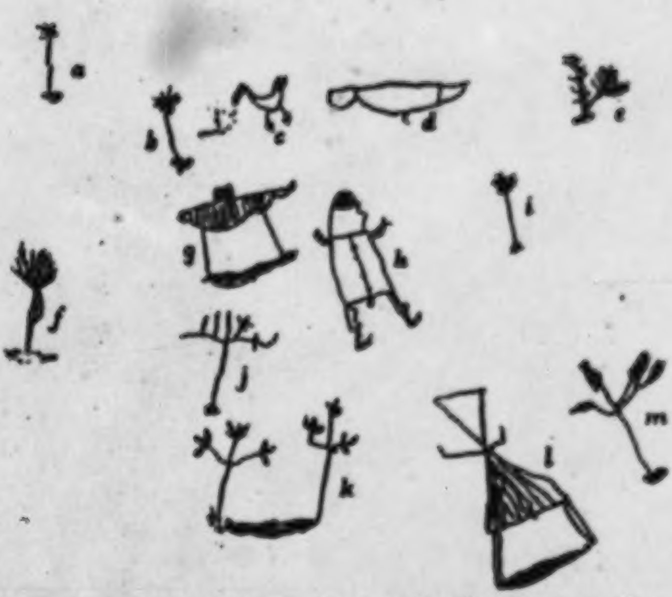

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Figure 3. Fanlang Maifani (male), approximately 13 years. *a.* tree. *b.* coconut palm. *c.* chicken eating maize. *d.* field knife. *e.* fern. *f.* mango tree. *g.* foreign type house on coast. *h.* his younger brother. *i.* areca palm. *j.* cacia tree. *k.* cassava plants. *l.* lineage house. *m.* papaya tree.

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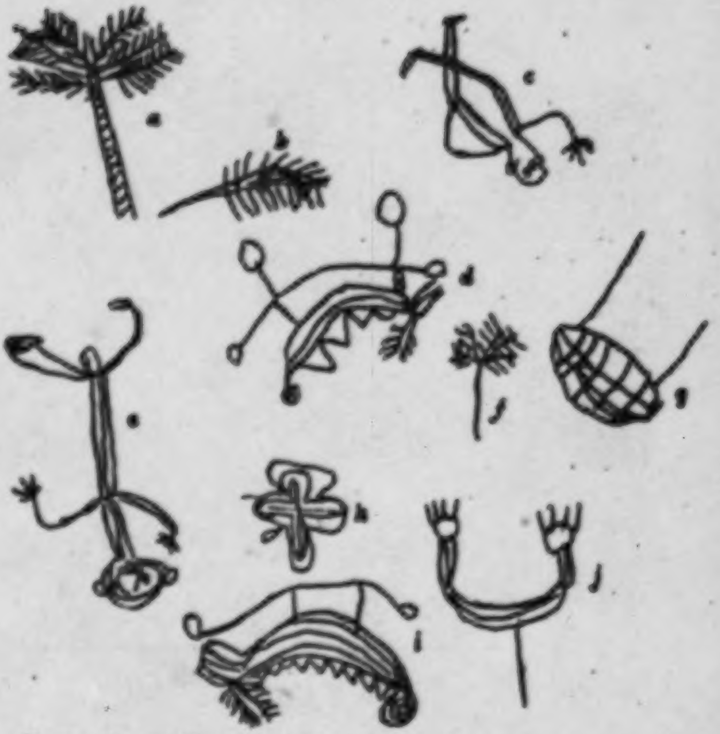

Figure 4. Atamau Maugliki (male), approximately 14 years. *a.* coconut tree. *b.* fern. *c.* evil spirit (*kari*). *d.* village guardian spirit carving. *e.* man's evil familiar spirit (*loku*). *f.* fern. *g.* spirit altar. *h.* hawk (flower). *i.* village guardian spirit carving. *j.* spirit boat carving.

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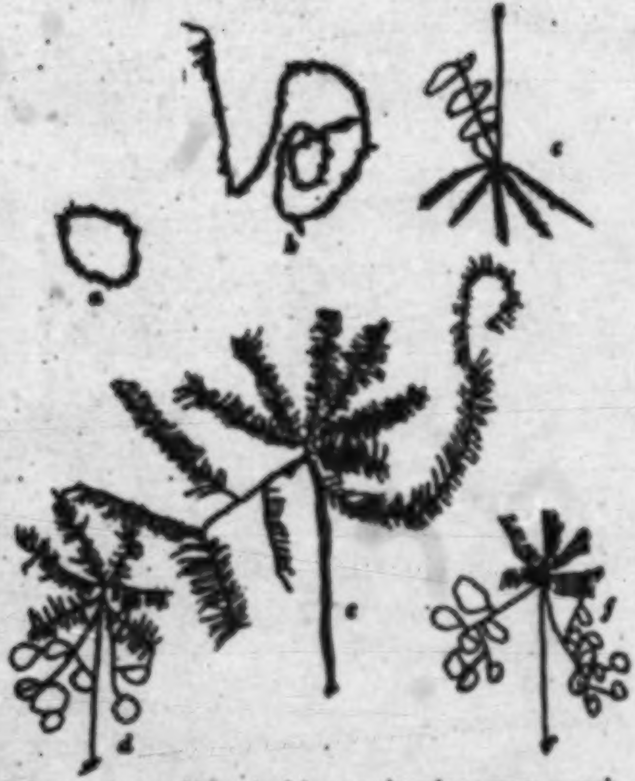

Figure 5. Atamau Maima (male), approximately 14 years. *a.* necklace. *b.* snake. *c.* banana palm. *d.* coconut palm. *e.* tamarind tree. *f.* coconut palm.

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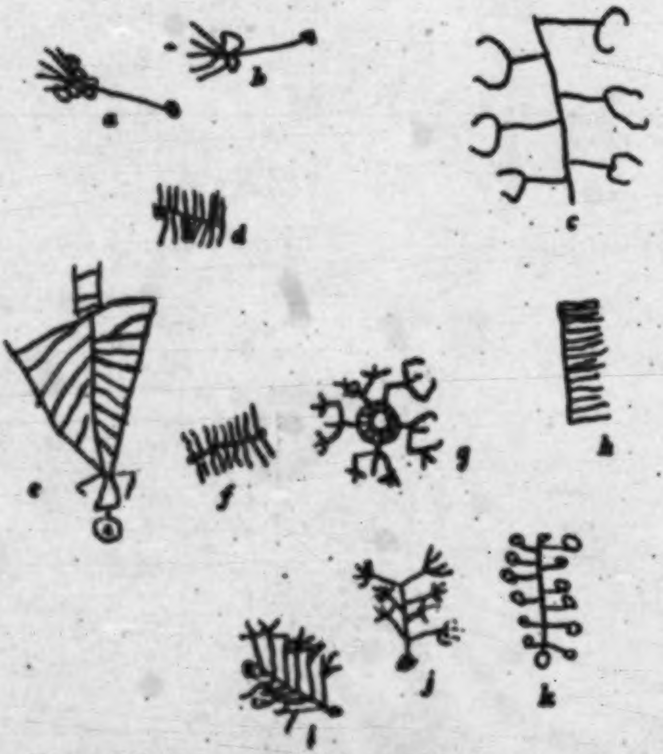

Figure 6. Fulbani Langmani (female), approximately 9 years. *a.* coconut palm. *b.* areca palm. *c.* leaves. *d.* fishbones. *e.* house. *f.* fishbones. *g.* tattoo design. *h.* comb. *i.* fern. *j.* cassava plant. *k.* kapok tree.

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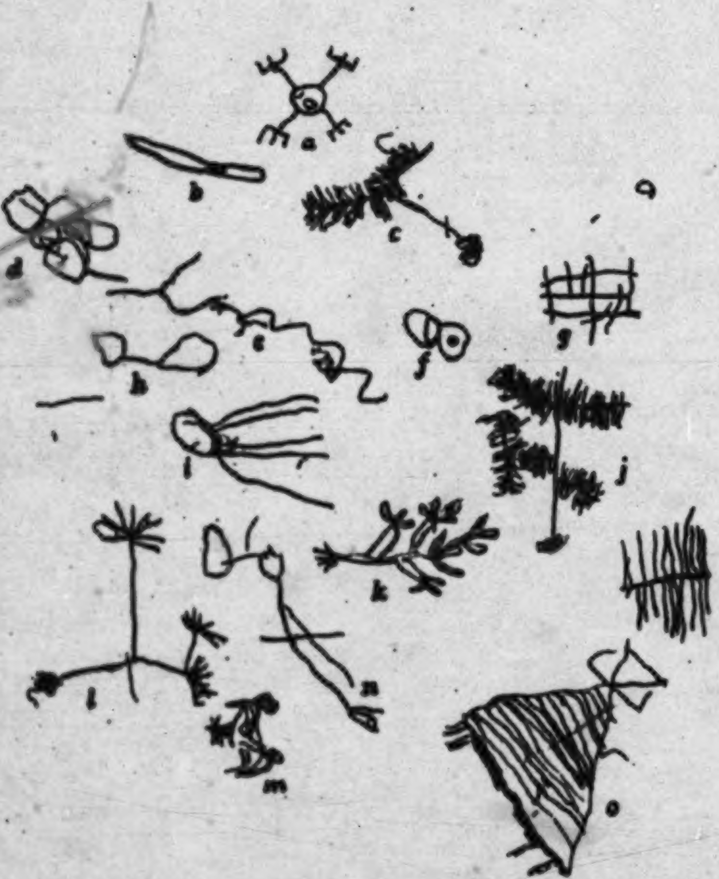

Figure 7. Fulabani Langmani (female), approximately 8 years. *a.* tattoo design. *b.* knife. *c.* fern. *d.* three stars. *e.* snake. *f.* two stars. *g-i.* tattoo designs. *j.* tamarind tree. *k.* breadfruit tree. *l.* cassava plant. *m.* chicken. *n.* snake. *o.* house.

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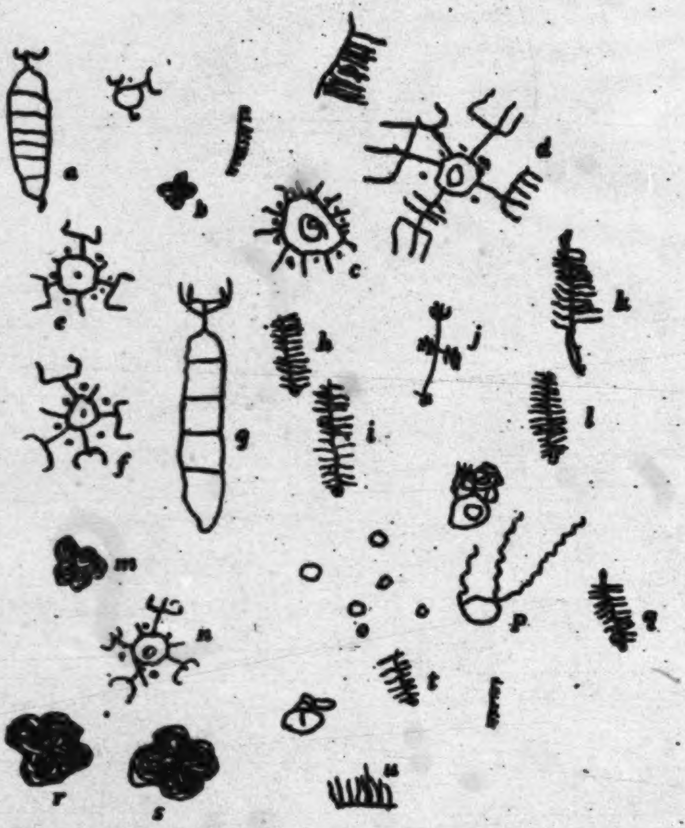

Figure 8. Tilseta Atakari (female), approximately 11 years. *a.* tattoo design. *b.* flower. *c–g.* tattoo designs. *h–i.* ferns. *j.* weed. *k–l.* ferns. *m.* flower. *n.* tattoo design. *o.* stars. *p.* "snake" tuber. *q.* fern. *r–s.* flowers. *t.* fern. *u.* comb.

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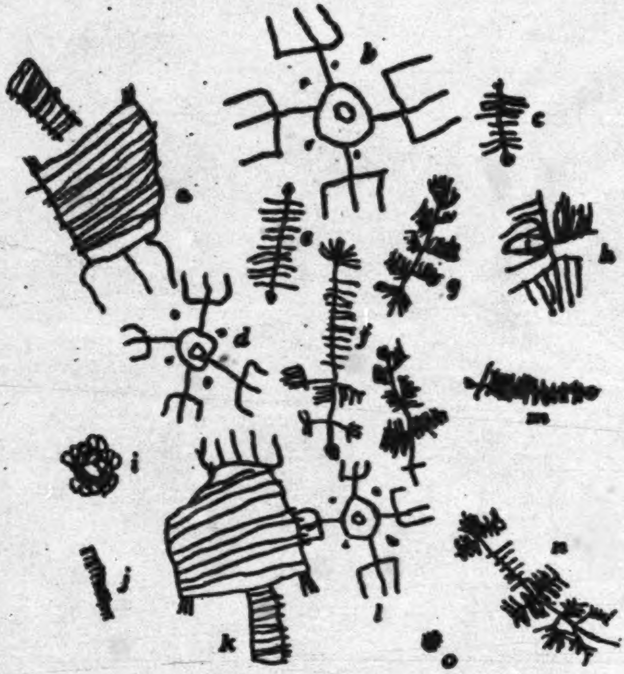

Figure 9. Kolfani Malelaka (*female*), approximately 12 years. *a.* house. *b.* tattoo design. *c.* fern. *d.* tattoo design. *e.* fern. *f.* cacia tree. *g.* tamarind tree. *h.* fern. *i.* tattoo design. *j.* comb. *k.* house. *l.* tattoo design. *m.* fern. *n.* tree. *o.* star.

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128 In addition to this series of free-drawing sessions groups of boys and girls were asked on other occasions to limit themselves to the figures of a man and woman. A few characteristic human forms are reproduced in Figures 10 through 14. An attempt was made to score these drawings according to the Goodenough scale. The best performances of ten boys and ten girls were selected for the purpose. Since the estimates of chronological age are necessarily tentative and since the cross-cultural applicability of the Goodenough scale has not been established, no great weight can be attached to the results. In view of their unreliability it seems undesirable to give the original data. However, it is interesting that the boys rated a test age of about half their chronological age and the girls' scores were even lower. ×157

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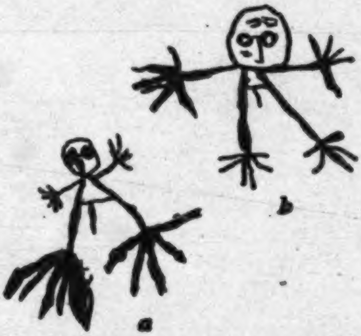

Figure 10. Padama Manipada (male), approximately 10 years. *a.* his father. *b.* his mother.

This is in marked contrast to a group of Naskapi boys. They were as unfamiliar as the Atimelang children with pencil and paper; their adult art form gave them no greater assistance in representing the human figure, yet their test age approximated their estimated chronological age.* Obviously this comparison tells us nothing about the relative intelligence of Atimelang and Naskapi children, but it does indicate a great difference in aptitudes, adaptation, and the development of skills in the two groups of children.

A point of interest in the drawing of human figures by the children of Atimelang is their inconsistency in representing sex differences, both in respect to body size and to the portrayal of genitals. Women are

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* I am indebted to Drs. H. Harlow and W. D. Strong respectively for the scoring and the use of the Naskapi children's drawings.

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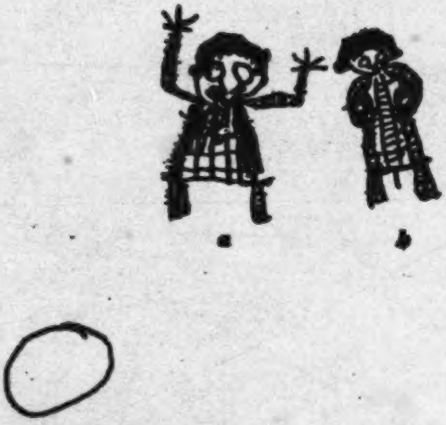

Figure 11. Maita Mangma (male), approximately 12 years: *a.* his younger sister. *b.* his older male cousin.

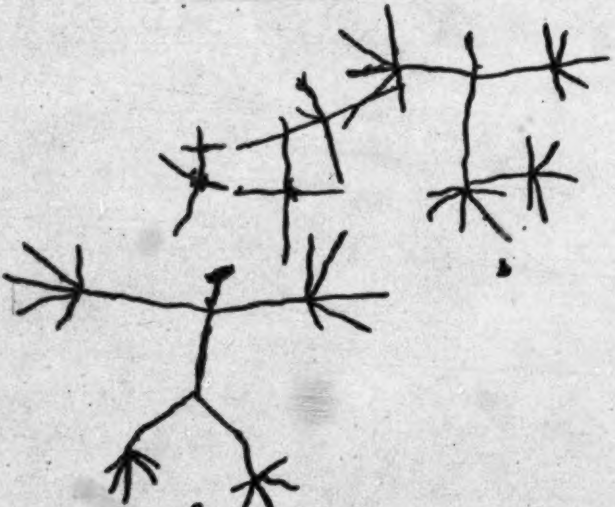

Figure 12. Lomani Manipada (female), approximately 13 years *a.* woman. *b.* man.

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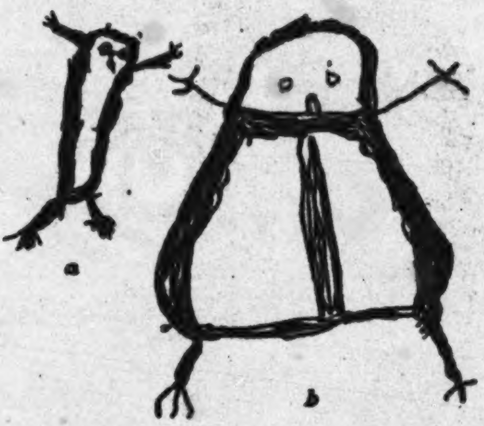

Figure 13. Tilamale Lanpada (female), approximately 12 years. *a.* woman. *b.* man.

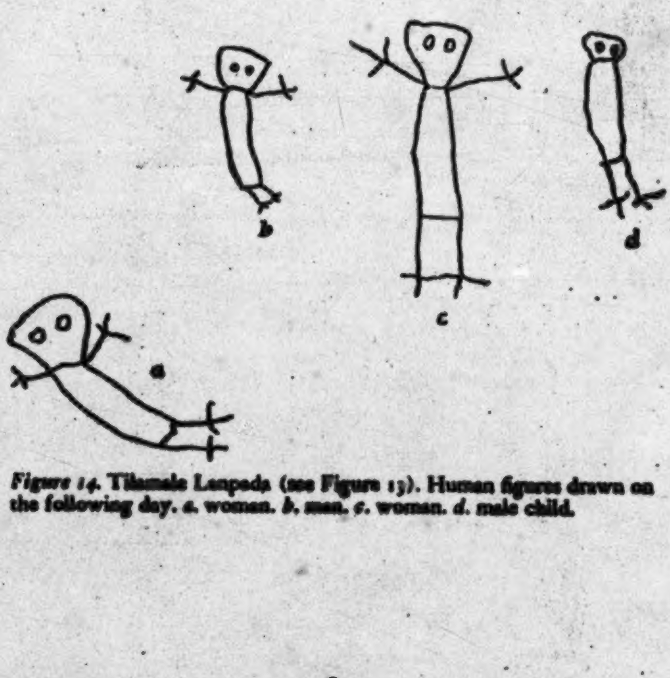

Figure 14. Tilamale Lanpada (see Figure 13). Human figures drawn on the following day. *a.* woman. *b.* man. *c.* woman. *d.* male child.

drawn both larger and smaller than men. Sexual organs are frequently omitted. When they are represented, it is not uncommon to find figures with the male organ identified as female. In view of what has already been said of the child's knowledge of sexual matters, this can scarcely represent a real ignorance of anatomical differences. The cylindrical hair tube, the bow and arrows, the woven belt, and all the other items of adornment of which men are so proud are not selected by either boys or girls for emphasis. Again one wonders if this is symptomatic of the lack of encouragement given children to participate in the adult world. Another significant point in this connection is that there are no distinguishable differences between figures which children identify as human and those which they identify as evil spirits.

Certain additional comments suggest themselves. House forms and human figures at times merge imperceptibly into each other.* The human being in Figure 13-b, with its triangular body shape and heavy outer lines, suggests the pyramidal thatch roof of Atimelang houses. The head is the equivalent of the inverted triangle of thatch which forms the peak of the roof. The arms, which spring from the neck, suggest the crosspieces of the lineage houses, and the short spraddled legs are reminiscent of house posts. Paired human and house figures drawn spontaneously by three boys reveal even more clearly these similarities. The pairs selected for reproduction (Figures 15–17) were each drawn during a single session. Obviously not all children made this sort of paired drawing. Again the point is not that children are all alike, but that certain avenues of association are opened to them by their culture.

The equating of humans with houses, especially the lineage houses, has a linguistic and kinship parallel. Groups of kin are referred to as Houses (pages 20–21). Speculations about this parallel could easily exceed the bounds of demonstrability. However, it does seem probable that the connotive association for *house* to the Atimelanger is a place that is raised, dark, and warm — a place where the physical intimacies and comforts of life are experienced. Extreme psychoanalytic interpretations might explain the human-house parallel as a return-to-the-womb fantasy. Previously I indicated that there was some reason to believe that the men, at least, are seeking nurturing mothers in their wives. Lacking psychoanalyses of Atimelang men, such interpretations must remain on a speculative level. It does not seem exaggerated, however, to suggest that there is some unconscious association between the house

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* I am indebted to Dr. E. H. Erikson for pointing this out.

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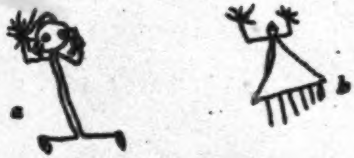

Figure 15. A boy of approximately 8 years. *a.* man. *b.* lineage house.

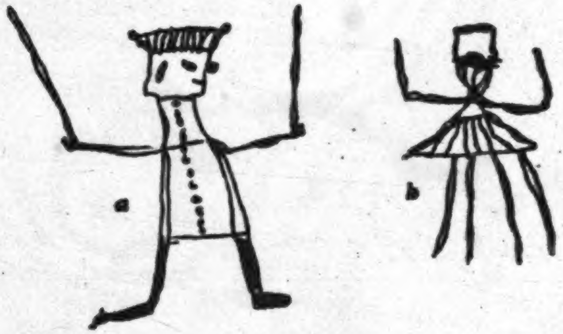

Figure 16. A boy of approximately 7 years. *a.* man. *b.* lineage house.

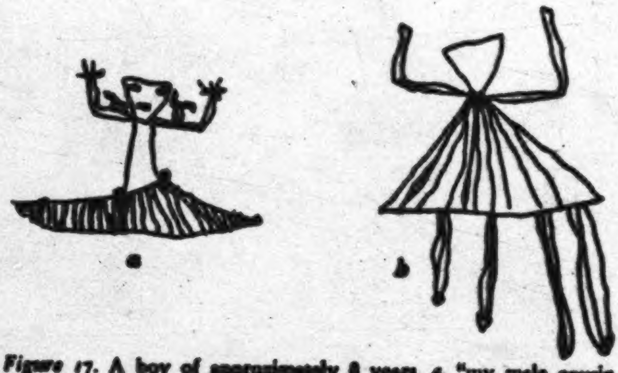

Figure 17. A boy of approximately 8 years. *a.* "my male cousin sitting on a house with birds on his arms." *b.* lineage house.

as a structure, the house as a kin group, and the desire for intimate human support which so many Atimelangers seem to desire but fail to achieve. 157x

Girls seem less preoccupied with the drawing of houses and people. Among the boys both houses and human beings make up 7 per cent of the subjects portrayed. It is in itself suggestive that both subjects have equal representation. Among the girls, however, houses make up 3 per cent and human beings only about 1 per cent. It is true that men are primarily, although not exclusively, responsible for house building and that kinship groupings emphasize descent through the male somewhat more than through the female. The significant point in any event is that here seems to be a real sex difference. Whether one wishes to attempt an explanation on a formal cultural level or on the level of depth psychology is a matter of orientation. They are not necessarily mutually exclusive. [462]

Another baffling parallel is the similar treatment of hands and feet in human figures and of roots and branches in trees. Were there a convention of this sort in adult art, this treatment might be considered copying, but such is not the case. Even in the conventional children's drawings on the ground I did not see such similarities expressed. It is a parallel that appeared only in the paper-and-pencil drawings. Whether a case could be made for the association of humans with trees and plants like that just made for humans and houses is worth considering. Certainly in the dance verse quoted on page 138 creditors are referred to poetically as trees and branches.

From the viewpoint of technique as opposed to that of subject matter a few comments are worth making. Repetitiveness during a single session and over a number of sessions is marked. It might be considered lack of initiative and imagination. Similarly, the absence of any attempt to establish design within the allotted area is noteworthy. Drawings are placed on the sheet of paper helter-skelter and without relation to each other. Only one boy feebly attempted to handle his paper as a unit when he placed a star in each corner of the sheet. Finally, there is no attempt to compose groups or portray action. It is rare to find even two objects brought into relationship, as in the case of a chicken and maize (Figure 3-c). There were only four such cases, all drawn by boys: a house and tree, a house and dance place, a house with a person in it, and two men dancing. Such a meager list confirms observations made in other connections, namely, that the Atimelanger seems poor at seeing or establishing relationships. In all these respects—repetition, x157 the absence of design, composition, and action, as well as the poverty of relationship expression—the Atimelang children are in marked contrast to the previously mentioned Naskapis. The full import of such material will only be known when extensive comparative studies of children's drawings have been made.

Furthermore, over a period of one month, during which at least four boys performed from four to seven times, there was no indication of improvement or of any attempt to cope with the problems mentioned. Admittedly these performances were not numerous and consistent enough to be a fair trial. The matter is mentioned to indicate possibilities for future field workers.

Whether or not opportunities for improvement were adequately tested, the poverty of production in children's drawings might be considered as a further manifestation of the ego inadequacies and paucity of relationship expression which I have stressed as one of the characteristic aspects of personality structure in Atimelang.

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114 As a further check on my estimates of children's drawings Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner * was called in as a consulting expert to give her impressions of the predominant personality trends evinced in the drawings. Her judgments were based on formal elements and not on content. The task was avowedly difficult, not only because the drawings of primitive children were a new subject for her, but also because my technique was so much cruder than the one she is accustomed to use. The absence of color, the use of only one grade of pencil lead, the lack of choice in paper sizes, and the inadequacy of my observations on the position of children as they drew, as well as their relationships to each other during the sessions, all acted as handicaps in blind diagnosis. However, the marked coincidence between the expert's judgment and other findings is noteworthy.

x157 The following comments were made in the course of about an hour and a half of inspection:

1. "They have a feeling of aloneness, as evinced by the lack of strong pressure in the lines and by the neatness of the line itself." (2) "They look like children who have good abilities but are apart from each

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* Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner is an Austrian artist with psychoanalytic training who has studied the formal aspects of children's drawings in relation to personality. In Vienna she made longitudinal studies of subjects who were under analytic treatment. In this country she has worked on group studies in the children's wards of the psychiatric department at Bellevue and in the Pleasantville Cottage School. Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner's points of view are expressed in, "Formal Criteria for the Analysis of Children's Drawings," *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 12:95 (January 1942).

other. There are good units but there is never unity." (b) "Their relationships are poverty-stricken, as evinced by the fact that each figure is lost among others." (c) "The absence of free curves suggests an inability to bring themselves affectively into contact with others." At this point the expert was asked why, in view of this, the percentage of human figures was relatively high (7 per cent). The reply was that human figures represented a wish element, as human figures usually do, but that the children showed no resources for realizing these wishes. 157x

2. "They lack a creative approach, as evinced by the smallness of the forms, by the fact that they do not have large conceptions taking up a single sheet, that there is no formal unity, that there are very few free-flowing curves, and that there is a lack of variation in pressure and of spontaneous detail in the lines. Also, they lack the 'differentiated curve' and the 'differentiated rhythm' which are indexes of creativeness." At this point the expert suggested that these children would lack movement responses in the Rorschach test, an opinion which is corroborated by only 1.2 per cent movement responses in seventeen male adult tests.

3. "They realistically estimate bounds, as evinced by the way they stay well within margins and do not begin to draw objects which will spill over the edge of the paper."

4. "They probably have some manual dexterity."

The next step was a cursory examination of twelve randomly selected drawings by boys from six to eight years as compared with the same number of drawings by boys from twelve to fifteen years. The expert almost immediately asked if adolescent boys went through any ceremony or ordeal at this time. She was aware of greater pressure in the pencil strokes and of greater rigidity. The answer to the question may lie in the breaking away from free play groups and the entrance into the difficulties of adult finance that come approximately at this age. The change in lines may also reflect simply an accentuation, with approaching maturity, of the whole character formation of adults. [125]

When twelve randomly selected drawings by girls from six to eight years were compared with the same number of drawings by girls from twelve to fifteen years, the expert remarked that the girls in general seemed more stereotyped than the boys, which is corroborated in the content analysis on pages 567–68; that the younger girls showed about the same pressure values as the older boys; and that, perhaps, the older girls were somewhat less stereotyped than the younger ones. [125]

In discussing adult art forms, the point was made that the Javanese design elements on mokos were not copied by either adults or children, x157 although mokos are highly prized. Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner's reaction to this and to the foregoing inspection of children's drawings was that these people indicate an inability to digest what is in the world about them, that they are probably excitable but unable to utilize their environment, and that they probably possess strong introversive and extroversive traits which do not come together.

[125] In addition to the foregoing inspection, Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner studied more closely drawings of human figures. Out of sixty-four such figures drawn by boys of their own volition, fifty-two, or 81 per cent, were represented without sex organs, and fifty-five, or 85 per cent, were two-dimensional or transitional to two dimensions. It is assumed that these two factors represent a free tendency in the subjects. When, however, the boys were requested to draw only a man and a woman, fourteen figures out of twenty, or 70 per cent, were two-dimensional, and thirteen, or 65 per cent, had no sex organs. That is, under compulsion, or at least when demands were made, boys tended to vary from their representational norms. The question of interpretation arises.

Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner suggested that these two-dimensional figures, especially the transitional aspects of them, indicate a realistic tendency in the personality. The omission of sex organs, in view of the awareness of anatomy possessed by these children, indicates either very strong castration fears or their opposite, an absence of concern about sex. Other data would indicate that the latter is the case. The important association emerges, namely, that realistic tendencies and sexual unconcern appear in the same proportions in free drawings and vary commensurately under demand. This would suggest that external and realistic factors in life might be expected to affect sex activities coordinately. Certainly there is much in the chapter on adolescence and marriage to support this suggestion.

Further, the decrease in factors representing realism and sexual unconcern when the boys were drawing human figures on request, indicates that the children function less freely under demand. This may reflect an area of ego anxiety centering about the ability to respond adequately. They would seem to meet such anxiety with an increase in rigidity. This tendency seems to coincide with the fright response of "freezing" which is so characteristic of the Alorese that it has been frequently commented upon by Europeans who know them only superficially.

One further point deserves comment. It will be recalled that human figures were rare in free drawings by girls. There were only three. In

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addition, neither boys nor girls on any occasion drew female sex organs. In requested drawings boys drew two females with male organs, and girls drew three females with male organs. This may suggest that sexual tension, slight as it probably is, centers around the female. There have been many hints in the foregoing chapters to suggest that this is so and that its genesis lies in realistic situations, such as childhood discipline in general, the role of the woman as food provider, and the difficulties of the bride-price situation. In other words, the very slight index of sex tension derived from children's drawings, in addition to the better-documented interpretive suggestions of linkage between realistic and sex attitudes, supports some previous arguments.

Chapter 22

Rorschach's Experiment and the Alorese

BY EMIL OBERHOLZER *

000 The following summary covers: (1) procedure, (2) quantitative results of the test findings, (3) interpretation of affectivity, (4) variability and the individual, (5) sex differences.

PROCEDURE

114 The test was given by the ethnographer to thirty-seven Alorese,
[124 seventeen males and twenty females. The scoring of the records and
125] their computations, their interpretations and the evaluation of the find-
ings, were made subsequently by me in New York.

I hesitated to undertake this task for more than one reason. Not only was I confronted for the first time with the tests of individuals other than Europeans and Americans, but I did not know the norms of these people and had no way of working them out. I did not know the average of the numerical values for the various experimental factors. They must be widely different from ours, since there are even striking differences between the findings in the population groups of various sections of Switzerland. These differences are evident both in the experimental findings and in the psychology of these population groups as well as in the clinical pictures of mental disorders, notably schizophrenia. This is a point which Rorschach set forth in his *Psychodiagnostics* (1921).†

Among the Alorese, I do not know, for example, what is an original and what is a popular answer; I do not know the border line between a normal and a small detail, since I do not know with certainty what constitutes with them normal and small details. I even have no reliable basis for qualifying a form. I do not know with certainty what form answer is to be scored as *good* or *bad*. In working out the norms it may turn out that a form answer which I consider poor according to my experience with Europeans, is good in the Alorese, and vice versa. Or, to put it briefly, I lack the statistical basis that underlies our scoring of European material.

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* I am deeply indebted to Margaret Wing of New York, who gave so lavishly of her time and linguistic acumen to this chapter.

† See English translation, pp. 96–97, 107, and 112, published by Hans Huber, Berne, Switzerland, 1942; distributed in the U.S.A. by Grune & Stratton, Inc., New York.

114 Despite this deficiency in the fundamentals which are indispensable from a methodological standpoint for a systematic study of this kind, I undertook the task, since there existed no possibility of complying with those requirements in the case of the Alorese. There are no more than thirty-seven Rorschachs and they are not likely to be increased in number. To work out norms we need at least some hundred or more tests, perhaps more than there are Atimelangers. There is little hope that standards will ever be established.

125 114 I looked around, therefore, for some other way of solving this problem. The psychological meaning and significance of Rorschach's experimental factors have proved true for Europeans and Americans. I consequently applied these principles to a few Alorese and checked the results with the ethnographer's statements concerning the psychological background of these individuals. Many hours were spent assigning rank order to subjects for personality traits. The ethnographer worked from her knowledge of the individuals; I worked blind from the Rorschach materials. The degree of coincidence between our ranking was so high that it left no doubt that the principles of the test could be applied cross-culturally.

114 It was much harder to discover what the Alorese have in common among themselves and in what respects their mentality differs from that of Europeans and Americans. The common features of their findings strike the eye from the beginning and seem to cover up individual variations. I had to get at what was new to me in their tests. For this purpose I had to resort to similar manifestations in psychopathology, to borrow from it, and finally to combine a whole set of considerations. That means that the approach to what the Alorese have in common was only possible by comparison and analogy and by modifying the conclusions I had reached on this basis. I shall return to this subject when we deal with these unfamiliar features in their records and with the implications of these features for the life of the emotions.

Resorting to analogy, I believe, was justified—all the more so since this material is excellent in itself, even though there are some shortcomings which are unavoidable. Among several hundred answers there are some which cannot be classified as movement, form, or color responses but may be all three of them. There are others that cannot be located, so they have to be eliminated. It is not easy to give a test correctly and to record everything that belongs in it; this difficulty is obviously increased when one is working with primitive peoples. Some records of Papuans of New Guinea transmitted to me by Dr. David Levy, who first introduced Rorschach's experiment in America, could not be scored

114 because the precise location of the greater number of the answers was missing.

114
128 The scoring of the thirty-seven Alorese cases cannot be presented in detail, but it is possible to summarize the responses and the findings by categories. I must confine myself to some general statements based first of all, though not exclusively, on the seventeen male Rorschachs. The findings of the females are of the same type, exhibiting, on the whole, even more than those of the male Alorese, the striking peculiarities of their tests and those factors in which they differ from Americans and Europeans.

125

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS OF THE TEST FINDINGS

The experimental records are examined according to the following scheme:

1. How many responses are produced? What is the reaction time?
2. Is the picture conceived and interpreted as a whole or in parts, and which are the parts interpreted?
3. Is the answer determined only by the form, or is there also a movement or color element in it?
4. How is this whole picture, or any part of it, interpreted as regards content?

The results of the whole-part issue in the male Alorese are these:

Total Number of Responses: 496

		Male Alorese	*Male Swiss*
W	(whole answers)	87 (55—) = 17.5% ∓	30.1% ±
D	(normal details)	288 = 58.1%	62.9%
Dd	(small and unusual details)	121 (61—) = 24.4% ∓	6.9% ±
		496	

One among the above-stated Dd is also a Do (see later the average findings). The signs ± and ∓ mean predominance of good forms, and vice versa.

128
114 When I compare the Alorese with Europeans I refer only to Swiss for statistical purposes, since Europeans other than Swiss are considerably in the minority among my normal material—normal, that is to say, in the sense of showing no peculiarities, or only a minimum of them.

125 In combination with other experimental factors the proportion of whole, detail, and small detail answers and the quality of the forms (F+ and F—) are first of all, though not exclusively, the representa-

tions of intellectual functioning, a measure of intelligence. The widest 125
difference between the Alorese and the Swiss shows in the number of small details (24.4% and 6.9%); there are almost four times as many as in my normal Swiss material. Proportionally the Alorese are low in their percentage of whole responses, and about two thirds (63.2%) of their W are poor or bad, whereas the W in Europeans are predominantly good or even excellent (see Sex Differences).

The representations of affectivity, of emotional life and character, 157x
are these:

TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES: 496

	Male Alorese		*Male Swiss*
F (form answers)	358 (196—)	= 72.2% ∓	72.9% ±
M (movement answers)	4	= 0.8%	9.3%
C (color reactions)	134	= 27.0%	17.8%
	496		

The difference between the Alorese and Europeans is more marked in the percentage of responses indicating affectivity than in those which indicate intellect. This will become still more evident in statements which are to follow.

The male Alorese have 27.0% color reactions among the total of their responses in comparison to only 17.8% in the Swiss, and, on the other hand, the Swiss show an almost twelve-times-greater percentage of movement answers—interpretations in which the picture, or parts of it, are seen in action. The seventeen male Alorese present only 4 M and the twenty females only 1, or 0.24 and 0.05 on an average for each individual. In a Swiss who has as many color reactions as are shown by the Alorese, those decimals, 0.24 and 0.05, which signify practically no movement answers, are characteristic of mental, or at least very serious neurotic, disorders. The more there exists a predominance of the C over the M, the less there exist self-control and balance of mind.

However, the Alorese and the Swiss have at least one thing in common: the greater number of their reactions to Rorschach's pictures are form answers, interpretations that are determined by the shape and outline of the picture or its parts. And this dominating reaction type exhibits the same percentages, namely, 73.2% for the thirty-seven Alorese and 72.1% for the Swiss; for the males 72.2% and 72.9% respectively. The surplus of the color reactions in the Alorese is produced at the expense of the movement responses.

It is hard to say exactly what are the implications of the fact that the x157 Alorese and Swiss show the same quantity of form responses. The quality of these F, of which more than half are probably F− in these Alorese as against only 18.7% in the Swiss, is widely different from that of Europeans, as are the other representations of intellect and intelligence, i.e., the type of apperception (the proportion of W, D, and Dd) and the sequence, the number and quality of W (see above), the M, and the animal percentage (see later). But it is a striking fact, and one that would mean something very fundamental as to human mentation and mentality, should the same quantity be found in other primitives. It is the more striking in that the whole-part issue shows in the D, a factor exhibiting about the same numerical value, namely, 58.1% and 59.3% for Alorese males and females respectively, 62.9% and 62.1% for the Swiss. These D concern those picture parts which are the most striking and are, therefore, the most frequent answers, as are the F among the "categories," i.e., the M, the F, and the various color reactions. They are the normal details, in contrast to the small details, the Dd. If these normal details are interpreted, it means that the subject is more practical than theoretical, that he reaches for the practical and concrete things, and that he is mainly concerned with absolute facts.

There is still more to say concerning the discrepancy between the Alorese and European color reactions. First, the proportions of the various kinds of color reactions, the form-colors (FC), the color-forms (CF), and the primary color interpretations (C), are entirely different. This difference is due first of all to the very small number of FC in the findings of the Alorese. This factor, according to every experience with Rorschach's experiment, is the representation of good responsiveness, of our contacts and rapport, and of the emotional adjustments we constantly make in life. In the FC the form element prevails over the color, and, ordinarily, the color of the picture or its parts is adapted to a good form (FC+). In the CF, which are the expression of egocentricity and its varied manifestations, the color ranks first in determining the reaction, while there is no form at all in the primary C, such as blood or water, and the like. These primary color reactions represent that amount of the affectivity which suffers no control and adaptation; they express unrestrained impulsiveness.

Second, one third of the Alorese color reactions are black or white, 32.8% in the males and 39.0% in the females, as against 2.3% in the Swiss. These are interpretations in which the black (bl) and white (wh) of the pictures are the determinants, such as blf and whf, or primary bl and wh (see the records of Rilpada and Lomani). Most of

them are blf or bl; only a few are white, namely, 13.4% of all black- 157x
white interpretations. They do not coincide with the F(C), the chiaroscuros,* which are determined by the shadings, the values of light and dark, as, for example, interpretations like "clouds," which form the majority of the Alorese chiaroscuros and are given chiefly in response to pictures I and VII. Among the Alorese such responses are only half as frequent as among the Swiss (11.1% and 21.0%). There are records with numbers of bl and wh interpretations but without F(C), and vice versa (e.g., Padakafeli and the tumukun).

Those black and white interpretations do not occur in normal Europeans, or they occur only in the most diluted form of FC, i.e., as Fbl or Fwh, whereas they constitute—as blf or whf and bl or wh—8.8% and 10.1% of all the responses of the male and female Alorese. This is twenty times as many as in my normal Swiss material (0.47% and 0.36%). To match the 112 black and white reactions of the thirty-seven Alorese there should be 252 interpretations of this kind in the Swiss instead of only the 11 they show.

The proportions of the various kinds of color reactions in the male Alorese are:

TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES: 496

				Male Alorese	*Male Swiss*		
M	4			= 0.8%	9.5%		
F	358 (198—)			= 72.2% ∓	72.9% ±		
F(C)	18			= 3.6%	3.5%		
FC	3			= 0.6%	10.0%		
CF	72	43 = 8.7%		= 14.5%	4.0%	3.6%	
		29 bl-wh = 5.8%	8.8%			0.4% bl-wh	0.47%
C	41	15 bl-wh = 3.0%		= 8.3%	0.3%	0.075% bl-wh	
		26 = 5.3%				0.225%	
	496						

If we refer the quantities of the various kinds of color interpretations to the total number of color reactions, including the F(C), we find:

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* Rorschach mentioned the chiaroscuros first in "Zur Auswertung des Formdeutversuches für die Psychoanalyse," published posthumously in the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 82:240-74, 1923. English translation in the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 60:225 and 359, 1924.

[157]

	Male Alorese			*Male Swiss*		
F(C)	18 = 13.4%			29.7%		
FC	3 = 2.2%			56.0%		
CF	72 = 53.7%	33.1%		12.6%	10.5%	
		20.6% bl-wh	31.8%		2.1% bl-wh	2.5%
C	41 = 30.6%	11.2% bl-wh		1.7%	0.43% bl-wh	
		19.4%			[illegible]	
	134					

In the normal Swiss the FC responses make up more than half of all the color reactions, namely, 56.0% in the males and 50.0% in the females; in the Alorese they represent only 2.2% and 6.6% respectively. Among the seventeen male Alorese there are only three who give one FC response apiece, and one of these responses is questionable. There is no FC, not even a slight indication of one, in the findings of the fourteen others. This lack of FC occurs in Europeans only in pathological conditions, primarily in schizophrenics, depressives, neurotics, and unintelligents.

Further, in the Alorese the total percentage of color reactions that are CF and C is about 3.5 times greater than in the Swiss — 84.3% in the males and 84.0% in the females as opposed to 14.3% and 27.8% in the Swiss. Many, perhaps a great number of them, which I estimated to be CF may just as well be C. Color-form and primary color interpretations merge so much in the Alorese that they are hard to differentiate. Therefore, the 30.6% primary C responses stated above are a minimum. In my Swiss material primary C occurs only twice among the males, amounting to 0.8% of all the color reactions. One of these two persons is a somewhat explosive character and the other shows a suppressed amount of hypersensitivity.

From the above-stated quantities an average of the findings can be made, which will be stated in a later section (see Variability and the Individual).

INTERPRETATION OF AFFECTIVITY

I turn now to the emotional life of the Alorese. The statements I am [158] able to make about their emotional disposition are gathered first of all from their various kinds of color reactions and secondly from some factors with which the colors are interrelated.

157x

The "Specific" Reactions

Some reactions are shown in the test by all Alorese, and are almost specific. They are of two different kinds, though they may be closely related to one another. We should do well to distinguish between them.

The Black Color-Shock

The Alorese react to the black cards in the way that all neurotics react to the multicolored pictures. They are staggered by them, hesitating and faltering in their interpretations. There is often a long pause before a first interpretation is produced, or else a long pause follows.

Each of the black cards can cause this kind of shock, and the manifestations are similar to the genuine color-shock of neurotics. The shock can exhibit itself *from* the beginning, making its appearance already at card I. It then often overshadows later shock effects. It is hardly ever entirely lacking at the first card and can even occur at this point only (see Mangma). The shock may recur in response to any card and can culminate at any one of them. There are, as a rule, ups and downs; but the reaction may occur each time with the same intensity. It may occur only at IV or VI, or it may run throughout the test, skipping just those multicolored pictures where the true "neurotic" color-shock takes place. Only a very few among the thirty-seven Alorese exhibit some indication of shock at VIII, IX, or X, and only one subject exhibited what is perhaps a real shock at VIII (Johanis, see later).

This shock at the gray-black pictures, I, IV, V, VI, and VII, is entirely independent of the chiaroscuros, the F(C), and can occur equally well in tests that show no F(C) at all. It is a black color-shock,[*] just as the true color-shock is a reaction to the colors of the multicolored pictures, VIII, IX, and X, but it differs in meaning and significance from the latter, which indicates neurotic repressions and developments. The behavior when black color-shock occurs always points unmistakably in the same direction; it is an expression of the *fear of fear* (*Angst vor der Angst*) in all its nuances. It is a fear of what is unknown and new to the individual. The more strongly it is exhibited at picture I, the initial unknown of the set and test, the more suspicion and distrust is implied. The accent may now be on this and now on that manifestation of fearfulness.

[*] I referred to this black color-shock in a paper on "Anxiety in the Rorschach Test," read before the Akademischen Verein für medizinische Psychologie in Vienna in June 1937 (not yet published).

*157 The reaction occurs in the normal Swiss only once in a while and is hardly ever very noticeable; it is a potentiality rather than a real performance. It occurs not infrequently and more noticeably in Americans, though never to such a degree as in the Alorese. And here and there the true color-shock in some neurotics is combined with responses that approach somewhat the Alorese black-white interpretations. In the tests of the Alorese the reaction, extending as it does to the following card and constantly recurring, is so regular and common that it must mean a fundamental attitude which pervades everything. It persists everywhere, in spite of all experience, whereas such an attitude, if shown in normal Europeans, is easily overcome.

From this we assume that the Alorese are suspicious and distrustful; they are so not only toward everything that is unknown and new to them, such as foreigners, for instance, but also among themselves. No one will trust another. Moreover, they are fearful and timid in their heart of hearts, feeling uneasy and insecure. There is no neurotic anxiety and no neurotic feeling of inferiority—there are no manifestations of neurotic repressions in their Rorschachs—but this fearfulness is something that is part and parcel of their natural and normal emotional disposition. They have a feeling of misgiving and apprehension that is constantly rankling in their minds, an undefined and indefinable feeling of being threatened and endangered. They are, therefore, never outspoken, straightforward, and direct; they are never outgoing and expansive, but are self-contained and suppressive (not repressed but suppressed).

The Alorese produce in their tests no FC (see later). Also, they produce, as a rule, a number of small details (Dd). Their findings are similar to those of some Europeans with a surplus of Dd, only a slight indication of FC, manifestations of a black color-shock, a few black reactions or F(C), and no M. These Europeans shun the usual interpretation of normal details and beat about the bush. They are lacking in frankness and sincerity, given to lying, and are unscrupulous when they have an axe to grind. So are the Alorese, who are cagy, shrewd, and cunning, careful and cunning to the extent that they are constantly defensive and on their guard. All these traits are more or less strongly stressed in different individuals, but they are inherent in all of them without exception. Distrust and fear is one of the emotional manifestations in their tests which of necessity must also dominate their lives and deeply affect their social relationships.

What is this lurking sense of apprehension? What do they fear? Is it a threat, a danger, a disaster? It is impossible to say from the test.

Very likely, as I stated, it is something quite indefinite, a fear of something unexpected or uncanny, some magic from the test itself, for instance—perhaps the things they feel unable to master. Certainly it is more than an anxious expectation that manifests itself merely on occasions.

No one of these Alorese meets the experiment without self-consciousness and uneasiness. Most of them do not get rid of it throughout the test. Their reactions are not only slow and labored but are even painful, not so much because of the intellectual difficulty they find as because of the emotional background. They are often simply helpless (*ratlos*) and shrink into themselves. No one enjoys the test, and even those who surrender themselves to the experiment are relieved and happy to finish.

This leads to a second fundamental attitude in the psychology of the Alorese which I was able to approach, thanks to interpretations that play a part in some pathological findings. They are:

The Black and White Responses

Such responses to black and white as "melted metal," "heaps of coals," "something burnt," "something under water" are of frequent occurrence in traumatic defective states, traumatic encephalopathy (*Encephalose*) and traumatic dementia. Here they are an expression of lack of energy, will power, and initiative; they are expressions of inertia and indolence, of indifference and listlessness to the point of complete torpidity and apathy.*

The thirty-seven Alorese, who produce 112 black and white interpretations among their 1201 responses, cannot possibly be lumped together as traumatics. I could not transfer offhand to them the pathological meaning of those reactions as they are found in traumatic intellectual and emotional defectives. However, it is likely that what those features have in common would fit in with Alorese psychology. This is the element of passivity that is implied in traumatic inertia and indolence. For the Alorese it might mean an attitude of letting things come to them, of accepting things in a passive way just as they are. It means surrender and submission; it means drooping without being depressed, since there are no signs of depression in their tests. It means resignation. This attitude must extend to everything, not only toward the great problems of life like death, disaster, and illness, but also toward little things of everyday life, which we would tackle actively so as to fore-

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* See my statements on this subject in the reports of the First International Neurological Congress in Berne, Switzerland, 1931.

157 stall the consequences or restore the damage. This the Alorese certainly do not do. They are indifferent and listless; they let things slide and get dilapidated, where we would feel the necessity of making repairs. They show an attitude opposite to that of some housewives who are bothered and worried about anything and everything (*Hausfrauenfimmel*).

This attitude of passive acceptance (I have no other concise word for the total of these manifestations) does not always appear with the same intensity, since it is tied up with other emotional factors which interfere with its manifestation (see the CF). The result, on the whole, however, is an easygoing, leisurely attitude toward life, a preference for calm, and a dislike of effort and strain. They live for the day and for the moment (*Kinder des Augenblicks*), not much concerned with the past or with things to come, somewhat like Otto Julius Bierbaum's verse:

"Komme, was kommen mag,
Morgen ist auch ein Tag,
Heute ist heut."

Color-Form and Primary Color (CF *and* C)

If we discount the black and white interpretations, then the color-form and primary color reactions are three times as many in the Alorese as in my Swiss material, namely, 12.8% as against 4.3% of all the responses. Egocentricity must stand out in the Alorese. They are very self-centered, encysted, some of them, indeed, extremely so. First of all they look out for themselves and their own interests. Each is concerned with himself, concentrated on his own belongings, greedy and eager for his own advantage. There is an apparent lack of self-restraint in the Alorese which often makes them deceitful, leads them to cheat and overreach one another, even to the length of making no distinction between mine and thine, using crooked ways and means when they can do so without being caught; at best they adjust themselves to the communality in which they live. They come close to what is termed moral insanity according to our ethical standards, just as the European subjects of the above-mentioned Rorschachs are often on the border line of delinquency. The organization of conscience and its dynamic expression is not developed, or is inadequately developed. All this follows both from what I stated previously about the Alorese caginess and cunning, and from the swamping amount of egocentric affectivity which finds no adequate compensation. Outlets offered by a capacity for long-lasting enthusiasm and self-sacrifice, for sublimation, contemplation,

157x

and creative power—all of these are ruled out (see later). Egocentricity and egoism coincide in so far as the CF and C are interpreted indiscriminately in the test, and merge without reaching the development of FC. The narcissistic features vary according to the mixture of these color reactions with other elements. Narcissism is the more conspicuous the fewer the manifestations of humble submissiveness, as in Fanseni, who has only one black response, and his brother, the tumukun, who shows in his test no black and white interpretations at all, but four color-forms and two colors.

In the Alorese Rorschachs there is, further, no sufficient counterbalance of the colors by the movements. The average proportion between the M and the various color reactions, i.e., Rorschach's experience type, is 0.13 : 4.9 without black and white, against 2.69 : 2.43 color total in the normal Swiss. We obtain this color total, for which I use the sign $C\Sigma$ and the sign bl-whΣ for the total of the black and white reaction, when we put the unit of one movement on a par with the unit of a color-form; a form-color is then put as a half, and a primary color as one and a half units (see *Psychodiagnostics*, English translation, p. 35). The result of that proportion in the Alorese must be a lack of mastery of affect. They are not only easily upset and frightened, easily startled, puzzled, and put out of countenance, as shown by their black color-shock, but also they easily fly into a passion. There must be emotional outbursts and tempers, anger and rage, sometimes resulting in violent actions. However, the individual must immediately afterward be submissive again and shrink into himself, a fact which can be inferred from the interlacement of the true color reactions and the factors making for passivity. But for the damper afforded by these black and white reactions, the Alorese would be in a permanent state of emotional excitement and agitation such as is shown by some schizophrenics. The Alorese experience type is, therefore, to be formulated as: $0\ M + x$ bl-wh : y C. But that damper is not a full and adequate stabilizer, and therefore there seldom exists much composure and hardly ever adequate self-command. The result is a permanent readiness for an emotional discharge and abreaction. The Alorese are to a very great extent subject to, and at the mercy of, their emotions (*Spielball der Affekte*).

Form-Color (FC)

I return now to the lack of FC responses in the findings of the Alorese. They constitute one half of the color reactions in the Swiss; in the Alorese their place is taken by the CF and C. There are only two x157 or three FC among the 136 color answers of the seventeen male Alorese. What is to be inferred from this amazing fact?

The Alorese must be lacking in individual personal contact, living beside one another but not with one another (*Auseinandervorbeileben*), like a husband and wife who have nothing in common. They cannot know much about each other, or, better, they may know a great number of unimportant and trifling things about each other but little or nothing of what is going on within themselves, and they feel no need to give out much of themselves. In addition, they are too distrustful. They are able to be aware of the feelings of others, to watch their emotional expressions and their doings; they are not without need of contact (*Übertragungsbereitschaft*), but they are peculiarly unable to respond. Individuals are inviolate but all the same are mere units, one like the other. Either there are no friendships and relationships or there are none that are deeply rooted. However, without ever getting close to one another, they need each other, and they pull together on the basis of their communality, since no one of them could live alone, except perhaps Fantan the Interpreter. To live alone, in seclusion, demands an introversive inwardness of which there is no evidence at all in thirty-four of these thirty-seven Alorese, whereas M, the index of such inwardness, is missing in only 10% of my Swiss material. Among their 1201 responses there are only five kinesthesias (*M*), four of which are presented by Fantan the Interpreter and Rilpada the Seer (see their records) among the males, and one, an *M*—, as a sexual interpretation to picture III, by a woman. From the absence of kinesthesias we gather that the Alorese lack introversiveness, just as we may assume from the absence of FC reactions that they lack emotional adaptability and responsiveness. Yet, in their way and in their cultural milieu, they seem to be adjusted. The question arises as to what would happen if they were to live under different social and cultural conditions. It would be an interesting experiment which, according to their Rorschachs, should be a failure. So far as I know there is only one of them who tried to imitate the coastal civilization, and he did not succeed. Another, Fantan the Interpreter, whose experimental findings come closest to those of the Europeans, does not make a good adjustment even among his own people.

The absence of the FC is outside the normal range in Europeans among whom FC are lacking most frequently in neurotics, schizophrenics, and depressives. The Alorese live without this vital indicator and yet they do not suffer from its absence. They lack nothing in themselves. They are like our children early in life before the first FC makes its appearance as an expression of the development of those reaction formations and identifications by which their primary lack of self-restraint is overcome and their adjustments are guaranteed. We have to conclude, therefore, that the lack of the FC, i.e., the lack of responsiveness, is as much a part of their being and existence as their egocentricity, which is expressed by the large number of CF in their tests. They are normal under their own conditions but would not be so under ours. I am not surprised. A Russian, who might be diagnosed as a schizophrenic in Switzerland because of his social conduct and behavior, his failure to make social adjustments, would not inevitably be spotted as a schizophrenic in the social and cultural conditions of his own country, which are so organized that he would have protective coloration. There is more than one example of this type in Dostoyevsky's novels. 157x 660

I have mentioned more than once the similarity between the Rorschachs of the Alorese and the pathological findings of traumatics, some neurotics, and some schizophrenics. The Alorese, of course, are none of these; nor are they epileptics, although their color reactions are comparable. No one of these diagnoses can hold its ground when we know everything about their tests; it is only a more or less remote analogy. The Alorese Rorschachs are something *sui generis.*

The most interesting comparison is with some neurotics, specifically those with anxiety hysteria. Do neuroses occur among the Alorese? Among the males, one (Johanis) shows some neurotic manifestations in his Rorschach; he is a sadistic pervert or, at least, as much perverse as neurotic. The other sixteen men and the twenty women show no neurotic manifestations, such as color-shock or other signs of neurotic repressions; at best they show signs of more or less conscious suppression (see Mangma the Genealogist). This is a strikingly small number of neurotic individuals, much too small for any European and American cross-section. The ethnographer certainly did not debar neurotics from the test. Neurotics, therefore, are undoubtedly not a common phenomenon among the Alorese. This coincides with what we learn from the rest of their test findings. There are no indications of sublimation or of sublimational tendencies. Their color reactions, for instance, reveal in their crudeness (*Massigkeit*) no elaboration or touching up. The Alorese are evidently too much given up to their instincts (*triebnah*) and have too great a capacity for abreaction to produce neurotic symptoms by way of repression and regression. For the same reasons there seems to be no room for the occurrence of real depression and suicide. As I 158 157x 158

157 said before, they are resigned and drooping without being depressed.
158 What amount of nonpathological repressions they have established cannot be gathered from their tests.

The similarity that most strikes the eye, and is again not without theoretical interest, is that between the Alorese findings and those of many traumatics whose condition is the result of skull and brain injuries. The similarity lies chiefly in the great number of small details (Dd) and the black-white interpretations (bl-wh) which they have in common. Both the Dd and the bl-wh may be missing in the Alorese and the traumatics. The Dd then are replaced by whole answers (W) or, rather, answers that start from the normal or small details and generalize the interpretation (DW and DdW). The bl-wh are missing in the tests of seven Alorese—four men and three women, two of whom show no color reactions at all. Among the four males are Mangma the
159 Genealogist with 2 CF, the tumukun with 4 CF and 2 C, Johanis with 2 CF and 4 C—all of whom show marked features of activity in their character and behavior—and Fantan the Interpreter with 3 CF. I refer to my blind diagnoses in the chapter which follows. Malelaka, once very active as a "prophet," comes next, showing, besides 2 CF and 1 C, 1 blF interpretation.

Besides the Dd and the bl-wh, the similarity extends to most of the other experimental factors—the poor forms, the bad apperceptive modes and the loosened sequence, and the lack of scarcity of kinesthesias (M). But more than that, we saw that the Alorese share with the traumatics the passive element which is the core of the significance of their black-white interpretations; and this means more than merely surface similarity. Have the Alorese fared so badly (*stiefmütterlich behandelt*) that they, like a kind of crippled individual, show a reaction type in their Rorschachs similar to that of traumatic encephalopathy and traumatic dementia? This question will arise again before long. It is certain that in the tests of children the black color often means passivity and implies a damper superimposed on affectivity.

And what of the small details (Dd), the large number of which makes it so hard and wearisome to work on the Alorese tests? In traumatics the Dd mean dodging more difficult achievements, such as giving whole interpretations and going in for the simpler and easier ones for which the patients feel a match.* For this reason the greater part of their Dd are well perceived. By contrast the Dd of the Alorese, which seem similar, have quite a different basis and lack, therefore, the good quality of the Dd in traumatics. They express a restlessness and fussiness that take the place of more important activities, since the Alorese, as I mentioned previously, are debarred from sublimating on a larger scale. It is a kind of niggling about petty and frivolous things, keeping oneself busy but doing little or nothing, a habit of pottering with things of little value and importance in an aimless but seemingly intellectual fashion, of acting without much seriousness but filling up one's day and making oneself feel important. This should be what the Dd approximately mean in the lives of the Alorese unless they are confronted with really important things through the necessity of existence. Maybe shopping and committee meetings have the same significance for many people in our civilization.

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* E. Oberholzer, "Zur Differentialdiagnose psychischer Folgezustände nach Schädeltraumen mittels des Rorschachschen Formdeutversuchs." *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 136:596–629, 1931.

In anxiety hysteria this restlessness, which results in a flurry of activities, springs undoubtedly from a lack of introversiveness * due to repressions which affect first of all the kinesthesias. As a result the kinesthesias, representing introversiveness, are repressed and disappear from the test, while the color reactions, representing the emotions, remain unaffected. In the Alorese these kinesthesias are not repressed; there are no signs of repressions either as to the color reactions or the M, but the kinesthesias are deadened as they are in traumatics where they reappear in the test when patients recover from their defective states of mind. In the Alorese, however, they are permanently missing; the thirty-four of them who show no indications of M range from twenty to sixty years of age. Is it a lack of any kinesthetic disposition? Or are the kinesthesias nipped in the bud early in life, with the result that the black and white interpretations of the Alorese stand for the M and take over the representation of what is lived,† their fundamental

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* Rorschach's introversivity *sive* introversiveness is something quite different from Jung's introvertedness, which means the state of being turned in upon oneself, a pathological condition showing a rigid dominance of introversive tendencies over nonintroversive.

The introversivity of an introvert cannot, therefore, turn into extratensivity *sive* extraversiveness (Jung's extraversion) at any time and in response to any demand from without, as is necessary in normal life. Between the extremes of an introvert and extravert who show in the test a strikingly disproportionate number of kinesthesias and color reactions (many M and only slight color reaction or many color reactions and few or no M respectively) there exists an infinite scale of variations, which constitutes the wide range of the normal individual. Rorschach's M type and C type, with a predominance of introversive tendencies and vice versa, are variations within this normal range (see *Psychodiagnostics*, English translation, pp. 81–83). Later I use intro and extra as abbreviations.

† See my statement in *Psychodiagnostics*, English translation, p. 108: "The M series is, therefore, what is 'lived' . . . M is the compulsion determining what is lived, and how it is lived."

157 attitude of passive acceptance, resignation, and submission? The kinesthetic interpretations, however, are found among neglected and deprived, as well as among overprotected and indulged, children in our culture. Furthermore, among Swiss population groups the *M* are common among the Bernese, who are more introversive in type than the Appenzellers, in whose tests the *M* are less frequent, rare, or wholly absent; and yet both of them share the same cultural and social conditions. Are the Alorese in regard to their lack of kinesthesias similar to these Appenzellers, who are a more extraversive *sive* extratensive (Rorschach) type? *Non liquet*! The fact is that among the Alorese the Dd are, on the whole, the more frequent the more the black prevails among the colors; that they are an expression of those niggling activities, undoubtedly related to the lack of introversiveness which permits the Alorese no inward concentration of any kind and gives birth to their emotional oscillations in proportion to the degree of egocentric and impulsive affectivity.

Thus the small details, which in traumatics indicate intellectual deficiency, turn out to be the representation of emotional manifestations in the Alorese. I pointed out another angle of the emotional significance of the Alorese Dd when I related them to their astuteness and caginess. This is very often so. It is the case, for instance, in obsessional neuroses, where the morbid tendency to concentrate on minutiae is exhibited in a too great number of Dd ("*Verschiebung auf das Kleinste*"—Freud) in addition to *pars pro toto* interpretations (Do), both of which mean thought inhibitions in all their shadings. Similarly, the Alorese basic disposition as revealed by the total peculiarities in their Rorschachs, such as the black-white reactions, the surplus of CF and C, the lack of FC and *M*, must affect in turn their intellectual functioning; and indeed, the kind of intelligence shown in their tests is something *sui generis*, as are the findings with regard to their emotional life. Intellect and its achievements cannot be severed from affectivity.

153 If I include, by way of a complex procedure, all the experimental factors representing the components of intelligence so far as they are deducible from Rorschach's experiment, there follows an order of intelligence that almost coincides with that which the ethnographer compiled from her personal observations of these people. The less these experimental factors are taken into consideration, the less is the degree of coincidence. In comparison with my Swiss material it turns out that the lower half of that order ranks on the level of our feeble-minded as

to the F+%, the W and their quality; the majority of the upper half 153 ranks on the level of our morons. But, with regard both to the representations of emotional life and to the rest of the "intellectual" factors, the total of their findings is widely different from the average findings of our morons and feeble-minded, and the departures are the greater the nearer we come to the bottom of that order. Those remaining intellectual factors are the apperceptive type and the sequence, the percentages of animal interpretations (A%), and the original answers (O%). For the Alorese I counted as an original answer each response [125] that occurs only once; among them, however, we find those responses that are most common in Europeans and Americans, i.e., the so-called popular answers. Only a few, apparently the most intelligent ones among these seventeen male Alorese, reach the level of our average intelligent with an IQ of about 85. At the top ranks Fantan the Interpreter [115] (see later), and next to him Mangma the Chief and Johanis. Within the limits of this contribution I cannot say more about this problem; a full presentation of the Alorese intelligence would be a study in itself.

One remaining factor of the whole-part issue which has emotional 157x significance is a special form of the Dd. It is the space figure interpretation by which the white portions of the pictures are interpreted. When these S coincide with many color reactions or better, with a predominance of these reactions over the movement answers, they express outgoing opposition or oppositional tendencies, like defiance, antagonism, argumentative behavior, and so forth. In the Alorese, even though they exhibit, in addition to the dominating black, a greater tendency to concentrate on the white color than is shown by the number of their S (there are white reactions other than S), these space figure interpretations are less frequent than in the normal Swiss (1:3), which is in conformity with the Alorese passive streak. Submission and opposition do not preclude each other but are not in tune with one another. The less frequent occurrence of S is another expression of the Alorese passive attitude.

VARIABILITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

In this section I turn to the individual and some facts concerning the 114 variability of the Alorese. Before giving blind diagnoses for some of them, I have to make a series of statements concerning the ways of getting at the individual's personality and psychological background.

It is obvious that statements of personality diagnosis must be based

114 It is obvious that statements of personality diagnosis must be based on a consideration of individual variations. These were neglected when
128 we summed up the results of the findings for the purpose of making a statistical generalization such as I gave at the beginning in the section on the quantitative results.

In general the Alorese personality diagnoses are based on five different kinds of manifestations:

1. The quantity and proportion of the ordinary color reactions as produced by anyone to any color in the ten cards.
2. The black and white interpretations and their quantities.
3. The proportion between these black and white reactions and the true color responses.
4. The manifestations of the black color-shock.
5. The manifestations of suppression or repression where they occur.

In addition, there are the percentage and quality of the whole and small detail answers as well as the percentage of good forms and animal interpretations, which are both intellectual and emotional representations.

The individual's affectivity is a resultant of these reactions which are interrelated and which interfere with one another; there are as many individual shadings as there are different modes of experience (see later). For instance, the more black prevails over true color, the more passive is the individual's behavior and the more strongly stressed his attitude of passive acceptance. The more expressed the black color-shock, the more distrust and suspicion are characteristic of an Alorese or the more fearfulness and timidity are developed, depending on the card at which the shock occurs and at which it shows its greatest intensity. This is true even though there may be fewer black and white interpretations than in other individuals (see blind diagnoses of Mangma the Genealogist, Fantan the Interpreter, and the tumukun). Furthermore, it depends on the number of these black and white interpretations in proportion to the other color reactions and the intensity of the black color-shock whether a person is spiteful and resentful and to what extent, whether he is characterized by sweetness in his behavior and how much submissiveness and shyness exist, or how quickly he freezes and shrinks into himself after emotional outbursts. All this can be listed from the ethnographer's records.

X157 If I single out the normal details, the space figure interpretations (S), which cover or start from the white spots in the pictures, and the Do as interpretations by which only a part of an entity is interpreted (*pars pro toto*), the average findings for the seventeen male Alorese are:

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

157x

NUMBER OF RESPONSES: 29.2

W	5.1 (3.2—)	M	0.24		
D	16.3	F	21.1 (11.5—)		
S	0.3	F(C)	1.06		
Do	0.4	FC	0.17		
Dd	7.1 (3.6—)	CF	4.23	2.53 1.7 bl-wh	2.58 bl-wh
	29.2	C	2.41	0.88 bl-wh 1.53	
			29.2		

F+	45.0%
A	36.9%
apperceptive	W-D-Dd
sequence	loose
mode of experience	0.24 + 3.02 (bl-whΣ) : 4.82 (colorΣ)

The black color-shock manifestations which cannot be stated by a figure drop out in this average calculation.

This statement of an average which does not occur in the findings of any one of these seventeen males, shows everything that is characteristic of the Alorese. But anyone who showed these findings would be in no way conspicuous or outstanding. He would be quite unobtrusive among the Alorese, showing only the individuality of the average, without any peculiarities. He would be the most colorless person in the village. Were his test presented without any statement of provenience, it could not be recognized as that of an Alorese unless there were strikingly strong manifestations of black color-shock.

The average findings, it is true, are striking to everyone who is familiar with Rorschach's experiment: first, the 24% Dd; second, the lack of FC; and third, the black-white reactions, which even in pathology are of rare occurrence if we disregard some psychopaths and the above-mentioned group of traumatics. But all this is not typical enough, and still less is it specific. The average findings, as well as those of any of these seventeen male Alorese, who more or less deviate from the average (in the nature of a plus variation as to some factors, of a minus variation as to others), come close to the findings of various pathological states of mind. They might be mistaken for such were it not for the result of some factor which refuses to fit in. For example, the percentage of good forms does not even in traumatic dementia drop to the Alorese average of 45.0%, nor does the percentage of animal interpretations in intellectual defectives drop to 37.0%, which is the Alorese x157 average for A%. Further, there are the manifestations of black color-shock which occur even in the absence of black-white reactions, as in the test of Mangma the Genealogist who, without those manifestations, might, among Europeans, be a case of "relative dementia" (Bleuler's *Verhältnisblödsinn*). There will always be some discrepancies and incongruities. One or other of the Alorese characteristics which were previously inferred from the total of their findings with regard to emotional life makes its appearance and takes effect on the test results.

114 I revert to the blind diagnoses. In working out a subject's personality we often meet a difficulty that I may term the "accent." The more one stresses one or the other element in the characterization, the more the result may depart from what the person seems to be in life. However, no more is needed than a shifting of the accent to obtain sufficient conformity. This is the case, for example, in Mangma the Genealogist, the second of the following blind diagnoses. It is quite possible that the characterization stresses too much the strikingly poor quality of his DW and too little their quantity. The quantity of his W must be an expression of his will power and vigor, which is not adequately set forth in this description where he is colored too much on the negative side as someone who soars too high and wants too much. The characterization, with its accent, may give too much the impression of a somewhat ridiculous personality who is found wanting, whereas the vigor that lies behind it is not sufficiently accentuated.

x157
114 The same problem exists as to the characterization of what the Alorese have in common. When we describe their passive acceptance, we accentuate the manifestations of this attitude and neglect those of their egocentricity, and vice versa, perhaps to such an extent that we are afterward amazed at the fact that the same people can develop the most selfish and even the most violent reactions. When we speak of their fearfulness and timidity, we forget, for the moment, that mechanisms of defense and self-protection exist, and we are astonished to see these people described later as being spiteful and resentful or even as acting very aggressively. Or, further, that tendency toward an easygoing way of life, which shirks great strain and effort and results in that playful, niggling fussiness, seems contradictory when, subsequently, a picture of a "beaten" and fully helpless being is presented. However, we need not be baffled. These reactions, in part, belong together and condition each other. They are, to some extent, independent of one another and alternate with one another in a continuous upsurging and downsweeping flux that is characteristic of the Alorese and must seem normal to them.

In the blind diagnoses I put in parentheses references to the test 114
findings from which a statement was drawn. The flow of characteriza- 104
tion is inevitably disturbed by this procedure, but it is the only one 125
by which such references can be made briefly. To infer a blind diagnosis from the findings in a perfectly conclusive way needs, not unlike the presentation of a psychoanalysis, a manuscript in itself (see my analysis of a single case in the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 1931). The scoring of the F, the Dd, and the original answers (O) was partly based on my experience with Europeans, partly on the ethnographer's statements. It is understood that this procedure is a mere expedient, but it proved practicable since the results which led to a ranking list of intelligence in the males were in keeping with the ethnographer's own list. The Roman numerals refer to the number of the card, and the letters, a, b, c, and d, to the position of the card at which an interpretation was produced, starting from the normal position (a) and turning a card clockwise in positions b, c, and d. Locations, which are always related to the normal position (a) of the card, are placed in parentheses. Questions or statements by the ethnographer are in brackets. Conf. means confabulation..

159x

Rilpada the Seer, 35 Years of Age

I.	(1)	is this a large cloud? (W)	WF(C)−	cloud	
	(2)	a big cloud with a tree (middle figure) between the clouds	DF−	tree	
	(3)	rats (top of side figures)	DdF−	A	
	(4)	men (the headlike projections of the lower contour of side figures, a)	DdF+	Hd	
	(5)	wings of a night bird (wings of side figures)	DoF+	Ad	
	(6)	two men (each half of middle figure) are standing in a cloud	DM+	H	
II.	(1)	a house (whole black plus central point) with	DF∓	house	
	(2)	the sun between (white space) and	SwhF−	sun	
	(3)	flowers above the house (lateral red)	DCF−	plant	
		the white is the sun and			
	(4)	the red are its rays when it rises (long projections of medial red)	DdF±	sunrays	
	(5)	the black is not like clouds but like the sea	Dbl	sea	
III.	(1)	these are evil spirits (the "waiters" without legs) and these (the legs) are their children	DF+	spirits	Conf.
	(2)	these are boats (legs)	DF+	boats	
IV.	(1)	a monkey (W)	WF+	A	
	(2)	evil spirits (the snakelike appendixes)	DF−	spirits	
V.	(1)	evil spirits (the bat's ears)	DdF−	spirits	
	(2)	evil spirits (the lower projections)	DdF−	spirits	

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

159

VI.	(1)	the post in the coast village, where a lamp is hung (top, dark middle)	DF+	object	
	(2)	a black cloth [used as loincloth] (the whole without top)	DblF−	cloth	
VII.	(1)	these are clouds in the sky – there are no people in it, just clouds	WF(C)+	clouds	
VIII.	(1)	two big dogs (side figures)	DF+	A	
	(2)	is a man (namely, a man's head, gray and blue) – the dogs are jumping on their owner, inside a	DF+	HD	
	(3)	house (gray, blue, red-orange)	DF+	house	
	(4)	the red is a piece of cloth in front of the door of the house	DCF−	cloth	
IX.	(1)	people (orange)	DM?+	H	
	(2)	cloth (green)	DCF+	cloth	
	(3)	cloth too (red)	DC	cloth	
X.	(1)	large ship with a funnel (entire medial gray)	DF+	ship	
	(2)	a person or maybe an evil spirit (lateral gray)	DF−	spirit	
	(3)	the brass things (entire medial green) hung before the door of a ship [why?] it looks like a lamp, and this	DF−	ornament	
	(4)	a ship door (medial blue)	DF−	ship door	Conf.
	(5)	corrugated iron (lateral blue) and	DCF−	iron	
	(6)	these the walls of a house (red, left and right)	DF−	house	

Computation

Number of Responses: 33

W	3 (1−) = 9.1% ±	M	2 (+)
D	23	F	21 (10−)
S	1	F(C)	2
Dd	5 (3−) = 15.2% ∓	FC	0
Do	1	CF	6 (1 bl, 1 wh)
	—	C	2 (1 bl)
	33		—
			33

A	3	sunrays	1
Ad	1	sun	1
H	2	sea	1
Hd	2	iron	1
spirit	5	clouds	2
plant	1		—
tree	1		33
object	2		
cloths	4	F+	52.4%
house	3	A	12.1%
ship	1	apperceptive	W-D-Dd-(Do)
ship door	1	sequence	loose
ornament	1	mode of experience	2.0 + 3.5 : 5.5

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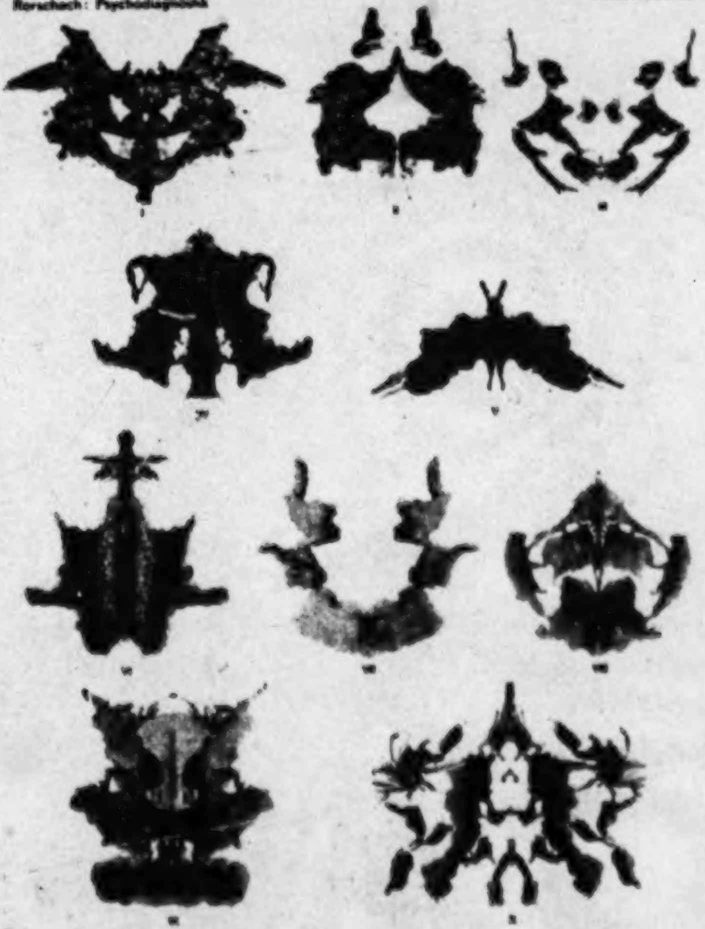
Printed in Switzerland



[FACING p. 610]

Rilpada, among the male Alorese, comes nearest to having autistic tendencies (two movement answers and 15% Dd, combined with five genuine colors). He is, of all of them, the most given to fantasy thinking, to meditation, and to contemplation (*Beschaulichkeit*). He is the only one who produced a comparatively good intuitive interpretation (card VIII).

Two kinesthetic answers are a small number for a seer. However, we have to accustom ourselves to other relations and proportions in the Alorese in contrast to the Europeans. If we make allowance for the fact that among the other Alorese it is only Fantan the Interpreter who exhibits movement answers, Rilpada's two kinesthesias are likely to be compared to a larger number in Europeans and are enough to give him not only introversiveness (inwardness) but also, in their combination with three black-white interpretations, a streak of introvertedness (*Insichgekehrtsein*). This line leads up to autism and deep mysticism (*mystische Versenkung*). Rilpada does not go so far; he has too good a footing on this earth (his normal details amount to 72.7% and among his interpretations are three houses, a ship and a ship door, and several other objects); moreover, his introversiveness is mixed with traits of confabulation.

In his manners and conduct he is nice, suave and sweet, modest and submissive, even humble (his black-white answers total a little over the average). He is too submissive to be a great and active prophet, but perhaps he has just the appropriate dose to be a bit the saint in the village without being secluded from the world or becoming a genuine hermit.

As to the rest of his affectivity he is of an egocentric rather than a passionate nature (four true color-forms and only one primary color). He is impressionable and suggestible, subject to swings of mood and apt to be easily upset (there are slight manifestations of black color-shock at IV and V and the color total is not sufficiently balanced). However, he is not without self-control. The proportion of 2 M + 3.5 bl-wh : 5.5 guarantees him the ability to master himself and to make adjustments.

As regards his intelligence he ranks near the lower level of what seems to be a good average among the Alorese (a fairly good F+% but only three whole answers). He sticks too much to accidentals (15% Dd), losing himself in petty details, and he has not much discipline in his thinking (the normal sequence of producing first W, then D, then Dd is loosened). He is, though not removed from reality, rather a dreamer than a thinker.

[illegible] the [illegible], 40 Years of Age

x 159 I. [sends glances at ethnographer]
(1) a foreign chicken (W) – there is a mouth too (central top of middle figure); the tail is below (bottom of middle figure).....DWF− A

II. (1) the mouth of a long fish in the sea (central point) ....DF± Ad
(2) wings – all this is wings (black left and right) ....DF− Ad

III. (1) foreign chickens – chickens (black left and right) ....WF− A

IV. (1) two arms (snakelike appendices) and two legs (the large side figures = bottom) – they are of a hawk, the head (top) and tail (central part, bottom)........................DWF− A

V. (1) a flying bird, large, with widespread wings [demonstrates by holding out his arms]....WF+ A

VI. (1) a lizard with head and legs (W; head = top, legs = lateral projections)................WF− A

VII. (1) these are clouds that *fly* up in the sky – the top is first and the rest follows along (c) ....WF(C)+ clouds

VIII. (1) two chickens (side figures, *c*) and............DF− A
(2) a flower in the center (*c*, blue + grey) [names a blue-colored flower]............DCF± plant

IX. "ah, ah, ah" [below his breath]
(1) this is like decorations people make when the government official visits [refers to garlands and woven effects of coconut leaves].....WCF+ decoration

X. "ah, ah, ah"
(1) like an airplane – things are hanging from it as in an airplane [planes have flown about three times over the island and made a great impression] ....DWF− airplane

Computation

Number of Responses: 12

W 5 (2−) } 8 (5−) = 66.7% ±
DW 3 (−)
D 4
—
12

M 0
F 9 (6−)
F(C) 1
FC 0
CF 2
—
12

A 6
Ad 2
H 0
Hd 0
plant 1
airplane 1
decoration 1
clouds 1
—
12

F+ 33.3%
A 66.7%
apperception W/DW-D
sequence mostly only one answer
mode of experience 0 + 0 : 2.0

157x

Mangma the Genealogist is of quite a different caliber from Rilpada the Seer. He is the "scientist" among these Alorese, the most intellectualized—although his intelligence and intellect do not rank very high. He affects the thinker and the scholar.

He gives a number of whole answers which are definitions and tries to account for them, but all the same these whole answers are bad (e.g., I, IV, VI, and X). Due to the fact that he clings to W interpretations, his percentage of good forms is very low (33.3%). He soars too high and dares too much; he cannot content himself with interpreting normal details or interpreting them in a usual way. He jumps to conclusions, lacks common sense and self-criticism (basing W on the interpretation of details, DW). In contrast to Fantan the Interpreter he is not incisive and sharp in his thinking. The greater number of his animal interpretations even are poor, not only as to the DW but also as to the D, which is true only of the unintelligent and the morons among Europeans. However, he is positive, self-sure, even smug and cocky. He is nothing loath to stretch a point (*Flunkern*) and to beg questions (DW), and he is only seemingly factual. He is not particular and exacting, not very scrupulous as to the truth, and not very objective and reliable in his statements, which are to be taken with a grain of salt (II, VI, and primarily his chicken interpretation at VIII). Therefore, he is neither apt nor keen to learn from experience. He seems to know it all. He is a dazzler who, after all, has not much to say when it comes to the point; he then will just sit and listen, or he shows off his knowledge and scientific activities, haughty and high-handed as a rule in his pose and manners, condescending and presumptuous; he is, therefore, on the whole rather ungenial and unapproachable. He reminds one of pseudo scientists and pseudo scholars.

Yet *Mangma* has one advantage over the other male Alorese. He seems to have the best emotional composure. He exhibits in his Rorschach only two color-forms, the lowest color total among them. He is without emotional outbursts, though he is certainly more emotional than he appears under a cover of dignity. He shrinks back and shies away from strong emotions or he checks them consciously rather than unconsciously (belated color-shock at IX and X). He is even somewhat reserved and dignified; he keeps his distance as the scholar of the village. His self-control is a result of suppression (a WCF at IX and immediately after that a WF at X, which is again a poor form). He is without empathy (no kinesthesias and no FC), is egocentric (1 CF) and opinionated (he shows off in the test), suspicious and distrustful, X157 sensitive and resentful (black color-shock). He *fears for his dignity* and dislikes being teased and sounded out. In contrast to Rilpada, Mangma is devoid of intuition and inspiration, but he has many ambitions and aspirations for which his abilities are no match. Despite his relative composure he lacks any *real balance of mind*, as does any dazzler.

X157 Not all Alorese are as different from one another as Rilpada the Seer
184 and Mangma the Genealogist, but variations exist among all of them
188 against the background of common features which at first seem to dominate the picture of their Rorschachs. The complete range of variability is revealed by a table presenting the plus and minus deviations of the experimental factors from their average. The table on page 615 is limited to the most vital factors of Alorese psychology, i.e., the W, Dd, the F+% and A%, the color total (CΣ), and the bl-wh total (bl-whΣ). It neglects factors of minor consequence, such as the DW, S, Do, F(C), and disregards the quality of the whole answers, the original answers, and the sequence which should be included in a comprehensive comparison. The average of the factors is stated at the top of each column.

X157 Even among such a small sample as these seventeen male Alorese, there is the test of the tumukun, which exhibits not only the average number of responses but also coincides with the average of the W, F, and C. It comes very close to the average of the D, CF, the F+%, and the A%, but differs considerably as to the bl-wh reactions, the number of Dd, and the two Do.

The Tumukun

NUMBER OF RESPONSES: 19

W	5 (3—)	M	0
D	11	F	10 ([illegible]—)
Dd	1 (—)	F(C)	3
Do	2	FC	0
	—	CF	4
	19	C	2
			—
			19

F+	47.5%
A	61.4%
apperception	W-D-Do
sequence	in order

157 The tumukun's findings come closest to the average of the seventeen male Alorese. Two aspects of his test should set him apart from the majority of his people and guarantee him some of the qualities of a true chief. One is his greatest minus deviation from the average which reveals the core of the Alorese psychology, i.e., from the black-white average; the other is his surplus of true color responses. He shows the untrammeled CF and C of a domineering man of action who is self-centered and narcissistic, reckless and ambitious. His qualities of leadership, however, are impaired by some other characteristics which will be mentioned in a comparison with his brother Fantoni, who gives two answers less than the Alorese average of responses.

Fantoni

NUMBER OF RESPONSES: 17

W	6 (9−)	M	0
D	11	F	12 (11.4−)
Dd	0	F(C)	1
	—	FC	1
	17	CF	2 (1 M)
		C	1
			—
			17

F+	47.7%
A	70.5%
apperceptive	W-D
sequence	in order

Except for Fantoni's greater percentage of animal interpretations he is close to the tumukun's findings, in contrast to Rilpada the Seer and Mangma the Genealogist. The plus and minus deviations from the average of these four are given below.

	Tumukun		Fantoni		Rilpada		Mangma	
	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
W	0.1			0.9	2.2			4.9
Dd	8.1		7.0		2.2		7.2	
F+%		2.4		2.5		7.4	8.1	
A%		6.4		10.3	14.9			19.7
CΣ		2.2	1.5			0.7	1.8	
bl-whΣ	3.0		2.0			0.5	3.0	

However, the tumukun shows a maximum minus deviation as to bl-whΣ and a plus deviation as to CΣ, whereas Fantoni exhibits as great a minus deviation in relation to C. From this difference result two emotionally different personalities. Fanseni, with 0 + 1.0 : 2.5, is much closer to this average mode of experience (0.14 + 3.0 : 4.8) than the tumukun, with 0 + 0 : 7.0. On the other hand, they both show the same apperceptive mode and ordered sequence, as opposed to the sequence of most Alorese, who interpret W, D, and Dd indiscriminately, and they come close to each other in their W, Dd, and F+%, i.e., in those factors which are the exponents of intellectual functioning.

It follows that Fanseni's affectivity is more Alorese than his brother's. He must show a streak of submissiveness which the tumukun lacks and that sweetness which is characteristic of those Alorese who do not show the black-white reactions overwhelmingly in their tests. Due to his mode of experience Fanseni is much less expansive and outgoing than the tumukun, who is more energetic and robust, more self-sure, positive, and resolute than most of these male Alorese. Fanseni is relatively soft, delicate, and suppressed (*verhalten*). The proportion of 1.0 bl-whΣ : 2.5 CΣ gives him a sort of "inwardness" or, better, laziness in his character, as an expression of the degree of his passive acceptance. His heart is in many things and he may even have some favorite pursuits and pastimes in which his more active brother has no interest. Furthermore, Fanseni is one of the very few Alorese who produce an indubitable form-color. This must be an indication that he is capable of true contact and rapport in a way which is unknown to the others. Since his true color responses are not sufficiently balanced (one of his CF is even very near a primary C), he is likely occasionally to flare up. However, according to that proportion of 1.0 : 2.5, he must have, on the other hand, a potentiality for self-command. His outbursts appear to be of relatively rare occurrence and of no great intensity.

In contrast to Fanseni, his brother the tumukun shows two *pars pro toto* interpretations (Do) which mean here, as in the findings of Fantan the Interpreter, a more realistic mind, as it does very often in the Rorschachs of normal Americans. On the other hand, these Do are rare in normal Europeans and probably always represent a departure from the norm. With the tumukun's Do of "wings" and "heads" instead of animal and human figures, such as "bat" or "butterfly" at I and "two gentlemen" at III, a fact is stated that is beyond doubt. The interpretation "bat" or "butterfly" and "two gentlemen" needs the combining of several picture parts and is, therefore, less factual than "wings" and "heads" alone. In the tumukun realism turns into opportunism, owing to his excessive egocentricity, but this opportunism may

X159 frequently be thwarted by too little self-restraint and some impulsiveness (σ: 7.0).

Finally, they both show manifestations of black color-shock, the tumukun more than Fanseni, even though he has no black-white reactions. It is this tendency toward fear and fearfulness that must impair his fitness for leadership. The tumukun will hardly be up to the mark in every life situation.

Since they show almost the same deviations in their "intellectual" factors from the average, the tumukun and Fanseni are on about the same level, above the Alorese average intelligence but yet far from being the most intelligent among these male Alorese.

There is another individual who gives the same number of responses as those produced by Fanseni. It is Fantan the Interpreter, whose findings are far off the Alorese average and come much closer to Europeans, as is shown later by contrasting his results with the average of the normal Swiss. His record is unique among these thirty-seven Alorese and could not be distinguished from a European Rorschach were it not for the one "spirit" interpretation, which he has in common with many others of his people, and for his responses at the first picture, which are of a special character. What is peculiar to him is the quality of his whole answers, which is not found in any of the other Alorese tests. His first WF+ at III occurs among Swiss intelligents only infrequently, and his WM+ at V does not occur at all, at least not in that combining of the middle figure with the side figures, which is characteristic of him. These W by themselves demonstrate how much his Rorschach outdistances all the others.

Fantan's WF− at card VII, on the other hand, cannot be found among normal European adults but is of frequent occurrence in preschool children. It is a typical infantilism, as are some others of his interpretations. His first WF + at III, which I mentioned, is a characteristic example of the Alorese capacity to give the same interpretations when the card is in different positions. This is a rare occurrence among adult Europeans. The Alorese share this ability with the child to whom it makes no difference whether he sees things upside down or right way up. They are both apt to give the same answer in either case.

FANTAN THE INTERPRETER, 25 YEARS OF AGE

I. (1)	like a tree – these two pieces are like trees (side figures)	DF−	tree
(2)	in the middle it is like a horse (entire middle figure)	DF−	A

	(3)	like dogs (wings = snouts)	DF+	Ad
	(4)	like a frog (middle figure) – it is like two dogs coming to bite a frog	DF−	A
	(5)	the two sides are like birds (wings = beaks) and the center is a frog	DF−	A
	(6)	the middle section is like a "naga" [i.e., a carved figure like a crocodile] (lower half of middle figure)	DF+	A
	(7)	the middle part is like a dog; at the top is its head and the bottom is its tail	DF−	A
	(8)	these are the wings of a bird (the wings of the side figures)	DoF+	Ad
II.	(1)	this is a bird; the black is its wings, the white in the center is its body and the red at the top is its head; and at the bottom, the red, is its tail – it is a bat, all of it	WF−	A
III.	(1)	this is a human being; that is its head (entire black center), that is its arms (the "waiters," legs) (seen upside down, a)	WF+	H
	(2)	those are chickens (lateral red)	DF+	A
	(3)	two men with beads (the two waiters)	M?-WF+	H
IV.		[twists card all around]		
	(1)	it is like a man, the top is his head	M?-WF+	A
	(2)	is like tusks of a pig (c, the lateral projections at bottom of middle figure)	DdF±	Ad
V.	(1)	it is like a man standing (middle figure) with two sleeping right and left (side figures)	WM+	H
	(2)	is like a goat (center), on either side a man sleeping	DF+	Ad
VI.		[twists card around]		
	(1)	like a tree [twists card again, lays it aside as though not *fully* satisfied]	WF+	tree
VII.	(1)	a dog (c) – these are its legs (upper thirds with projection); this is its tail (confluence of lower thirds)	WF−	A
VIII.	(1)	this is like an evil spirit (side figures) on top	DF−	spirit
	(2)	a house (gray) – the two red spots are the evil spirits and this is the house [breathes heavily and says, "I don't know; I can't get it" – possibly related to a secondary association to house]	DF+	house
IX.	(1)	this is two men sitting on top (orange)	DM+	H
	(2)	these are turtles (green) [they are of a greenish color]	DCF−	A
	(3)	like birds under the heads of the turtles (c, orange)	DF+	A

x 159

(4) these are people's heads (red)—they don't have all their bodies; the birds, I don't see their heads, just their tails..............DF+ Hd

X. (1) this is like a "naga" (c, lateral gray) . . . also a naga (gray on right side)............DF+ A

(2) there are two chickens, one red (c, lateral orange) and.............................DCF− A

(3) one yellow (c, lateral yellow)—their mouths are on top of the naga's tail; the other side is the same....................DdCF± A

	Fantan (N: 27)	*Average of Male Swiss* (N: 26.3)
W	7 (2—) = 25.9%±	7.96 (1.6—) = 30.2%±
D	17	15.7
S	0	0.8
Dd	2 (+) = 7.4%+	1.8 (0.3—) = 6.8%+
Do	1	0.04
	—	—
	27	26.3
M	2 (+)	2.4
F	22 (7 to 8—)	19.3 (3.5—)
F(C)	0	0.9
FC	0	2.6 (+)
CF	3	1.0
C	0	0.1
	—	—
	27	26.3
F+%	65.9 to 73 and more	81.9
A%	63.0	45.1
Apperceptive	W-D	W-D
Sequence	somewhat loosened	in order
Mean of reaction time	1.1'	1.17'
Mode of experience	2 + 0 : 3.0	2.4 : 2.45
A	13	
Ad	4	
H	5 (+)	
Hd	1	
spirit	1	
house	1	
tree	1	
	—	
	27	

As unique as his Rorschach is Fantan's personality among these Alorese, not so much because of his affectivity as because of his intellect. He and Rilpada, as stated previously, alone among the Alorese show genuine and good kinesthesias. Fantan gives two and perhaps more; but, unlike Rilpada, he has no black-white reactions. He has true introversiveness that must show somehow or other in his mentality and but for his lack of FC, his failure at picture I, and some minor blemishes, such as his W— at VII, he would rank among normal Europeans, many of whom he excels by the quality of his whole answers.

Among these thirty-seven Alorese Fantan is the most intelligent, and his kind of intelligence is far more European than Alorese. He is as incisive in his thinking as he is sharp and accurate in his forms. His F+% is surpassed only by Mangma the Chief (72.7%), a true Alorese, but his F+% ranks first if we make allowance for his W+ and amounts to considerably more than that of Mangma if we disregard his interpretations at picture I. These are a result of black color-shock. At picture I he gives no W but repeatedly interprets the same picture part, which is unusual. He does not give a good form until his third response. Thereafter F+ and F— alternate, mixed with a streak of confabulation so that the greater part of these interpretations are F— ending up in a Do, a performance that does not repeat itself at any other picture. It is a kind of floundering and grabbling which in Europeans may be the only manifestation of black color-shock, though never to such a degree. It manifests itself rather in one or two tentative forms as an expression of an initial uncertainty or perplexity in feeling one's way. That is why these interpretations may often be discounted, as I did in his case. The other forms give the true amount of associative accuracy (F+%), which must qualify Fantan for superior intellectual achievements that we do not see in the others, such as recognizing actualities and reckoning with realities first of all when his own interests are involved (3 CF).

Despite his lack of W at picture I, where whole answers are the rule, Fantan shows the best apperceptive mode among these Alorese, i.e., the best proportion of the W, D, and Dd, namely, 25.9%(+) : 66.7% : 7.4% against 30.1%(+) : 62.9% : 6.9% in the normal Swiss, whose average number of responses coincides with Fantan's (26.3 and 27). He is one of those subjects described by Rorschach as being more practical than theoretical, not incapable of, but not given to, abstract thinking and reaching first for tangible things; it is that form of intelligence usually called common sense (see *Psychodiagnostics*, English transla-

159 tion, p. 60). He has a clear grasp both of essentials and of accidentals; good, even detached, judgment. His degree of objectivity is the highest among the Alorese. He has the capacity for this trait and the will to use it (*Objektivitätswille*). This follows from all his achievements in the test except his interpretations at picture I and others already mentioned. He is undoubtedly the only one among these Alorese to whom the term "objective" can be applied. Further, he is the most alert among them (*geistige Präsenz*). This is shown, first, by the mean of his reaction time, which is the average of the normal Swiss; second, by the number and quality of his W, which are produced at every picture except the first and the multicolored pictures VIII, IX, and X, where W+ are interpreted at best by only one out of two among the normal Swiss. Due to this intellectual disposition, he can best profit by experience; Mangma the Genealogist, who is as careless as Fantan is careful in his achievements, can probably profit least. All these intellectual 157 qualities are shown in the other Alorese to a greater or lesser degree, more in Mangma the Chief, less in the tumukun and Fanseni. In the majority they are mere potentialities, or perhaps they cannot be utilized because of emotional conditions (Johanis).

The bearing of the kinesthesias on Fantan's Rorschach and personality is evident. His intellectuality is that of Rorschach's M type, where the kinesthesias either equal the color reactions or predominate. His intelligence is more individualized and his test reveals an individuality (*Eigenart*) that would be considerable for a European and is much more remarkable for an Alorese. He gives many W+ and more complicated interpretations, one of which, his WM at V, comes close to the combinatory W of the introversive whose apperceptive type and clear form visualization (F+%) Fantan shares. His original answers are numerous, though not so numerous that he would be estranged from the outer world; his common sense and his sense of reality are generally not impaired. Finally his test does not exhibit the delayed and labored character of the Alorese responses. His interpretations apparently are easily achieved once the difficulty he met with at picture I is overcome. Except at VIII, where Fantan gives his "spirit" interpretation, there are no signs of discontent or uneasiness. All those stated manifestations are introversive features.

Introversive features are shown also in his affectivity and behavior. He tends to live within himself. He has difficulty in his emotional approach, in making contacts and adjustments; he is reserved and distant, not seeking for contact and rapport though not shying away from it, even kind and gentle when he comes to know people, but without 159x showing the Alorese sweetness and submissiveness. Like an introvert he is the opposite of an outgoing, hail-fellow-well-met type, not unresponsive, but without individualized contact like Fanseni (no FC). He is rather of an egocentric responsiveness and is far from outspoken; he is self-contained and undemonstrative. He is not without self-control (2 to 3 M : 3 CF) and has even, on the whole, a good mastery of affect. He is neither expansive nor carried away by emotions, as might happen to Malelaka, for instance, in a flush of exuberance, and he is unlikely to have emotional outbursts and to show the usual ups and downs of the Alorese. But he is easily puzzled and upset in emotional situations, even to the point of perplexity when he loses his habitual perspective and judgment, so that he becomes helpless, as is shown by his reaction to picture I. This is his main affective deficiency, not so much in comparison with the other Alorese but in comparison with normal Europeans. He lacks the self-confidence congruous to his superior intellect, is timid and on his guard, which is in keeping with his black color-shock and which contributes to the introversive side of his character. Thus, not even this Alorese, who of all his people shows the most advanced empirical thinking and who, because of his personality, must be a stranger among them, is free from the fundamental Alorese attitude of fear and distrust.

The numerical values of the fundamental Alorese factors W, Dd, 125 F+%, and A%, the CΣ and bl-whΣ, and their minus and plus deviations from the average can be stated in series from the minimum to the maximum value or the maximum minus to the maximum plus deviation. The same applies to Rorschach's mode of experience, if we use the quotients of MΣ/CΣ or CΣ/MΣ. But whereas the proportion between the M's and the color total is very revealing, these quotients do not signify very much since they do not state anything about the quantities of the bl-whΣ and CΣ and their components. The quotients may be the same for two or more Alorese whose experience modes are different, like those of Likma and Mangma the Chief, for instance, which show $5.0 = 2\text{blF} + 2\text{bl} : 3.0 = 2\text{C}$ and $2.5 = 1\text{blF} + 1\text{bl} : 1.5 = 1\text{C}$ respectively; or as shown among the females by Lonmai with $1.5 = 1\text{bl} : 1.0 = 1\text{CF}$, Lonmani with $3.0 = 3\text{blF} : 2.0 = 2\text{CF}$, and Kolmau with even $12.0 = 6\text{blF} + 4\text{bl} : 8.0 = 5\text{CF} + 2\text{C}$ respectively. In the series of the quotients these males and females meet at points 1.67 or 0.60 and 1.50 or 0.67 respectively.

Affectivity and emotional disposition need presentation in a square

125 dimension. In such an arrangement, with Rorschach's "emotional coordination system" as a basis, the absolute figures of bl-whΣ and CΣ increase, reading from the top to the bottom. In the middle column are Rorschach's ambiequivalent types, whose bl-whΣ and CΣ equal each other. The top and bottom present two of the four extreme possibilities. At the top are the findings with form interpretations alone which occur among these thirty-seven Alorese only twice in the females. At the bottom are the findings with numbers of bl-wh reactions matched by numbers of color responses—Rorschach's dilated types. To the left of the central column is the field in which the bl-whΣ predominates; reading from the middle to the left, the bl-whΣ is seen to remain constant, while the CΣ decreases. In the right half of the table the CΣ remains constant and the bl-whΣ is on the decrease. It follows that the relative amount of the bl-whΣ increases from right to left as the CΣ decreases and vice versa, reading the table from left to right. The extreme left and right columns, therefore, represent the other two extremes, i.e., black-white only (color absent) and true colors only (black-white absent).

In the following charts the Alorese are contrasted with the normal Swiss, reduced for purposes of comparison to the same number of individuals. The modes of experience of the Swiss are underscored. In the chart for male Alorese the name appears under the mode of experience. In both charts the figures of the average numerical values are set in boldface. In this scheme all the possibilities of relationships between the M
X 157 *sive* bl-whΣ and the color total can be listed. We see the overwhelming majority of the Alorese on the right side and most of them within a triangle between the two diagonals, near the apex of which we find the Alorese average, represented almost exactly by Rilpada's 3.5 : 5.5. Only a few are on the left side, spreading from the top to the bottom. Mangma the Chief and Fanseni are representative of Rorschach's coartative types, with a comparatively small number of bl-wh and C; Atafani is an extreme example of the dilated type.

All this is widely different from the distribution of the normal Swiss, half of whom are seen in the upper triangle, with almost an equal number to the left and to the right of the middle line. Their average is near the middle line, somewhat to the left of it and much nearer to the top than that of the Alorese. The rest of the Swiss are found in the left- (5) and righthand triangles (3). The maximum concentration of the Swiss is, therefore, on the left side (10 individuals), that of the Alorese on the right side (13 individuals); most of the Alorese are

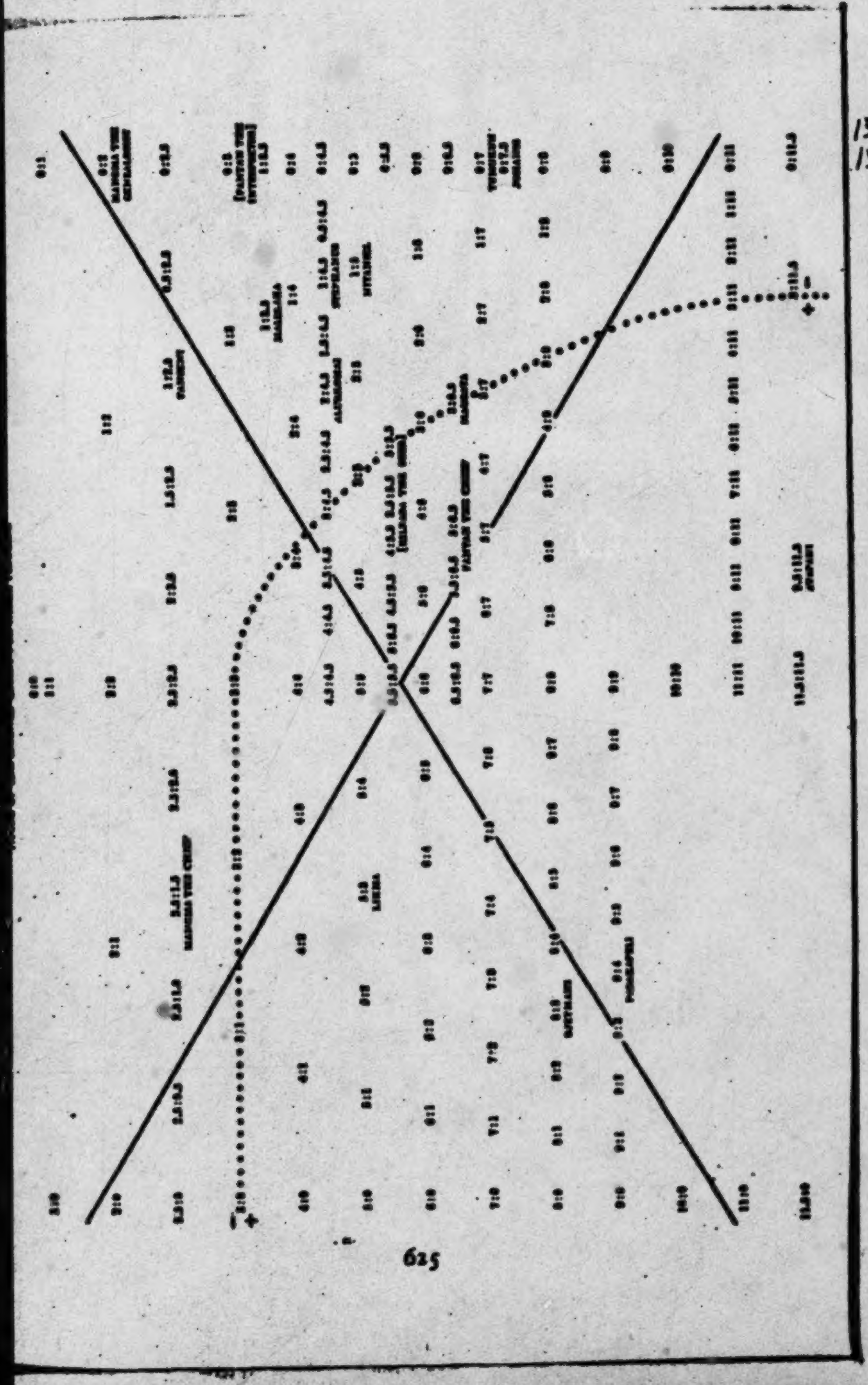
	Number of Responses (29.2)		W (5.1)		Dd (7.1)		F+% (45.0)		A% (37.0)		Cz (4.8)		bl-wht% (3.0)	
	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
(1) Alurkomai	1.2			5.9		0.9	13.2		4.8		0.3		1.0	
(2) Atafani		16.8	2.1			11.9	2.7		6.6			6.7		6.5
(3) Djetmani		2.8	1.1			3.9	2.1		15.1		1.8			5.0
(4) Fanseni	2.2			0.9	7.1			2.7		22.3	2.3		2.0	
(5) Fantan the Interpreter	2.2			1.9	5.1			20.9		26.0	1.8		3.0	
(6) Fantan the Chief		12.8	3.1			5.9		11.3	13.2			1.7		2.0
(7) Maugata		22.8	2.1			12.9	5.5		17.8			1.7	0.0	0.0
(8) Johanis	9.2		0.1		5.1			19.3		8.0		2.7	3.0	
(9) Likma	15.2		2.1		5.1		13.8		29.9		1.8			2.0
(10) Malelaka	10.2		1.1		6.1		17.7		31.7		1.3		2.0	
(11) Mangma the Genealogist	17.2			2.9	7.1		6.1			29.7	2.8		3.0	
(12) Mangma the Chief	13.2		2.1		6.1			27.7	5.8		3.3		0.5	
(13) Nitaniel	9.2			4.9	2.1			5.0		23.0		0.2	2.0	
(14) Padakafeli		30.8	3.1			16.9	12.3			18.0	0.8			6.0
(15) Rilpada		3.8	2.1		2.1			24.2	24.9			0.7		0.5
(16) Stephanus	10.2			2.9	4.1		1.7			41.9	0.3		2.0	
(17) The tumukun	0.2		0.1		6.1			2.5		4.4		2.2	3.0	

157x
159x

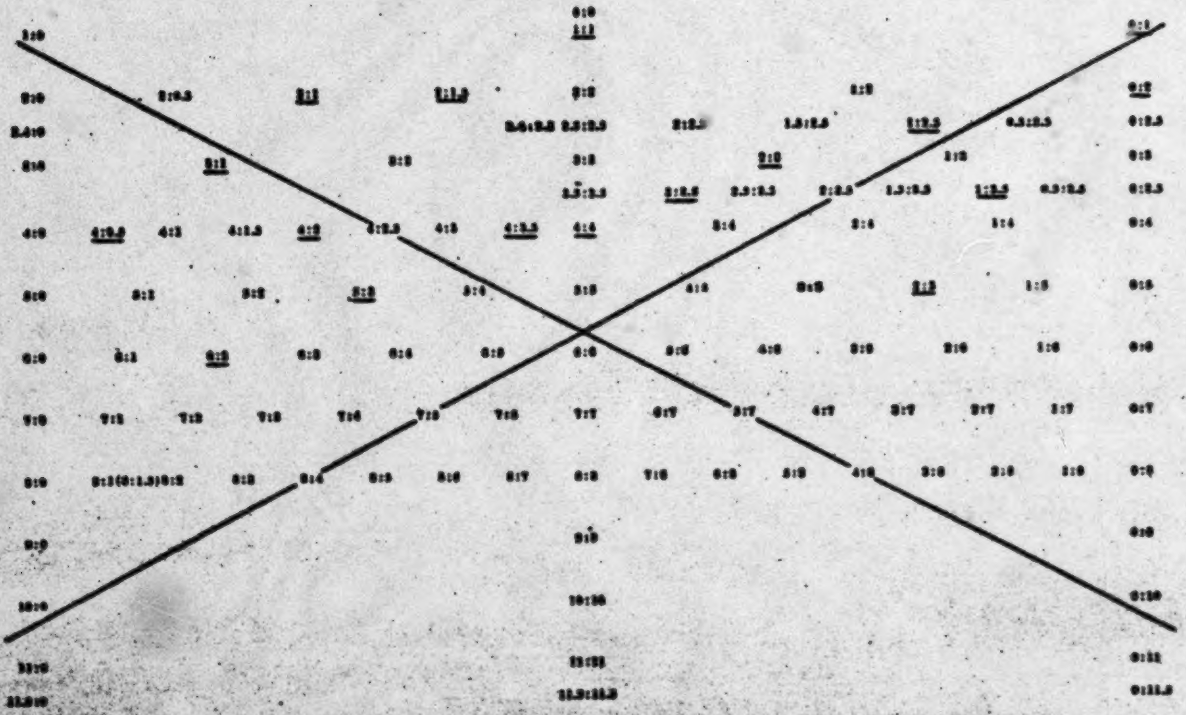
l:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944

OF5 Alor OF5

157x
159x



MODE OF EXPERIENCE CHART FOR MALE SWISS



157^{x} considerably nearer to the outside column and the bottom than the extratensive among the Swiss. The Swiss average is 2.4 : 2.33, i.e., almost ambiequal; the Alorese, 3.0 : 4.8, i.e., considerably more "extra" than "intro." There are 8 "plus" variants and 9 "minus" variants in the male Swiss, 6 "plus" and 10 "minus" variants in the male Alorese, if I call the individuals with more than the average number of bl-whΣ "plus" and those with less than the average "minus" variants. (The broken line from the left to the middle and then down to the bottom of the chart is the line of demarcation between those "plus" and "minus" variants.) Actually they are ± (plus as to the bl-whΣ, minus as to the CΣ) or ∓ (minus as to the bl-whΣ, plus as to the CΣ) and ++ or —— variants. Nitaniel and Stefanus, who represent ∓ and —— variants, respectively, are in closest proximity on the right side, while Mangma the Chief, who is also a —— variant, is found on the left side of the chart. "Intro" and "extra" mean that Rorschach's terms are not applied to the proportion of M : C but to the Alorese bl-whΣ : CΣ.

157^{x} 159^{x} Three Alorese are seen in the right outside column. They are the extreme egocentrics among these males—Mangma the Genealogist, a coartative type, as stated in his blind diagnosis; the tumukun and Johanis with a maximum of true colors that has no parallel among the normal Swiss and is surpassed among the male Alorese only by Atafani, whose CΣ of 11 is almost counterbalanced by his bl-whΣ of 9, an occurrence that, again, is not found in the normal Swiss. The left outside column is not reached by any one of these Alorese, either male or female, but Djetmani and Padakafeli with a maximum of bl-wh are not far from it. In my normal Swiss there is only one male whose location is found in this same section of the scheme, and he is not among the seventeen who correspond to the distribution of the seventeen Alorese. For this reason his experience mode of 8 : 1.5 is listed in the scheme in parentheses. These extremes on the left side plus Atafani, an extremely dilated type, and Fantan the Chief, who is almost on the border line of the righthand and lower triangles, are the most unapproachable among these Alorese, in contrast to those on the right side who are more or less capable of contact and rapport, showing no black-white reaction or only one as a black or white form or a primary bl or wh.

159^{x} The various groupings of the scheme are stated likewise by the ethnographer, who was ignorant of these results. Her groupings and additional statements, which I put in quotation marks, are as follows: (1) "Johanis, Maugata, and Stephanus show a decreasing intensity in their affectivity." This is in perfect keeping with their location in x 159 the scheme. They are found in the outer section of the righthand triangle on successive CΣ levels of 7.5, 6.5, and 4.5. (2) "Stephanus and Nitaniel do not automatically shy away from contacts and seclude themselves from everyone." In fact, not only are these two Alorese located in the righthand triangle of the chart, but Nitaniel is next to Stephanus, and both exhibit in their Rorschachs an unmistakable tendency toward FC interpretations. (3) "Likma and Mangma the Chief." Contrary to the Alorese listed in 1 and 2 above they are both on the lefthand side, not far from the diagonal running from the left top corner of the chart, Mangma somewhat above the diagonal and Likma, who shows the double quantity of bl-whΣ and CΣ, somewhat underneath. (4) "Djetmani and Padakafeli, Fantan the Chief and Atafani." They are the people among these Alorese of whom the ethnographer knows least, which is significant. [123] They are the males with whom she could establish least contact, because of the distrust and lack of response manifested in the test by the black color-shock and the unsurmountable barrier of their black-white reactions. They fall into two pairs as is stated by the ethnographer: Djetmani and Padakafeli, with a remarkable bl-whΣ but only a small CΣ, are found close to each other in the left half of the lower triangle; Fantan the Chief and Atafani, as dilated types, not far from the middle line in the right half of that triangle, Atafani way farther down in keeping with his experience mode of 9.5 : 11.5, which is double that of Fantan the Chief. They are all marked plus variants (see above), Fantan the Chief, however, least so, and they must be among the seventeen Alorese most strange to a foreigner. (5) "Fantan the Interpreter and Rilpada the Seer, who, nevertheless, are very different." Both have M in contrast to all the fifteen listed in the scheme and show the same number of kinesthesias, but Fantan's mode of experience is without, while Rilpada's is combined with, black-white interpretations. They are both found in the righthand triangle but, for that reason, relatively far apart from each other.

y 157 Black-white reactions and black color-shock are correlated: The black color-shock, in general, manifests itself more, the more the black-white Σ prevails over the CΣ. Its manifestations are, therefore, in Rorschach's scheme, on the decrease from left to right. Furthermore, it is, on the whole, the more pronounced the greater the intensity of the black-white reactions, i.e., the greater the bl-whΣ; and, therefore, in the scheme it is on the increase from top to bottom. In the more dilated types, i.e., farther down in the middle column and immediately to right and left of it, the shock almost coincides with the apathy and indolence of these subjects. They seem half asleep and tired of concentrated attention; they become listless and disinterested and stare silently; but, all the same, they, of these seventeen Alorese, show the greatest number of responses accompanied by long pauses at noncolored pictures and by manifestations of discomfort and uneasiness. There exists no longer a direct proportion between bl-whΣ and black color-shock in the righthand triangle of the scheme. There is only slight black color-shock in Rilpada, *for instance*, whose mode of experience is almost average, but more of it in some extreme "extratensives," such as Mangma the Genealogist, the tumukun, and Johanis. 157x 159x

The W— types of the male Alorese, who show a considerable plus deviation from the W average, giving an unlimited number of poor and careless W, and those with a marked confabulatory streak are, without exception, as in Europeans, among the "extratensives" with not too great a number of bl-wh reactions. They are Mangma the Genealogist, whom we know, Malelaka the Prophet, and Alurkoma, whose confabulation goes so far that it is sometimes hardly possible to determine what are actual interpretations and what are mere secondary associations. This is demonstrated by his reactions to card VI: "a walking stick (insect; c, W), his head (top), his legs (the flag or flamelike figure at the top), his neck (dark middle at the top), his legs (lateral projections), his anus (bottom), his stomach (middle line), his sword (apparently a dark spot at the basis of the lateral projection), his bow (again the lateral projection), his back shield (upper lateral small projection), his shawl (ditto on the other side), his mouth (topmost)." In a case like this even the number of responses is uncertain.

The intelligent among these seventeen male Alorese are *found* to the right of the diagonal which *runs* from the left top corner to the bottom. Most of them are "extra"—Johanis and Stephanus, with the best intelligence except for Fantan the Interpreter, are extremely and fairly "extra," respectively; the tumukun, Nitaniel, and Fanseni, with a fairly good intelligence, are extremely, fairly, and slightly "extra." Only Mangma the Chief, who is about on the same intellectual level as Johanis, is slightly "intra," just as Fanseni is slightly "extra." The least intelligent are on the opposite side of that diagonal. They are those Alorese who are considerably "intra" or fairly and maximally dilated, like Fantan the Chief and Atafani, all of them with a bl-whΣ of 5 at least. Atafani ranks last in intelligence in the ethnographer's list, whereas an individual among normal Europeans who has as many M and C as Atafani has bl-wh and C would be a highly talented person. 159x 153

x155 The most intelligent among the chiefs is the coartative "intro" Mangma,
153 followed by the extremely extratensive Tumalun; and Fantan, the fairly dilated type, who has the most hl-wh, is the least intelligent. It is obvious that hl-wh in comparison to the kinesthesias operate in reverse. The hl-wh reactions run counter to intelligence as in those traumatics where the damage to intellectual *functioning* is the more serious the more hl-wh occurs in the test. They are, too, as I stated in the section on Alorese affectivity, not sufficient affective stabilizers. Among the remaining seventeen male Alorese are the confabulating individuals, who show only mediocre or poor intelligence; this is again in conformity with every experience among Europeans.

Rilpada the Seer and, in particular, Fantan the Interpreter, whose intellect is similar to that of Europeans, drop out of the scheme-plane by reason of their kinesthesias. They not only present a contrast to their people but are also of a different dimension, different from the others in the sense of "variation." A presentation of the male Alorese including Rilpada and Fantan should be made in a three dimensional arrangement, such as the form of a flat pyramid, four sides of which are given by the triangles of our scheme and at the base of which the kinesthesias are to be listed, again to the left and the right of the middle line.

x157 The variability of the Alorese is undoubtedly very great, as follows from the statements in this section. More than that, their variation is considerably larger than in Europeans, *viz* in the normal Swiss. From the test findings their range of variation can be determined in definitive figures for each quality that is measured by Rorschach's experiment.

It seems futile to make an attempt of this kind with thirty-seven Alorese, i.e., with only thirty-seven variants of these qualities. It is justified, however, since for the purposes of outlining the principles no larger body of material is available.

The fact must mean something that, even within the range of this limited material, with only 1001 interpretations which form the basis of all conclusions, extremes are exhibited which do not occur in my three-times-larger material of normal Swiss. Extremes such as the Alorese maximum for the Dd, A%, CF, and C, and the minimum for F+% occur among Europeans only in nervous and mental disorders, whereas to date I have not met the Alorese minimum for A% even within the range of the pathological in Europeans. These extremes concerning
x158 A% (which refers to very important psychic functions—see Sex Differences) are presented by two women: Kolmani, whose 15 responses

are all animal interpretations, and Tilpada, who refers not once to animals among her 27 answers, though the animal interpretations are normally so frequent that the average A% of the normal Swiss amounts to 45.5. These two extremes mean a variation range of 100. 157x [158]x

If we take the standard deviations of these thirty-seven Alorese as realities, the results of a comparison of the variation in the Alorese with that in the hundred Swiss by means of the variation coefficients (v) are given below. With two exceptions concerning the Dd and CF, the variations of the other factors are a half to three times greater in the Alorese—about a half greater for bl-whΣ, C, and W, one and a half greater for A%, and three times greater for F+%.

	Alorese			Swiss		
	Average	σ	$\underline{v}$	$\underline{v}$	σ	Average
W	4.68	1.77	37.82	37.73	3.12	8.27
Dd	8.70	10.08	115.86	119.05	2.25	1.89
F+%	41.5	11.89	28.65	9.01	7.23	80.3
A%	23.1	14.06	60.88	24.51	11.15	45.5
CF	2.68	1.88	70.13	83.49	0.96	1.15
bl-whΣ	3.58	3.90	108.94			
M				77.34	1.27	1.65
C	1.48	1.20	81.08			
FC				56.77	0.93	1.64

The Alorese bl-whΣ is confronted with the M of the normal Swiss whose FC is confronted with the primary C of the Alorese which do not occur in the normal Swiss. It results that the "norm" of the Alorese has a much wider base line and therefore covers much wider range possibilities. We learn—it is nothing new—that the European *sive* Swiss "norm" and the "norm" of the Alorese do not coincide; Alorese and Europeans *sive* Swiss are quite different in nature and caliber. How much the actual variability of the Alorese is greater or smaller cannot be determined on the basis of thirty-seven variants only.

The factors that we have used are not the only ones which Rorschach's experiment offers. There are others mentioned only in passing or not at all, which embrace other psychic qualities. No less than eleven components of intelligence are deducible from the percentage of good forms, the whole answers, the apperceptive type and sequence, the variability of interpretations, the percentage of animal and original answers, the kinesthesias, and the reaction time. Most of these factors 114

144 are expressed by *figures*, and in 1 FC, i.e., one of those factors which are the representations of emotional life, we are confronted with a quantity that has a sort of unit-value since it is a minimum exhibited by a normal European, though apparently not by every American. The surplus of this 1 FC gives the variation range of emotional responsiveness which can be compared to that of other population groups. Two other factors that are never absent in a test are the D and F, the normal details and form interpretations. They are the two factors the average percentages of which differ in no way in the Alorese and normal Swiss (see at the beginning "Quantitative Results of the Test Findings"). They seem to be "neutral."

x157 The variation series of the factors which are most vital for Alorese psychology, the W, Dd, F+%, A%, C%, and bl-wh% are skewed or completely one-sided and that of the A% presents perhaps two peaks. It also seems to be so in the normal Swiss; only their W series is binomial, as demonstrated by the following series:

Average = 8.27 ± 0.31

number of W:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
number of individuals:	0	0	1	4	8	6	12	10	15	11	11	5	7	5	2 and	1	1		
		0	0	1	5	13	19	31	41	56	67	78	83	90	95	97	98	99	100

q1 = 6.50   q3 = 10.73

The quartile (Q) is 2.115 and the standard deviation, as stated above, 3.12; therefore Q : σ = 0.6778 instead of the theoretical 0.6745.

SEX DIFFERENCES

153 The Alorese show a deficiency of whole answers. Of their 1201 responses there are only 14.4% W to 30.5% W in the normal Swiss. Furthermore, no fewer than 114 of their 173 W are bad, as against only 155 of 827 W in the Swiss, equaling 65.9% and 18.7% W— respectively. A great number of these W— are confabulated, i.e., they are DW which do not occur in normal Europeans. Finally, the combinatory W, i.e., the combination of the various picture parts (see Fantan's interpretation at V), which are mostly WM in Europeans and the expression of true imagination, are entirely missing in the Alorese. It is the quality of the Alorese W rather than their inferiority in number which makes the big difference.

On the other hand, the Alorese produce more than four times as many Dd as the normal Swiss, 26.8% : 6.1%. As bad as this apperrecptive type—(W)-D-Dd, as against W-D in the normal Swiss—is the sequence of interpretations which in most Alorese is out of order, loose, or even scattered. A third important discrepancy between the Alorese and Europeans concerns the kinesthesias (M), which are the indicators of creative instinct and abilities or, better, of these faculties as potentialities. Among the 1101 answers there are only 5 M; this yields a proportion of 0.4% against 9.9% in the normal Swiss. All this must be highly significant for an estimate of Alorese intellect and cultural achievements, unless Rorschach's *fundamental* statements on the significance of these factors are entirely wrong.

It means that the Alorese are not of a theoretical turn of mind. They are as little given to synthesis, to constructive thinking, to synopsis and correlation, as they are given to problematizing, contemplating, and meditating. They are not abstract thinkers and philosophers, and they show no genuine imagination, though they sometimes show in their Rorschachs a kind of pleasure in spinning tales (*Fabulierlust*) but no more; the rest is mere confabulation. It is unlikely that they could build up a well-organized cosmology and cosmogony of their own, just as they are unlikely to show artistic achievements like, for instance, the South African rock paintings; they may show some development of primitive art, such as carving and ornamentation, in which black should play a considerable role. They are not inventors, and they are far from making any constructive contribution in any field of cultural development. At best they adopt. What they have beyond the strict necessities of life seems to be imported, but it is even doubtful if they make full use of it. It would, incidentally, be interesting to examine Japanese Rorschachs from this point of view.

In comparison with the males the Alorese women exhibit a minor difference as to the W, both in quality and number. They have one third less, namely, 12.1% to 17.5%, and among them there are 72.1% W− as against 63.1% W− in the males. At the same time they produce more Dd which amount to 18.5% as against 14.4% in the males. Furthermore, there is only one among these twenty women who gives a kinesthetic answer. This is 0.14% out of their 705 responses in comparison to 0.8% in the men, and that single M is the M− which I mentioned previously. In respect to their intellectual achievements, though perhaps not so much as to their intelligence itself, these Alorese women, therefore, would be inferior to the males. There is no woman who could reach the intelligence level of some of the males, like

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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153 Mangma the Chief and Johannis, not to mention Fantan the Interpreter, who afforded the measure that I needed to make out the rank list of the male Alorese. The findings of the two best among the women are:

x 158

Kawsimani

Number of Responses 27

W	8 (5—) = 29.6%	M	0
D	17	F	20 (5—)
Dd	2 (1—) = 7.4%	F(C)	1
	—	FC	0
	27	CF	3
		C	3 (1 M)
			—
			27

F%	75.0
A%	55.0
apperceptive	W-D
sequence	in order
mode of experience	0 + 1.5 : 6.0

Kolani

Number of Responses 18

W	3 (+) = 17.6%+	M	0
D	14	F	14 (6—)
Dd	1 (—) = 5.6%—	F(C)	0
	—	FC	2 (+), V (M)
	18	CF	1
		C	1
			—
			18

F+%	57.1
A%	72.2
apperceptive	W-D
sequence	in order
mode of experience	0 + 0 : 3.5

The difference is self-evident. Fantan's superiority, aside from his two kinesthesias, lies in the much better W and the higher F+%. The apperceptive type is the same. The two top-ranking women prove again the previous statements concerning intelligence and black-white reactions. These reactions are absent in Kolani, and Kawsimani exhibits only one.

x 157 On the other hand, the women are more individualized. There is no

157x

man among these seventeen Alorese with an A% of 0 or 100 as is shown among the twenty females, and there is none who lacks color reactions, either true colors or black-white reactions, as two women do. In respect to these two factors there exist extreme individualizations among the females. The true variability should show the variation coefficients (v). If we take again the standard deviations σ as realities, these v are:

	Males			Females		
	Average	σ	v	v	σ	Average
W	5.1	2.70	53.04	65.33	2.813	4.3
Dd	7.2	7.63	105.92	112.80	11.28	10.0
F+%	65.0	11.40	17.60	26.05	9.77	37.5
A%	37.0	21.80	58.95	64.14	28.03	43.7
CF	2.53	1.69	66.80	72.86	2.04	2.8
C	1.53	1.12	73.20	86.21	1.25	1.45
bl-whΣ	3.00	3.11	103.67	110.00	4.40	4.0

Except for F+%, the variation coefficients are a sixteenth to a quarter greater in the females than in the males. The smallest difference is shown in the v for bl-whΣ, i.e., for those interpretations which as an expression of the Alorese passivity and passive acceptance are most characteristic of these natives and stand out in the women considerably more than in the men, as shown by the average of these twenty females:

AVERAGE OF RESPONSES 35.25

W 4.3 (2.95—)
D 20.45
S 0.35
Do 0.15
Dd 10.00 (5.5—)
———
35.25

M 0.05
F 26.1 (16.5—)
F(C) 0.8
FC 0.6 (0.5 bl-wh)
CF 4.9 {2.8 / 2.1 bl-wh}
C 2.75 {1.3 bl-wh / 1.45}
(2.1 bl-wh + 1.3 bl-wh) 3.4 bl-wh
———
35.25

F+	37.5%
A	43.7%
apperceptive	W-D-Dd
sequence	out of order
mode of experience	0.05 + 4.0 : 4.9

x157 On the average each of the women exhibits almost one black-white reaction more than the men and shows a bl-whΣ that is one-third greater. This surplus over the men still exists after eliminating the one woman who gives among her 62 answers a maximum of black-white responses, namely, 7 bl-whF and 7 primary bl-wh, amounting to a bl-whΣ of 17.5. It is in keeping with this fact that the black-white and Dd correlation which I mentioned in a previous section stands out more in the women than in the men, as is shown by listing the individuals in whom a minus or plus deviation from the average bl-whΣ meets with a minus or plus deviation of the Dd, and vice versa.

The women also show more FC, most of which are Fbl and Fwh; or better, they show a greater tendency to produce interpretations which possibly may be FC or Fbl-wh. They are 2 FC (1?) + 11 Fbl-wh (4?) against 2 FC (1?) + 1 Fbl in the males. Exactly one half of the females exhibit at least 1 FC or Fbl-wh, almost one third of which are questionable, whereas FC or Fbl-wh are given only by one sixth of the males. This difference in the test must show in a better responsiveness on the part of the women. They are, on the whole, more squeezed and timid, which is manifested in their Rorschachs by the surplus of bl-whΣ and black color-shock, but after getting over their initial uneasiness they are more apt to give emotional response. Once their confidence is gained they are capable of better rapport than the males.

There is, further, the difference of A% and perseveration which cannot be measured like the greater part of the experimental factors but the degree and intensity of which can be gathered from the records. The women's A% is higher than that of the males, namely, 43.7 : 36.9. The percentage of animal interpretations is an indicator of stereotypy, of steadiness and stability, endurance and stamina, which are reduced or missing in previously mentioned anxiety hysteria where the A% is seldom above average. Among fifty cases picked at random the A% rises to 50% only three times, and only once drops as low as 15.4%. Perseveration, which results in a lack of variety of interpretations, means monotony and is much more marked in the females than in the males. On the other hand, confabulation, which occurs only to a small extent among the women, is more common in the men; there are no tests among the women which resemble those of Malelaka the Prophet, Mangma the Genealogist, and Alurkomai. The women are, on the whole, mentally less alert and less quick; often they do not see [153] beyond their noses. However, they are more industrious; they do not shy away from work as do the males; but they stick more to routine ways and stay more in grooves and ruts.

ways and stay more in grooves and ruts. They show, in brief, more stereotyping. 157x

Finally, the women should show fewer emotional ups and downs than the males, due to their average mode of experience, which is 0.05 + 4.0 : 4.9, as against 0.14 + 3.0 : 4.87 in the males. This guarantees a better affective stabilization.

There is one woman who seems to be an excellent illustration of the 159x typical qualities of the Alorese and their pronounced development in the females. It is Lomani, who shows in her test a good many black-white reactions. Her bl-wh% is double the average; passivity and passive acceptance stamp her character. As to her mode of experience she is a dilated type who in the coordination system of the males is very close to Atafani, whereas the other blind diagnoses concern individuals who are found in the righthand triangle of the scheme.

LOMANI, ABOUT 30 YEARS OF AGE

I.	(1) like a cloud (inside of upper part of side figure)	DdF(C)+	cloud
	(2) like black sky (wing)	DM	black sky
	(3) a "[illegible]" [unidentified shell] (top of middle figure)	DdF−	Ad
	(4) like a crest—a cockatoo's (the claws on top of middle figure)	DF+	Ad
	(5) like a chicken's tail (bottom of middle figure)	DdF∓	Ad
II.	(1) like a man's red loincloth (lateral red, c)	DCF−	loincloth
	(2) like fishes' tails (medial red, c)	DF+	Ad
	(3) like black cloth sold here (black, c)	DdF−	black cloth
	(4) like tree leaves (central point, c)	DdF−	plant
	(5) like chicken's comb (tiny red spot on the top of black, c)	DdCF−	Ad
	(6) coral rocks (lower contour of black, c)	DF+	coral rocks
III.	(1) goat (lateral red, c) [may mean only goat's beard worn on men's headdress]	DF±	Ad
	(2) like a field knife (waiters' legs, c)	DF±	object
	(3) like a reef peak (contour of waiters, c)	DdF+	reef peak
	(4) like a house wall (waiters' shirt front, c)	DdF−	house wall
	(5) a red shirt (central red, c)	DC−	object
IV.	(1) like leaves, coconut (top)	DF−	plant
	(2) like a hawk flying with spread wings (W)	WF−	A
	(3) like banana leaves (very black parts of side figure)	DdF∓	plant
	(4) like pig tusks (lateral projections on bottom of central portion)	DdF±	Ad
	(5) like snakes (lateral appendices)	DF+	A

x 15V

V.	(1) like pigs' legs (lateral thicker projections)	DdF±	Ad
	(2) like goat's horns (top of central portions, ears of the bat)	DdF+	Ad
	(3) like goat's horns (bottom of central portion)	DdF−	Ad
	(4) like a crow (dark black spot inside large portion)	DdhF−	A
	(5) like black cloth (one half of large black portion)	Ddh	black cloth
VI.	(1) like an areca palm standing (middle line and top)	DF±	plant
	(2) legs and arms (flaglike portion at the top) [whose?] our people's	DF−	Hd
	(3) like chickens' feathers (shading in central part of large portion)	DdF (C)+	Ad
VII.	(1) like a duck (upper third)	DF+	A
	(2) like galvanized-iron roof (lower third)	DhF±	iron roof
VIII.	(1) like clouds floating (gray)	DhF±	cloud
	(2) like dogs (pink side figures)	DF+	A
	(3) like verandah (central red of bottom)	DF−	verandah
	(4) like bracelet (middle line in gray) [darkish gray of old metals the Alorese have]	DhF−	object
IX.	(1) like blood (red bottom, c)	DC	blood
	(2) like parakeet (green, c) [are green]	DCF−	A
	(3) like red sky (orange, c)	DC	red sky
X.	(1) like red clay (large red portions)	DC	red clay
	(2) like ferns (side blue)	DF−	plant
	(3) like birds (side gray)	DF−	A
	(4) like pandanus [a palm species] – raincapes [are of yellow-brown color, rectangular in shape, worn on heads] (lateral orange spots)	DdCF∓	object
	(5) like bamboo (top gray)	DdF+	plant
	(6) like a bottle (whole of central green) [their bottles are a dark green color]	DCF−	object
	(7) like python [are gray-black] (each half of central green)	DF+	A

Computation

Number of Responses: 45

W	1 (−) = 2.2%−	M	0
D	28	F	27 (13−)
Dd	16 (7−) = 35.5%±	F(C)	2
	—	FC	0 (perhaps 1 FM, VIII)
	45	CF	5 (II, IX, X)
		hF	5 (II, V, VII, VIII)
A	8	C	4 (III, IX, X)
Ad	11	h	2 (I, V)
H	0		—
Hd	1		45
plant	6		

objects	5	F+	51.8% (rather less)
cloth	3	A	42.1%
rocks	4	apperceptive	(W)-D-Dd
roof peak	1	sequence	loose
house wall	1	mode of experience	0 + 8.0 : 11.0
iron roof	1		
verandah	1		
cloud	2		
sky	2		
blood	1		
clay	1		
	—		
	41		

Deducible from these findings is a clear-cut personality which I will try to outline.

Lomani is self-contained, encrusted, and encysted; however, she is neither unpleasant nor really sweet. She is not easy of access, is even somewhat distant and reserved, but not in an active way and never as a defense. She is shy, fearful, and frightened, like all Alorese, but not as distrustful and suspicious as many others. She is neither nagging nor spiteful, but there is no cheerfulness and gaiety in her heart (*keine Frohnatur*). She never dares be spontaneous and warm; I could imagine that she never smiles. She is without daring but not despairing or even despondent; she is too staid and stolid and too passive to be so. She undoubtedly never gives offence, never puts herself forward, never makes herself conspicuous, and makes no demands. In this she is colorless but so much more colorful by reason of her passive qualities. She is, first of all, acquiescent, meek, and submissive, even humble, and is so, too, in the test, where she gives her answers without ever handling the cards, accepting them in the position in which they come (II, III, and IX from the start in upside-down position). The term "passive acceptance" fits best with her submissiveness, which is without resistance and revolt. Without grumbling and complaining she is resigned to her fate, which she takes for granted as though there were no alternative.

She has within this attitude a streak of classic calm, but she has no serenity and is too "broken." Her poise is too unwilled, something given to her through her passivity. She, like others of the Alorese women, reminds one of a dead volcano. She is as though dead in life, as though burnt out. She is too quiet and therefore too soulless to be classic; there are no surging emotions of compelling force—or they do not reach the surface—and there are no conflicts. Her dimensions are too limited. She lives her simple day-to-day life with no interests except her x 159 domestic surroundings and daily doings. She is not much attached to, or wrapped up in, anything and could live wherever she was set down, and under whatever circumstances, with the same staidness. In her test she gives no answer that goes beyond her every-day life experience, to which belong the sky and its clouds, some plants and animals as well as the house, the roof, and the verandah, some cloths and simple tools. That is all. She works supposedly very hard but without that feverishness which is shown by some of the others. With the industrious application of a schoolgirl she gives 45 answers to the test. This is above the average (35) of the female Alorese, but she does not give 60, or even over 70, as some others do. Even the number of responses may have significance for the evaluation of a Rorschach test, though never when taken by itself. She does her work without pleasure or displeasure, with neither enthusiasm nor antagonism. She has not the slightest indication of space figure interpretations among her answers. She does her work as a daily round because it is expected of her; even the routine amusements do not arouse a deep inner participation. She is without striving and ambitions. She has only one W, which is less than one fourth of the female average. She is therein the reverse of Mangma the Genealogist, two thirds of whose answers are W. She does not want anything and she expects nothing. It may be that she even has no wishes. But she does what she is told and what is demanded of her. On the whole a joyless existence, eventless, monotonous, and steady, like her test. But her life is very likely the life of many of these women on Alor.

[illegible] With Lomani I part from these Alorese whom I have tried to visualize by means of scores and correlations on the basis of some purely "formal" categories of their mentality and mentation presented in their interpretations. The contents of these interpretations have almost no part in working out the Alorese psychology and except for the animal interpretations (A%) were hardly ever referred to. In how far I was successful in doing justice to these natives, I myself cannot tell.

Just as I hesitated to undertake the task of working out the tests, so I hesitated to publish a summary which must of necessity be fragmentary. That I do so at all is a tribute to the excellence of these thirty-seven Rorschach records. The shortcomings of my contribution can be eliminated only in a monograph.

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SOUNDS

Vowels. A – in accented syllables as in English *father*; in unaccented syllables as in German *hat.* E – before *t* as in English *get*; elsewhere slightly lower and more open than German *geben.* I – as in English *see*; longer in stressed than in unstressed syllables. O – as in German, long in stressed syllables, short in unstressed. U – as in English *rule*, except in combination UNG, where it is short.

Diphthongs. AU and AI as in German *Baum* and *Mais.* AA and EE are separate sounds.

Consonants. These are pronounced as in English.

STRESS

It should be borne in mind that the stress is always very slight. It varies according to the number of syllables. The language is poor in monosyllables, and there are none among personal and place names.

Two-Syllable Words. The stress is on the first syllable, except in words ending in -AU or -LE.

Three-Syllable Words. The stress is practically undetectable with the following exceptions: in words ending in -KAI, -LE, -LO, -MAI, -MAU, -TAI, and -TAU these syllables are slightly stressed; words ending in -FANI, -LANI, -LETI, -SENI, and -WATI are slightly stressed on the first syllable of the suffix; -MANI, and -FADA throw the accent onto the preceding syllable.

Four-Syllable Words. The stress falls on the penultimate except in words ending in -LE, -LO, -MA, -MAI, and -MAU, when these syllables are slightly stressed, and in words ending in -FADA, which always throws the accent onto the preceding syllable.

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